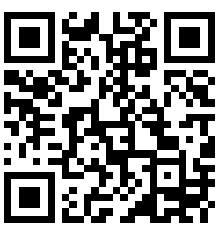
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ERRATA

P. 253, l. 9, read: iambic for trochaic.
P. 322, l. 36, read: quam for quem.
P. 323, l. 1, read: 'ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΣ for 'ΟΦΘΛΑΜΟΣ.

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Classical Philology

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STUDIES IN THE GROUPING OF NOUNS IN PLAUTUS

By Henry W. Prescott

Such familiar groups of nouns in our own language as "Liberty and Equality," "Labor and Capital," "Faith, Hope, and Charity," remind us how clearly our speech reflects political, economic, and religious conditions. Without any doubt a study of similar groups in Latin, properly interpreted, would reveal new phases of social life and thought, or confirm previous impressions derived from more obvious sources. It is noteworthy, too, that even in our own language such groups very regularly fall into pairs or triads, as in the examples quoted. From this point of view a study of word-groups contributes to our knowledge of the development of Latin style (cf. Norden *De Minucii Felicis aetate et genere dicendi*, Greifswald, 1897); in the case of Plautus it is of especial value in so far as the author supplies most of the material for our understanding of the beginnings of an artistic form of expression in Latin, and in his case it is of peculiar interest because the inherent qualities of his mother-tongue, alien features of the Greek which he was adapting, and possibly rhetorical influence, enhance the difficulty of appreciating the individual and the racial characteristics of his style; the value and interest of such a study are apparent from Leo's brief analysis of the poet's peculiarities in the handling of triads (*Analecta Plautina* III, cf. *Anal. Plaut.* II. 36–39).

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Several passages of Plautus containing, apparently, ill-assorted nouns have perplexed me in recent years; the connotation of words and the association of ideas proved, on further study, to be somewhat different in Latin from what I had supposed; prejudices occasioned by my own language were removed, and the grouping in many cases began to show at least an orderly disarray which seemed more in sympathy with other characteristics of the poet's art and personality. The following notes, therefore, are intended to throw some light on the poet's meaning and on the association of ideas in his mind; the contribution to a knowledge of his style and environment must be very incidental, limited as the study is to nouns, and to groups of more than three members.

I

Mere catalogues of commonplace things—food, furniture, parts of the anatomy, etc.—are usually listed without attempt at grouping; but purely external features of sound often bring together items in the catalogue: sura, pes, statura, tonsus, oculi, nasum vel labra, | malae, mentum, barba, collus: totus . . . . *Amph.* 444, in which, also, the relative position of the parts of the body is somewhat imperfectly suggested by the juxtaposition; cum pedibus manibus, cum digitis auribus oculis labris *Most.* 1118, in which *cum* superficially divides the groups, and *auribus oculis* perhaps attract each other through their initial syllables (cf. voce *o*culis *au*ribus *Rud.* 224; *o*culi atque *au*res atque *o*pinio *M. G.* 589; *o*re atque *o*culis pernigris *Poen.* 1113); for other lists of physical characteristics cf. *As.* 400, *Capt.* 647, *Merc.* 310, 639, *Ps.* 1218. Sound-effects alone group some of the items in such cases as stimulos, lamminas, crucesque compedesque, | nervos, catenas, carceres, numellas, pedicas, boias *As.* 548, ampullam, strigilem, scaphium, soccos, pallium, | marsuppium *Pers.* 124. Plautus makes use of all such opportunities: cursu, luctando, hasta, disco, pugilatu, pila *Bacch.* 428, but is content also with disco, hastis, pila, cursu, armis, equo *Most.* 152. When his fancy is free, his indulgence is riotous: so in the orderly arrangement of a lexicographer, ait sese ire ad Archidemum, Chaeream, Chaerestratum, | Cliniam, Chremem, Cratinum, Diniam, Demosthenem *As.*

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865; or in the less flexible topographical items Megares, Eretriam, Corinthum, Chalcidem, Cretam, Cyprum, | Sicyonem, Cnidum, Zacynthum, Lesbiam, Boeotiam *Merc.* 646, in which the *cn* of the triad *Sicyonem, Cnidum, Zacynthum* is not to be overlooked, and the *-iam* of the last pair is noteworthy because the poet (perhaps unconsciously) has rejected *Lesbum* in favor of *Lesbiam*, just as in the following example he has chosen *Rhodiam* in place of *Rhodum* to correspond with *Lyciam:* Persas, Paphlagonas, | Sinopas, Arabes,[1] Caras, Cretanos, Syros, | Rhodiam atque Lyciam, Perediam et Perbibesiam, | Centauromachiam et Classiam Unomammiam, | Libyamque oram ⟨omnem⟩ Conterebromniam *Curc.* 442; and here fact and fancy are mingled with remarkable results. The conspicuous feature of all such catalogues is that such groups as are formed by sound-effects are usually composed of two or three members: the pair or the triad is the almost invariable unit.

House-furnishings are not susceptible of any artistic arrangement on the printed page or in the common speech; yet the following lists are not altogether jumbled: Supellex, aurum, vestis, vasa argentea *Aul.* 343, auro, ebore, argento, purpura, picturis, spoliis, | tum statuis *Caecus*, frag. 1. Aside from an occasional grouping by sounds as *vestis vasa*, and *purpura picturis* (cf. servi supellex, fundi aedes, omnia *Men.* 1158), there is possibly a less external colligation in *auro ebore argento:* so much we may perhaps gather from Cicero—auro, argento, ebore, veste, supellectili (*De leg. agr.* 2. 38), signa, tabulas pictas, omne argentum, aurum, ebur, gemmas (*Verr.* 2. 4. 8, cf. 2. 4. 1), non aurum, non argentum, non vestem, non mancipia (*Verr.* 2. 5. 126), pondus auri, argenti, eboris, purpurae . . . . vestem, ... stragulam, ... supellectilem, ... vasa, ... (*Verr.* 2. 2. 176).

Lists of foods show similar concession to sound-effects; the most striking feature of a few such lists is a strange abandonment of logical arrangement:

> venio ad macellum, rogito piscis: indicant
> caros; agninam caram, caram bubulam,
> vitulinam, cetum, porcinam: cara omnia. (*Aul.* 373)

[1] We might expect the Greek accusative *Arabas* to complete the harmony of final syllables, but the MSS do not offer any variant.

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846 iuben an non iubes astitui aulas, patinas elui,
847 laridum atque epulas foveri foculis ferventibus?
848 alium piscis praestinatum abire? ‡ hic vigilans somniat.
849 ‡ alium porcinam atque agninam et pullos gallinaceos?
850 ‡ scis bene esse, si sit unde. ‡ pernam atque opthalmiam,
851 horaeum, scombrum et trygonum et cetum et mollem caseum?
(*Capt.* 846)

Tu tibi istos habeas turtures, piscis, avis. (*Most.* 46)

On *Capt.* 849 Leo remarks: *mire positus inter* pisces *et piscium genera, sed loco moveri nequit;* and on *Most.* 46: *ciborum mirus ordo.* Certainly it is surprising to find *cetum* between *vitulinam* and *porcinam* in the *Aul.*, and pork and lamb and fowl in *Capt.* 849 between the general term for fish in 848 and the specific fish of 850, 851 (but note *epulas* 847 between *laridum* and *piscis:* cf. Lindsay *ad loc.*), and the general terms for fish and birds following the specific *turtures* in *Most.* 46 in such a way that the specific term is separated from *avis.* So far as Plautus' text is concerned, the three passages support one another. The peculiar arrangement in the *Capt.* may be due to the situation and the speaker. Moreover, in his Greek originals Plautus may have found some encouragement for this illogical grouping:

οὐ σκόροδον, οὐ σίραιον, οὐχὶ γήθυον,
οὐ βολβόν, οὐ πῦρ, οὐ κύμινον, οὐχ ἅλας,
οὐκ ᾠόν, οὐ ξύλ', οὐ σκάφην, οὐ τήγανον.
—Alexis 174 K.

The position of πῦρ (and of ξύλ', if it means firewood) is no less strange than the interruption of the natural sequence in our verses.

ἐρῶντι δέ, Κτήσων, τί μᾶλλον συμφέρει
ὧν νῦν φέρων πάρειμι; κήρυκας, κτένας,
βολβούς, μέγαν τε πουλύπουν ἰχθῦς θ' ἁδρούς.
—Alexis 170 K.

Here the general term ἰχθῦς after the specific πουλύπουν is like the order in the *Most.*, save that there *piscis* interrupts the more natural sequence *turtures avis.*

Again, however, the order simply exposes the tyranny of sound over sense: *cetum* in the *Aulularia* supplies one more *c*-sound;

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piscis happens to fit into the *p*-sequence of *Capt.* 848, and our author is content therewith, just as *caseum* rather than a fish echoes the *c*-sequence of 851 and *pernam* rather than a fish[1] the *p*-sequence of 849 and the end of 850; *turtures* in the *Most.* reiterates effectively the *t*-sounds of *tu tibi istos*, while *piscis avis* constitute a harmonious sound-group by themselves in which the more logical order *avis piscis* is metrically impossible. In this appreciation of sound-values lies the solution of the *mirus ordo ciborum* of our passages: that the audience smiled at such confusion of thought and harmony of sound is conceivable, but not susceptible of proof.

II

The examples reviewed above offered the poet little opportunity for grouping by means of thought-content; they have shown his readiness to group words according to sound-values, sometimes at the expense of a logical order. Even when the inner content of words supplies a natural association and an opportunity to group according to association of ideas, the element of sound often interrupts the logical order, or sound-groups and thought-groups in turn form the smaller units in the larger compound. Occasionally, of course, thought and sound unite to form a small group. In most cases the effect is that of disorder unless one is in full sympathy with the poet's style. The large groups usually fall into pairs and triads,[2] though these small units vary greatly in clearness and precision; the association of thought in a given group is often very loose and general.

Simple and conventional pairs appear, some of which correspond to later usage: urbem agrum,[3] aras focos, seque uti dede-

[1] Leo objects to *pernam* and *opthalmiam* in 850, and says we should expect a fish in place of *pernam*. But the weakness of Plautus is such that when once "ham and heye-fish" occurs to him, he does not hunt for "halibut and heye-fish." One needs to know the songs of modern vaudeville to appreciate some sides of Plautus: the familiar refrain "ice-cream, cold-cream, vaseline, and sandwiches" is not pitched in a very much lower key than the passages above.

[2] Cf. Norden *De Minucii Felicis aetate et genere dicendi*, pp. 62, 63.

[3] Henceforth the punctuation indicates my interpretation of the grouping; in some cases editors should, I think, adopt it. I should add that throughout the paper an acquaintance with Leo's *Analecta Plautina* III is presupposed; I have not stopped to defend or comment upon the triads in the larger groups because the characteristic features have been recognized by Leo.

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rent *Amph.* 226 (cf. Cic. *Deiot.* 8; *Cat.* 4. 24, etc.; patriae parentibus, aris atque focis Sall. *Cat.* 52. 3); cultrum securim, pistillum mortarium *Aul.* 95 (following ignis . . . . aqua and preceding vasa: cf. aquam hinc aut ignem aut vascula aut cultrum aut veru | aut aulam extarem aut aliquid *Rud.* 134); praecantrici coniectrici, hariolae atque haruspicae *M. G.* 693 (cf. hariolos haruspices *Poen.* 791); usus fructus, victus cultus *Merc.* 832 (cf. lexica, *s. vv. usufructus* and *cultus*).

Larger groups better illustrate Plautus' individual characteristics: sed pudicitiam et pudorem et sedatum cupidinem, | deum metum, parentum amorem et cognatum concordiam *Amph.* 840; the passage is artificial as the difficult construction ἀπὸ κοινοῦ in the next verse (842) indicates; whether the poet felt any distinction between *pudicitia* and *pudor* or no, whether or no he contrasted these two with the third member of the same group, it is at least clear that the first triad is much less precise than the triad of the second verse with its *deum* . . . . *parentum* . . . . *cognatum* and the appropriate emotions *metum* . . . . *amorem* . . . . *concordiam*. So in ubi quemque hominem aspexero, | si ancillam seu servom, sive uxorem sive adulterum, | seu patrem sive avom videbo *Amph.* 1048, the general term is defined in three pairs, the first two of which are possibly suggested by the characters in the play, but the last abandoning the plot loses the contrast of gender in the members of the first two pairs. The balance is disturbed somewhat differently in modo hic habitat leno, modo adulescens modo senex, | pauper mendicus, rex parasitus, hariolus *Men.* 75, with isolated units at the extremes of the large group, pairs of contrasted members intervening—*adulescens senex, rex parasitus* (cf. Ter. *Phorm.* 338 ff.), but these interrupted by a pair of like members—*pauper mendicus*. The three classes of the Roman people, *ingenui libertini servi*, are exhausted (Leo *Anal. Plaut.* II. 39; Kemmer *Die polare Ausdrucksweise* 90, 116) in equitem peditem, libertinum, furem an fugitivom velis, | verberatum, vinctum, addictum *Poen.* 832; with the first pair cf. Romani tollent equites peditesque cachinnum Horace *A. p.* 113, and with the alliterative pair *furem* . . . . *fugitivom* cf. *Ps.* 365, *Trin.* 1024, 1027, and with *furem* = *servom* cf. quid *domini* faciunt,

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audent cum talia *fures?* Verg. *Eclog.* 3. 16; et *dominum* fallunt et prosunt *furibus* Horace *Epist.* 1. 6. 46.

Abstract nouns which from our English point of view appear to have little association with one another will sometimes, on further study, reveal an interrelation in the Latin that conduces to at least a loose grouping. Verse-division, alliteration, and the co-ordinating conjunction suggest a grouping in rem fidem honorem, | gloriam et gratiam *Trin.* 272; and similarly, perhaps (though it is difficult to say whether *fama* belongs with *res fides* on account of the alliteration, or with *virtus decus*), in res fides fama, virtus decus | deseruerunt *Most.* 144. Some such grouping is certainly indicated by the usage of Plautus and later prose: res et fides *Truc.* 45, rem fidemque *Truc.* 58, res aut honos Cic. *Quinct.* 9, et rem et famam 62, sive fides . . . . sive honos *De leg. agr.* 2. 23. The other pairs in the following couplet suggest that *virtutes* . . . . *honores* belong together: sibi sua habeant regna reges, sibi divitias divites, | sibi honores sibi virtutes, sibi pugnas sibi proelia *Curc.* 178. Less symmetrical but quite as characteristic of the author is the grouping of libertas salus vita, res et parentes, patria et prognati *Amph.* 650; these groups are not sharply distinguished; in thought *parentes* and *prognati* belong together, but the sound-effects influence the grouping in the last two pairs; the association of ideas for the Roman, especially in the triad, comes out in Cicero's grouping: salus patria fortunae *Planc.* 79; salutem et vitam *Sest.* 128, *Planc.* 1, *Deiot.* 30, *Verr.* 2. 3. 164; iura libertatem salutem *Cluent.* 155; de periculo salutis ac libertatis *De leg. agr.* 1. 21. The same general thought is expressed elsewhere in smaller compass and different grouping; (erum meretrix) privabit bonis luce, honore atque amicis *Truc.* 574. *Lux* in the *Truc.* and *vita* in the *Amph.* obviously correspond; this correspondence and the examples from Cicero perhaps assure us of the association in ego nunc tibi sum summus Iuppiter, | idem ego sum Salus Fortuna Lux, Laetitia Gaudium *Capt.* 863; the division between the triad and the pair is blurred by the alliterative unity of Lux Laetitia, but such lack of distinctness in grouping is not infrequent in our examples.

It is not my intention to ascribe to Plautus a conscious precision in these groupings; it suits my purpose rather to admit a

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considerable amount of vagueness, a blurring of the division between groups, a constant rivalry between sound and sense. This, rather than the monotonous precision of Minucius Felix, is what we should expect in the early stages of conscious artistic expression. One cannot be positive that the grouping in the following couplet is that indicated by my punctuation: Amor, Voluptas Venus Venustas, Gaudium, | Iocus Ludus, Sermo Suavisaviatio *Bacch.* 115; in elegiac poetry *Venus* and *Voluptas* occasionally appear in more or less close relation, but there is nothing to prevent a grouping by pairs in the first four words (the caesural pause, indeed, favors it) except the alliterative unity of the three that I have marked as a distinct group; so far as the thought is concerned Gaudium | Iocus Ludus might form a triad (cf. Laetitiam Ludum Iocum *Merc.* 846), though the verse-division may form a partial barrier to such a grouping; the association of *iocus ludus* is certain—cf. *Capt.* 770 (ludum iocum), *Merc.* 846 (ludum iocum), *Ps.* 65 (a repetition of our verse), Cic. *Cael.* 46 (ludus iocus), *Verr.* 2. 1. 155 (per ludum et iocum), and Terence *Eun.* 300 (ludum iocumque); the association in the *sermo amatorius* comes out clearly in Ovid: mille facesse *iocos.* turpest nescire puellam | *ludere*: *ludendo* saepe paratur amor *Ars amat.* 3. 367; hos ignava *iocos* tribuit natura puellis; | materia *ludunt* uberiore viri *Ars amat.* 3. 381. The significant thing in the *Bacch.* is the combination of sound-groups and sense-groups. Similarly in these verses: Neptunum, Virtutem Victoriam, | Martem Bellonam *Amph.* 42, in which *Mars* and *Bellona* are associated in thought (cf. nam neque *Bellona* mi unquam neque *Mars* creduat *Bacch.* 847), but *Virtus Victoria* form an alliterative pair as well as a loose unit of thought. A longer list of divinities falls into groups in which the unity is now external, now internal: ita me Iuppiter Iuno, Ceres, | Minerva, Lato (MSS Latona), Spes Opis, Virtus Venus, | Castor Polluces, Mars Mercurius, Hercules, | Summanus Sol Saturnus, dique omnes ament *Bacch.* 892; a more symmetrical grouping is possible if *Ceres Minerva Lato*, and *Mars Mercurius Hercules* may form trinities of female and male divinities, but in cult I find no evidence for these trinities, and Plautus has no parallel; the other groups are for the most part obvious; for *Spes Opis* cf. Sjögren *De particulis*

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copulativis ap. Pl. et Ter. 25. The character of the speaker and the situation excuse this elaborate grouping: laudem lucrum, ludum iocum, festivitatem ferias, | pompam penum potationes, saturitatem, gaudium *Capt.* 770; *laudem lucrum* is not only an alliterative group but a pair of contrasted ideas (intelleges quantum inter lucrum et laudem intersit Cic. *Phil.* 2. 115); nor is *pompam* (the procession of slaves bringing provisions—*Bacch.* 114, *Cas.* 719, *St.* 683, *Truc.* 549) associated with the other members of the triad merely by sound; in general, sound and sense unite to form the association in each group in rather unusual fashion.

Editors may perhaps question whether it is advisable to indicate by the punctuation, as I have done, the grouping of nouns. In only one case, so far as I have noticed, in these larger groups does so sympathetic an editor as Leo choose this visible means of interpretation: vim metum, cruciatum curam, iurgiumque atque inopiam *Merc.* 162. In his critical note Leo refers to *Merc.* 247 (cura cruciabar), and for *vim metum* to Laberius 102 (nullus timor, vis nulla, nulla auctoritas), Cic. *Caec.* 43 ff. (*vis* produces *terror animi*), *De officiis* 2. 22. For *iurgium . . . . inopiam* he might have added the juxtaposition (hardly a grouping) of iniuria, | inopia, contumelia (et dispendium) in *Merc.* 29 (the genuineness of which, however, Leo denies). The difficulty of using punctuation to indicate such grouping will appear from cura miseria aegritudo, lacrumae lamentatio *Merc.* 870; here the alliterative pair stands apart from the rest, and cura miseria aegritudo are partly paralleled by cura aegritudo nimiaque elegantia *Merc.* 19, but in spite of the possibility of such smaller groups the interrelation of the five nouns is so close as to make the distinction of a triad and a pair somewhat misleading.

III

Such variety and elasticity and lack of precision in grouping as we have thus far observed should prevent us from viewing with suspicion collocations which appear unsymmetrical. It is our first duty to assure ourselves that we understand the connotation of the words from the Roman point of view; this understanding

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occasionally brings partial order out of chaos. Even if this fails, we are not too hastily to question the genuineness of the text.

A perfect balance accentuated by the verse-division is obvious in qui aut Nocti aut Dii | aut Soli aut Lunae miserias narrant suas *Merc.* 4 (cf. si tu illum solem sibi solem esse diceres, | se illum lunam credere esse et noctem qui nunc est dies *Bacch.* 699). But when we read such a different grouping as diem, aquam, solem lunam, noctem, haec argento non emo *As.* 198 (in which *solem lunam* again attract each other, *diem* . . . . *noctem* bracket the group, *aqua* interrupts the symmetry), Leo's critical note seems unsympathetic: "nescio an dies et nox ad *solem lunam* interpretamenta sint, cum in versum reciperentur male collocata (aliter *Bacch.* 255, 699 f.)." Certainly *Bacch.* 255, to which Leo refers, rather confirms our notion that Plautus is not to be held to any rigid precision in grouping, instead of justifying a suspicion that *As.* 198 is not altogether the work of Plautus; *Bacch.* 255 reads: Volcanus, Luna Sol, Dies, di quattuor, | scelestiorem nullum inluxere alterum. *Luna Sol* (MSS Sol Luna) again form a pair, *Volcanus* and *Dies* are rather loosely prefixed and appended, *Dies* is perhaps attracted to *di* for sound-effect.[1]

With even less approval do I regard the objections of Ribbeck (*Emendat. Merc. Pl. Spicilegium* 13) to a part of another long

[1] *Volcanus* is certainly not easy to account for. The editors are reminded of Caesar's trinity of German gods, Solem et Vulcanum et Lunam (*B. G.* 6. 21), but this hardly explains the arrangement in Plautus. Nor may one derive much satisfaction from Servius (*Aen.* 3. 35): nonnulli eundem Solem et Vulcanum dicunt: cf. Hesychius, *s. v.* Ἥφαιστος· παρά τισι δὲ ὁ ἥλιος; both of which statements may reflect Orphic identification (cf. *Festschrift für Gomperz* 8). The very late and peculiar account of an alliance between *Sol* and *Vulcanus* in Paulinus Nola c. 32. 135 ff. (cf. Wissowa *Religion der Römer* 187, n. 2) is hardly available. I think we may perhaps explain the appearance of *Volcanus* in Plautus as in some measure due to his Greek source; elsewhere in Plautus (*Epid.* 673, *Men.* 330, *Aul.* 359, *Amph.* 341, *Rud.* 761) *Volcanus* = *ignis;* it may be that the poet was adapting to his Roman audience some such philosophy as is illustrated by Menander 537 K.: ὁ μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος τοὺς θεοὺς λέγει | ἀνέμους, ὕδωρ, γῆν, ἥλιον, πῦρ, ἀστέρας (cf. Menander 481 K.: τοῦτον εὐτυχέστατον λέγω | ὅστις θεωρήσας ἀλύπως, Παρμένων, | τὰ σεμνὰ ταῦτ' ἀπῆλθεν, ὅθεν ἦλθεν, ταχύ, | τὸν ἥλιον τὸν κοινόν, ἄστρ', ὕδωρ, νέφη, | πῦρ). The appearance of *aqua* in *As.* 198 may also be due to some such passage as these two of Menander, although the idea in the *As.* is more in sympathy with the second fragment than the first; cf. *A.P.* 10. 123. 3-4: ἡδέα μὲν γάρ σοι τὰ φύσει καλά, γαῖα, θάλασσα, | ἄστρα, σελήνης κύκλα καὶ ἡελίου.

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list of nouns; the lover describes the zeal with which he will overcome difficulties in searching for his *amica:*

> neque mihi ulla obsidet amnis nec mons neque adeo mare,
> nec calor nec frigus metuo neque ventum neque grandinem;
> imbrem perpetiar, laborem sufferam, solem, sitim. (*Merc.* 859)

Ribbeck exclaims: "quid ibi, quaeso, imbris et solis commemoratio post enumeratas in v. 860 tempestates sibi volunt? et quam perverse inter caeli iniurias vaga laboris notio infertur!" Although Leo seems to sympathize with Ribbeck to some extent in the branding of the last verse, his reference to Tibullus i. 2. 29 ff. certainly answers Ribbeck's second objection: non mihi pigra nocent hibernae *frigora* noctis, | non mihi cum multa decidit *imber* aqua. | non *labor* hic laedit, ... There can be no doubt that, in the *sermo amatorius*, *labor* was easily associated with the disagreeable effects of the weather. But the noteworthy feature of the verse is the distinctly Plautine arrangement of the nouns: the nouns naturally associated in meaning are *labor* and *sitis* (cf. servitus sudor sitis *Merc.* 674), *imber* and *sol;* but the members of these two pairs are separated one from the other that the verse may end with the sibilant *sufferam solem sitim*, begin with a succession of *mbr*-sounds, and produce other sound-effects which are more easily appreciated than described.

IV

The *Mercator*, from the Greek of Philemon, contains a remarkable number of groups of adjectives and verbs as well as of nouns (4, 19 ff., 25 ff., 162, 310, 630, 640, 646, 674, 833, 846 ff., 852 ff., 859 ff., 870). Perhaps the Greek author was prone to forming extensive groups of words of the same category (cf. Leo *Anal. Plaut.* III. 8). Most of these groups have already been discussed. Two are of such extent and difficulty as to require special treatment.

The longest of the groups has aroused suspicion. Leo, after Dziatzko, brackets the greater part of it; Ribbeck rejects the whole of it (*Spicilegium* 8 ff.); forming as it does part of the prologue, it has suffered from the general prejudice against that portion of the play. It is not my purpose primarily to defend the

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authenticity of the whole or any part of it, but to consider it without prejudice as it stands. The lover, Charinus, interrupts his account of his love affair with a digression (which, he says, is characteristic of lovers); this digression consists of a list of the *vitia* to which a lover is subject; I print the text of Leo (*Merc.* 18 ff.):

nam amorem haec cuncta vitia sectari solent,
cura aegritudo nimiaque elegantia,
[haec non modo illum qui amat, sed quemque attigit
magno atque solido multat infortunio,
nec pol profecto quisquam sine grandi malo
praequam res patitur studuit elegantiae.
sed amori accedunt etiam haec quae dixi minus:
insomnia, aerumna, error, terror et fuga,
ineptia stultitiaque adeo et temeritas,
incogitantia excors, immodestia,
petulantia et cupiditas, malevolentia,
inertia (MSS ineret etiam), aviditas, desidia, iniuria,
inopia, contumelia et dispendium,]
multiloquium:
. . . . . .
nunc vos mi irasci ob multiloquium non decet.

Leo's comment is contained in his critical note introducing the prologue: . . . . tantum amplificatio versuum 18. 19, quae legitur vv. 20–30, aut retractata aut post Plautum scripta est, quippe quae vitiorum ordinem nullum praebeat sed fortuitam et qualem versus patiebantur farraginem (cf. Dziatzko *Rhein. Mus.* XXVI. 437); scilicet componenda sunt cupiditas et aviditas, malevolentia iniuria contumelia, inopia dispendium, haec ad elegantiam, insomnia aerumna ad curam aegritudinem (19) pertinent: haec in initio, dispendium in fine catalogi.

This criticism involves certain presuppositions which all of us are not prepared to grant: e. g., that Plautus may not repeat and amplify his own words (cf. Kellerman *De Plauto sui imitatore*, Leipzig, 1903), that a *fortuita farrago* (if properly defined) is not characteristic of his style. Without begging these important questions let us consider the connotation of the words in the passage; let us discover, if it be possible, whether this connotation

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affords any justification for the arrangement: from the results of our previous study we shall infer only that sound and sense will be important factors.

Cura aegritudo nimiaque elegantia (19) constitute a loose triad, the genuineness of which Leo does not question: the third member of the triad is not so closely associated with the first two as they are with each other, but this is characteristic (cf. *Anal. Plaut.* III. 12–16). A closer triad is found in cura miseria aegritudo . . . . *Merc.* 870. *Cura* is a commonplace of the *sermo amatorius;* for *aegritudo* cf. Amor amara dat tamen, satis quod *aegre* sit *Trin.* 260, and for *cura* and *aegritudo* cf. fuisset tum illos mi *aegre* aliquod dies, | at non cottidiana *cura* haec angeret animum Terence *Phorm.* 159; for *elegantia*[1] cf. (a description of Amor) blandiloquentulus, harpago, mendax, cuppes, avarus, elegans, despoliator *Trin.* 239.

There follows (20–23) a parenthetical digression enlarging upon the disastrous effects of *elegantia:* not only is the lover ruined, *sed quemque attigit* (*elegantia amatoris*). Awkward as the parenthesis is, it is perhaps worth noting that the transition from the triad to the digression is somewhat like the sequence of thought in the same lyrical passage of the *Trinummus* to which we have referred already and which serves to parallel so many parts of our passage (the *Trinummus*, also, is from the Greek of Philemon); in the *Trinummus* the lover's extravagance has been described at length (242–54); this extravagance makes him an *inops amator* (255); the conclusion is that although it is *dulce* to lead this life of expensive dissipation, Love *amara* dat tamen, satis quod *aegre* sit (cf. *aegritudo*); then the far-reaching effects of this *elegantia* and *aegritudo* are perhaps suggested in 261–64: the lover fugit forum, fugitat suos cognatos, fugat ipsus se ab suo contutu | neque eum sibi amicum volunt dici.[2]

[1]The transition from fastidiousness to extravagance is easy in experience and semasiology: cf. in a very different context: Crassus erat elegantium parcissimus, Scaevola parcorum elegantissimus Cic. *Brut.* 148, where the contrast between *elegans* and *parcus* suggests the meaning of the lover's *elegantia*. Cf. Gellius, 11. 2. 1; Nonius 465. 11.

[2]The idea is that briefly expressed in *Truc.* 574: (erum meretrix) privabit bonis luce, honore atque amicis.

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In 24 the speaker resumes the *vitia*. *Insomnia* and *aerumna* are drawn to each other by the *-mn-* common to both of them. For the lover's *aerumna* cf. qui amans egens ingressus est princeps in Amoris vias | superavit aerumnis is suis aerumnas Herculi *Pers.* 1; edepol qui amat, si eget, adficitur misera aerumna *Curc.* 142. The transition from *aerumna* to the group *error, terror et fuga* is a natural one for the Roman: cf. furor atque aerumna gravescit (amantis) *Lucr.* 4. 1069; and in philosophical parlance: ex quibus humanae vitae *erroribus* et *aerumnis* fit ut. . . . . Cic. *Frag. deperd. libr. phil.* v. 88 Baiter-Kayser; Plautus himself associates the ideas: multiplex *aerumna* me exercitam habet, | paupertas, *pavor* territat mentem animi *Epid.* 529. *Error, terror et fuga* are associated in sound (cf. algor error pavor *Rud.* 215) and in thought. The association in thought between *error* and *terror* seems to reflect psychological theory: cf. quod errorem animis perturbationemque adferat Cic. *De div.* i. 62; ergo ut constantia scientiae, sic perturbatio erroris est Cic. *Tusc. disp.* 4. 80. Indeed the general association of ideas in this verse and in the following verses is clearer to me after reading a passage of Cicero (obviously of Greek origin: was the Greek of Philemon's play influenced by a similar theory?):

huius igitur virtutis contraria est vitiositas—sic enim malo . . . . appellare eam quam Graeci κακίαν appellant; . . . . ex qua concitantur *perturbationes*, quae sunt. . . . . *turbidi animorum concitatique motus, aversi a ratione* et inimicissimi mentis vitaeque tranquillae. inportant enim *aegritudines* anxias atque acerbas animosque adfligunt et debilitant *metu;* idem inflammant *adpetitione nimia*, quam tum *cupiditatem* tum libidinem dicimus, inpotentiam quandam animi *a temperantia et moderatione plurimum dissidentem.* quae si quando adepta erit id quod ei fuerit concupitum, tum ecferetur alacritate, "ut nihil ei constet" quod agat, ut ille qui "voluptatem animi nimiam summum esse *errorem*" arbitratur. eorum igitur malorum in una virtute posita sanatio est. quid autem est non miserius solum, sed foedius etiam et deformius quam *aegritudine* quis adflictus, debilitatus, iacens? cui miseriae proxumus est is qui adpropinquans aliquod malum metuit exanimatusque pendet animi. quam vim mali significantes poetae inpendere apud inferos saxum Tantalo faciunt . . . . ea communis poena *stultitiae* est; omnibus enim quorum mens abhorret a ratione, semper aliqui talis *terror* inpendet. atque ut haec tabificae mentis perturbationes sunt, *aegritudinem* dico et *metum*, sic hilariores illae, *cupiditas avide semper aliquid expetens* et

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inanis alacritas, id est laetitia gestiens, non multum differunt ab *amentia*. ex quo intellegitur qualis ille sit quem tum *moderatum*, alias *modestum*, tum *temperantem*, alias constantem continentemque dicimus; non nunquam haec eadem vocabula ad frugalitatis nomen tamquam ad caput referre volumus. quod nisi eo nomine virtutes continerentur, numquam ita pervolgatum illud esset ut iam proverbii locum obtineret, hominem frugi omnia recte facere. quod idem cum Stoici de sapiente dicunt, nimis admirabiliter nimisque magnifice dicere videntur. (*Tusc. disp.* 4. 34–36.)

These words and ideas also have their place in the *sermo amatorius*. For the idea in *error* cf. Pichon *De sermone amatorio, s. v. errare*, especially Blanditiae comites tibi erunt Errorque Furorque Ovid *Amor.* i. 2. 35. This mad impetuosity of love causes the lover's apprehension; *terror* is not the technical word for this, but is here chosen in place of the usual *timor* or *metus* for the assonance with *error;* this apprehension in the *sermo amatorius* is usually a fear "imprimis ne fallantur aut decipiantur" (Pichon *De sermone amatorio, s. vv. timere, metuere*): cf. fit quoque longus amor, quem diffidentia nutrit: | hunc tu si quaeres ponere, pone *metum*. | qui *timet* ut sua sit, nequis sibi detrahat illam, | ille Machaonia vix ope sanus erit Ovid *Remed. amor.* 543; (Propertius fears that Cynthia is proving faithless at Baiae) non quia perspecta non es mihi cognita fama, | sed quod in hac omnis parte *timetur* amor, and he adds that if the letter causes her sorrow, culpa *timoris* erit Prop. i. 11. 17; *timidus* sum (ignosce *timori*) | et miser in tunica suspicor esse virum Prop. ii. 6. 13; (Propertius fears that Lynceus has stolen the affections of Cynthia) ipse meas solus, quod nil est, aemulor umbras, | stultus, quod stulto saepe *timore* tremo Prop. ii. 34. 19. There are, to be sure, other occasions for the lover's fear; but generally it is the discovery that this sort of fear is justified, that the object of one's love is unattainable, which leads to the *fuga*[1] here combined with

[1] This interpretation differs from that of Leo, who refers to *Trin.* 259 ff. But as I understand the *Trinummus*, the *fuga* there is not the conventional *fuga*, but the result of loss of self-respect; as Plautus expresses it in *Truc.* 574: (erum meretrix) privabit bonis luce, *honore atque amicis*. It seems to me more likely that *terror* in our passage requires the sort of *fuga* conventional in the *sermo amatorius*, especially as this often results from the lover's discovery that his *metus* or *timor* is justified. And I regard it as certain that the author of our verses, whether Plautus or not, would have in mind the action of the play, in which *terror* and *fuga*, as I show above, are perfectly illustrated.

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terror. This association of *terror* and *fuga* in this sense cannot be better illustrated than by Charinus' own experience as set forth in the action of the *Mercator* 588 ff. At the beginning of this scene, before and after the entrance of Eutychus with the news that the girl has become the property of another, the *terror* of Charinus is vividly portrayed. No sooner is he acquainted with the facts than he gives way to utter dejection which issues in the determination to leave the country: non possum durare, certumst exsulatum hinc ire me (644). Eutychus' arguments against this decision are also worth quoting, not only because they set forth the conventional aspects of this *fuga* (Love is not to be eluded: cf. Pichon *op. cit.*, *s. v. fugere;* Hoelzer *De poesi amatoria a comicis Atticis exculta*, etc. 13 ff.), but also because the passage illustrates certain connotations of *inopia* and *cupiditas* that may serve us later in interpreting vss. 30, 28 of our prologue:

> quid tu ais? quid quom illuc quo nunc ire paritas veneris,
> si ibi amare forte occipias atque item eius sit *inopia*,
> iam inde porro aufugies, deinde item illinc, si item evenerit?
> quis modus tibi *exsilio* tandem eveniet, quis finis *fugae*?
> quae patria aut domus tibi stabilis esse poterit? dic mihi.
> cedo, si hac urbe abis, amorem te hic relicturum putas?
> si id fore ita sat animo acceptum est, certum id, pro certo si habes,
> quanto te satiust rus aliquo abire, ibi esse, ibi vivere,
> adeo dum illius te *cupiditas* atque amor missum facit. (649–57)

Error, *terror et fuga*, therefore, in Charinus' own experience represent an unbroken sequence; for that *error* forms a part of his experience is stated at least once: miser amicam mihi paravi, animi causa, pretio eripui, | ratus clam patrem me meum posse habere; is rescivit et vidit et perdidit me; | neque is quom roget quid loquar cogitatumst, | ita animi decem in pectore incerti certant | . . . . tantus *cum cura* meost *error* animo 341–47. It is true that here the *error* is mere uncertainty of purpose, but such mental perturbation variously manifested is the *error* referred to in the *sermo amatorius* and in the psychological theory.

The transition from this group to the triad of *vitia* in 26 is also perfectly smooth. The passage quoted from the *Tusculan Disputations* states that the *perturbationes* are *aversi a ratione*,

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and Cicero elsewhere associates the ideas of 25 and 26: e. g., *error* et *temeritas* populorum (rem) a multitudine ad paucos transtulit *Repub.* i. 52; *errorem* autem et *temeritatem* . . . . *Acad.* i. 42; *errore*, levitate, *temeritate Acad.* ii. 66. The triad itself is formed in Plautus' characteristic fashion; the first two members are almost synonymous, the third describes a more intense manifestation of the same qualities (cf. Leo *Anal. Plaut.* III. 15: . . . . tertium quod additur vim sermoni non per numerum tantum addit, eo quod . . . . in gradum altiorem educit). In the *sermo amatorius* the lover's folly is a commonplace and needs no illustration; his rashness is less conventional, but cf. Pichon *op. cit. s. v. temerarius.*[1]

The irrational condition produced by love is described in still stronger terms in the pair of vs. 27, incogitantia excors, immodestia. So Cicero in the *Tusc. disp.* above, after describing the effects of the *perturbationes*, concludes: ex quo intellegitur qualis ille sit quem tum moderatum, alias modestum, tum temperantem, alias constantem continentemque dicimus. The pair is linked together by the common initial syllable. The adjective *excors* makes the group unsymmetrical, but no more so than *nimia* in the triad of 19, and the *co*-sounds in *incogitantia excors* bind the two together; cf. excordem caecum incogitabilem *M. G.* 544.

Just before his reference to the *homo modestus*, Cicero discriminates between two kinds of *perturbationes: tabificae*, including *aegritudo* and *metus; hilariores*, including *cupiditas avide semper aliquid expetens et inanis alacritas.* The lover's *cupiditas* is for the object of his love: so Eutychus in 656 asks Charinus why he does not rusticate adeo dum illius te *cupiditas* atque amor missum facit. Amor himself is harpago . . . . cuppes, avarus . . . . *Trin.* 239. In vs. 28 of our passage this *cupiditas* is grouped with *petulantia.* We expect some association

[1] In Greek philosophy the equivalent of *temeritas* is *προπέτεια*; in this connection it is interesting to note Kaibel's skilful interpretation of *προπέτεια*, with the help of philosophical theory, in Callimachus' amatory epigram 42 (W.); cf. *Hermes* XXXI (1896), 266–68:

εἰ μὲν ἑκὼν Ἀρχῖν' ἐπεκώμασα, μυρία μέμφου,
εἰ δ' ἄκων ἦκω, τὴν προπέτειαν ἔα.
Ἄκρητος καὶ Ἔρως μ' ἠνάγκασαν, ὧν ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν
εἷλκεν, ὁ δ' οὐκ εἶα τὴν προπέτειαν ἐᾶν.

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between them. This is supplied at once by Cicero's cupiditas avide semper aliquid *expetens*, if we remember the same author's *a petendo petulantia* (*Repub.* 4. 6). The word is very generally combined with *obscenitas*, *libido* in Cicero: cf. Merguet's lexica *s. v.;* e. g., semper audax, *petulans*, libidinosus Sull. 71. And in one case we get in Cicero the same grouping as in Plautus: ea res nunc enim in discrimine versatur, utrum possitne se contra luxuriem ac licentiam rusticana illa atque inculta parsimonia defendere, an deformata atque ornamentis omnibus spoliata, nuda *cupiditati petulantiaeque* addicatur *Quinct.* 92. For the use of the idea in the *sermo amatorius* cf. Pichon, *op. cit., s. v. petere.*[1]

In the same verse with this pair of words stands a third, *malevolentia.* Leo asserts that this is out of place, that its association is properly with *iniuria* (29) and *contumelia* (30). I am convinced that a full understanding of the meaning of the word will justify its position, that it has no connection in thought with *iniuria* and *contumelia* but a connotation that makes *cupiditas* and *petulantia* congenial company. The idea best suited to the grouping here is suggested in *Capt.* 583: est miserorum ut malevolentes sint atque invideant bonis; cf. malevolentia et invidia Sall. *Cat.* 3. 2. *Malevolentia* is not a technical word in the *sermo amatorius; invidia* is the regular term, and usually of the lover's envy of a real or imaginary rival (Pichon *op. cit., s. v. invidere*). The association between the lover's craving for the delights of love, and his envy of the rival who seems to be enjoying them, makes *petulantia et cupiditas* and *malevolentia* altogether congenial neighbors.

Up to this point the juxtaposition of the nouns and their grouping seems above criticism. Thought-units or sound-units have been formed in a fashion quite in harmony with the practice of our author. The transition from group to group has been easy and natural. No such contention can be established for vss. 29, 30. If any verses are to be excised because of illogical arrangement,

[1] Is not *petulantia* in *Cist.* 672 to be directly connected with *peto*? Halisca has lost something valuable; the insistent need of seeking it (cf. 678–87) makes her wretched. I cannot understand Ussing's interpretation (note on vs. 505): petulantia =neglegentia. The lover's *petulantia linguae* is best brought out in Propertius i. 16. 37; cf. Suet. *Tib.* 61.

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these might well furnish some ground for such action. But it is at least an open question whether Plautus is to be held to such strict account, and in any case the juxtaposition in these verses is not necessarily so bad as Leo states.

Vs. 29 begins with a corrupt reading in the MSS. *Ineret etiam* is usually read as *inerit etiam* (Lindsay notes that the MSS reading may represent *inhaeret*). Leo rather plausibly emends to *inertia* (*Archiv für lat. Lex.* IX. 164), which preserves the list of nouns from interruption, but adds to the disorder; for *inertia* belongs with *desidia*. *Aviditas* certainly is a repetition or intensification of *cupiditas*. *Desidia* is regularly used of the inactivity that seems in the *sermo amatorius* to be almost synonymous with love; so in *Merc.* 62: non, ut ego, *amori* neque *desidiae* in otio | operam dedisse . . . . (cf. the last stanza of Catullus 51 on *otium*, and Eur. frag. 324 N. Ἔρως γὰρ ἀργὸν κἀπὶ τοῖς ἀργοῖς ἔφυ; Stobaeus *Flor.* 64. 29 Θεόφραστος ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστιν ἔρως, πάθος ἔφη ψυχῆς σχολαζούσης; Ovid *Remed. amor.* 135–44; Plautus *Truc.* 136–42); it is noteworthy that *desidia* is sharply contrasted with *virtus:* cape sis *virtutem* animo et corde expelle *desidiam* tuo *Trin.* 650, cum *virtute* non cum *desidia* Cic. *Sest.* 138, invidiam placare paras *virtute* relicta? | contemnere, miser. vitanda est inproba Siren | *desidia*, ... Horace *Sat.* 2. 3. 13. This connection between inactivity and active wrong-doing might, with some straining, excuse the juxtaposition of *desidia* and *iniuria*. But *iniuria* is not so often used of actual violence in the *sermo amatorius* as of the faithlessness of the beloved (Pichon *op. cit.*, *s. v.*, and Rothstein's note on Prop. i. 18. 23). It is quite clear to me, however, that Leo's assertion that malevolentia iniuria contumelia, inopia dispendium, should properly be grouped together does not do justice to the juxtaposition in the text. *Malevolentia* I have already explained. The connection between iniuria, | inopia, contumelia is apparent from a verse later in this play: Acanthio brings Charinus the news that the girl has been seen by his father; Charinus in trying to get this information says: quid fers? dic mihi. Acanthio answers: vim metum, cruciatum curam, iurgiumque atque inopiam *Merc.* 161, 162 (cf. above p. 9). The association of *iurgium* and *inopia* may well justify the arrangement

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before us in the prologue: *inopia* is not necessarily the poverty of the *inops* or *pauper amator*, but the condition of being without the object of one's love whether through lack of money or any other cause; this appears also from this same play 650, 651: Eutychus tries to persuade Charinus not to go into exile on account of his losing his sweetheart; quid tu ais? quid quom illuc quo nunc ire paritas veneris, | si ibi amare forte occipias atque item *eius* sit *inopia*, iam inde porro aufugies, ...? This sort of *inopia* is not limited to our play; cf. (of Amor) is mores hominum moros et morosos ecficit: | minus placet magis quod suadetur, quod dissuadetur placet; | quom *inopiast*, *cupias*, quando *eius copiast*, tum non velis *Trin.* 669; and Phaedria, a lover as yet not in possession of his beloved to Antipho already married: tu conicito cetera, | quid ego ex hac *inopia* nunc capiam et quid tu ex istac *copia* Terence *Phorm.* 166. That violent words and acts attend the lover's *inopia* is natural enough, as the grouping *iurgiumque atque inopiam* in *Merc.* 162 attests. It is of course true that such *inopia*, since the woman is regularly a *meretrix*, is usually a result of *inopia argenti*, but our present purpose is simply to defend the juxtaposition of iniuria, | inopia, contumelia. It must be granted that the regular grouping in Latin associates *iniuria contumelia*,[1] and that *inopia* even with the meaning which it consistently bears in the *Mercator* might properly be combined with *dispendium*, but some allowance must be made for the attraction which *iniuria* | *inopia* have for each other (even though they stand in different verses[2]) because of the common syllable *in-*. A comparison with *Merc.* 859 (above p. 11) and other examples in our discussion should have made us familiar with the concessions that our author is ever ready to make for sound-effects.

After this solemn exposition of the *vitia*, it is certainly time for the speaker's humor to assert itself as it does by introducing as a

[1] Patior facile iniuriam, si est vacua a contumelia Pacuv. 279, 280, on which Nonius remarks (430. 15): . . . . iniuria enim levior res est. And see the lexica, *s. vv. contumelia, iniuria.*

[2] The effect of verse-division in such grouping remains to be determined: for the present we may note Gaudium | locus Ludus *Bacch.* 115, and the association in meaning in inopiam | solitudinem *Merc.* 848 (cf. huius inopia et solitudo commemoratur Cic. *Rosc. Amer.* 20, *Quinct.* 5), although the genuineness of the latter verse of Plautus remains to be discussed in the next section.

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maximum vitium in vs. 31 *multiloquium;* this is elaborated in mock-serious fashion with the conclusion (37): nunc vos mi irasci ob multiloquium non decet. It is difficult to see what becomes of the humor involved in this inclusion of *multiloquium* among the *vitia*, if the verses 20–30 which exemplify this *vitium* are expunged.

V

An extremely artificial grouping of nouns is ascribed to Plautus in Leo's interpretation of another passage in the *Mercator*, and a verse containing four nouns appended, without grouping, to the preceding group is expunged:

ecquisnam deus est qui mea nunc laetus laetitia fuat?
domi erat quod quaeritabam: sex sodales repperi,
vitam, amicitiam, civitatem, laetitiam, ludum, iocum;
eorum inventu res simitu pessumas pessum dedi,
iram, inimicitiam, maerorem, lacrumas, exsilium, inopiam,
[solitudinem, stultitiam, exitium, pertinaciam]. (844–49)

Leo's note reads as follows (on 848):

Respondet ira ioco, maeror ludo, lacrumae laetitiae, exilium civitati, inopia vitae; sic Ribbeckius l. s. [=*Emend. Merc. Pl. Spicilegium*] 12 sq., qui delevit v. 849 (cf. Loewius praef. XIII) et agnovit amplificatorem qui versus 24 sq. finxit; idem interpolatum versum locum occupasse dixit desiderati post eum a Ritschelio, quo Charinus nominatus fuerit. solitudo ad inopiam pertinet (Cic. *Pro Quinct.* 5, *Pro Rosc. Amer.* 20, *Ad Q. fr.* 1. 1. 25), pertinacia ad iram (*De fin.* 1. 28). cf. Ter. *Ad.* 303.

In other words 846 and 848 show an approximately chiastic balancing of contrasted ideas; the chiasmus is, however, marred by the position of *amicitiam* and *inimicitiam*, and such an artificial chiastic grouping of nouns is without parallel in Plautus. But let us have Leo's interpretation clearly before us: vitam ~ inopiam, amicitiam ~ inimicitiam, civitatem ~ exsilium, laetitiam ~ lacrumas, ludum ~ maerorem, iocum ~ iram; on the other hand 849 is not genuine, but *solitudo* expands the idea of *inopia* in 848, *pertinacia* the idea of *ira* in 848; the amplifier is the same person who invented vss. 24 ff. discussed in the previous section of this paper. My own contention is that Plautus was quite oblivious of any such chiastic arrangement, that he was more or less conscious of

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two triads in 846 and of three pairs in 848, that the contrast between 846 and 848 is only in the general content of each verse and not between individual members of the two groups of six; finally, that the grouping practically ceases in 849, though the ideas in 849 are in harmony with the content of 848, that 849 may be a later addition, but is comparable to the looser additions in 29–31 as compared with the firmer grouping of 19, 25–28 in the passage discussed in the previous section. The evidence for my interpretation I present as briefly as possible.

1. *Vita amicitia civitas.*—The reflection of Greek philosophical theories of friendship in Plautus Leo has himself briefly indicated in *Plaut. Forsch.* 114 ff. It is not an improbable assumption that the interrelation of life, friendship, and the body politic set forth in Cicero *De amicitia* 22, 23 represents views current in Greece in the time of Philemon:

> Principio qui potest esse "vita vitalis," ut ait Ennius, quae non in amici mutua benevolentia conquiescit? . . . . id si minus intellegitur, quanta vis amicitiae concordiaeque sit, ex dissensionibus atque ex discordiis perspici potest: quae enim domus tam stabilis, quae tam firma civitas est, quae non odiis et discidiis funditus possit everti? ex quo quantum boni sit in amicitia iudicari potest.[1]

2. *Laetitia ludus iocus.*—*Ludus* and *iocus* constitute in Plautus and in later Latin, as we have seen above (p. 8), an inseparable group.[2] To this pair *laetitia* is prefixed for alliterative effect: cf. for the prefixing of a related idea Gaudium | Iocus Ludus *Bacch.* 115, and for alliterative effects with *laetitia*, laetitia lubentiaque *St.* 276, prae laetitia lacrumae *St.* 466.

3. *Ira inimicitia.*—Cf. inimicitia ira ulciscendi tempus observans Cic. *Tusc. disp.* 4. 21.

4. *Maeror lacrumae.*—Cf. . . . . , luctum maerorem, ... *Vid.* ii (viii), cura miseria aegritudo, lacrumae lamentatio *Merc.*

[1] To this should be added the dictum in the same essay (86): sine amicitia vitam esse nullam, with which should be compared Seneca *Ep.* 9. 17; 6. 4; and the Greek expression of the same thought in Aristotle, *Ethic.* 1155 *a.* 5: ἄνευ γὰρ φίλων οὐδεὶς ἕλοιτ' ἂν ζῆν, ἔχων τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγαθὰ πάντα. Cf. Bohnenblust *Beiträge zum Topos περὶ φιλίας* (Bern Diss., Berlin, 1905), p. 11.

[2] This established fact must be the starting-point of any interpretation of the grouping; it at once prevents any such chiastic grouping as Leo suggests.

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870, persuasit maeror anxitudo, error dolor Accius 349, mihi maerores illi luctum, exitium illi exsilium mihi Ennius *Trag.* 230 R.

5. *Exsilium inopia.*—The passage from Ennius just quoted shows how congenial this pair is to the preceding pair. For this pair cf. multis sum modis circumventus, morbo, exsilio atque inopia Ennius *Trag.* 20 R., qui mortem, qui dolorem, qui exsilium, qui egestatem timet Cic. *De off.* 2. 38, egestate exsilio, vinculis verberibus Cic. *De repub.* 3. 34. Further evidence may be attainable in Giesecke *De philos. veterum quae ad exilium pertinent sententiis* (Leipzig, 1891), which I have not been able to secure.

6. *Solitudo stultitia, exitium, pertinacia.*—I have no disposition to defend the authenticity of this verse. It is obvious that the *sex sodales* of 845 leads us to expect a parallelism which is destroyed by the ten *sodales* of 848, 849. But a few comments are not out of place. Leo's contention that *solitudinem* belongs in a group with *inopia* is certainly strengthened by his references to Cicero (*Pro Quinct.* 5, *Pro Rosc. Amer.* 20, *Ad Q. fr.* i. 1. 25), though he might more appropriately have quoted Plautus *As.* 163: solus solitudine ego ted atque ab egestate abstuli. At the same time it is worth noting that *solitudo* is congenial company for *inimicitia* in the negative sense of "being without friends": for this association cf. Cicero *De amicitia* 87, *De off.* 1. 153, Sen. *Ep.* 9. 17, 6. 4, Dio Chrysost. 3. p. 132 R. (*καὶ μὴν ὧν εἶπον ἡδέων τὸ μὲν κοινωνεῖν φίλοις τερπνότατον· μόνον δὲ ἀπολαύειν ἐν ἐρημίᾳ, πάντων ἀηδέστατον, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑπομείνειεν.*) Cf. Bohnenblust *op. cit.*, p. 11. Possibly *pertinacia* is associated with *ira*, as Leo concludes from Cicero *De fin.* 1. 28. It is clear at all events that these four nouns are loosely appended to the more precise groups of 848. Not only is this comparable to the style of *Merc.* 29–31, following 19, 25–28, but if this passage be suspicious, what essential difference is there between these two passages in the *Merc.* and such grouping as we find in *Capt.* 770: laudem lucrum, ludum iocum, festivitatem ferias, | pompam penum potationes, saturitatem, gaudium? Here again, four groups rather precisely formed, are followed by *saturitatem*, which resumes the idea of

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the preceding triad, and by *gaudium*, which certainly repeats in a measure ideas already expressed in the previous verse, although, to be sure, it has a distinct recapitulating climactic force.

An interpretation of these phenomena in Plautus' grouping of nouns is hardly to be ventured until related phases of his style are studied, and the general development of corresponding features in Latin prose and poetry more thoroughly investigated. For the present a few provisional comments may be hazarded. A racial sensitiveness to orderly logical arrangement may be postulated, and at least in the early stages of Latin literature a racial sensitiveness to sound-effects. In Plautus the poet's own individuality was somewhat at odds with the racial sensitiveness to logical arrangements; to some extent this results from the artistic purpose of his work—comic incongruity may have prompted some of the groupings which we have interpreted, and the character and the situation are always factors to be reckoned with; but it is difficult to escape the conclusion, which is patent from comparisons with Terence and the writers of Greek comedy, that there is back of the artistic purpose an exaggerated sensitiveness to sound-effects, and an inherent tendency to break loose from the bonds of precise, logical grouping, a tendency which is manifested equally well in certain phases of his dramatic technique and other features of his style. Doubtless this tendency was more freely indulged because conscious artistic expression was as yet in its beginnings, but whatever may be said for this, no sympathetic reader can fail to detect the strong, exuberant, if somewhat uncouth personality of the Roman poet even in such a subordinate feature of his style: here at least we are far removed from the atmosphere of his Greek originals.

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FINGER-COUNTING AMONG THE ROMANS IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

By Edward A. Bechtel

In spite of the difficulties presented by their cumbersome numerical signs, the Romans were yet able to perform complicated mathematical problems by means of the *abacus* and by a system of finger-counting. The truth of this statement is generally recognized; but when one turns to the various works on Roman private life for information as to the actual use of the second method he is doomed to disappointment. A quotation from one of the most recent writers is perhaps typical.[1] "In arithmetic mental calculation was emphasized, but the pupil was taught to use his fingers in a very elaborate way that is not now thoroughly understood." It is true that in Friedländer and in Marquardt,[2] somewhat fuller statements are found, but they are mainly based upon a later Greek writer, Nicholaus of Smyrna, and fail to present illustrations of any concrete problem. The passage which has long been regarded as a *locus classicus* is Quintilian 1. 10. 35:[3] numerorum quidem notitia non oratori modo sed cuicumque saltem primis litteris erudito necessaria est. In causis vero frequentissime versari solet: in quibus actor, non dico si circa summas trepidat, sed si digitorum saltem incerto aut indecoro gestu a computatione dissentit, iudicatur indoctus.

No suggestion of an actual problem for computation is found until we come to Apuleius, who in defending himself from the charge of magic, is forced to touch upon the delicate question of Prudentilla's age and thus in rather vague language attempts to

[1] Johnston *Private Life of the Romans*, p. 77.

[2] Marquardt *Das Privatleben der Römer* I, p. 98.

[3] The following passages should also be cited to complete the references to this topic from the classical period. Pliny *N. H.* 34. 7. 16: praeterea Ianus geminus a Numa rege dicatus qui pacis bellique argumento colitur digitis ita figuratis ut cccLxv dierum nota aut per significationem anni temporis et aevi esse deum indicent. Suetonius, Claudius 21, adeo ut oblatos victoribus aureos prolata sinistra pariter cum vulgo voce digitisque numeraret.

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refute his opponent's calculations: posses videri pro computationis gestu errasse, quos circulare debueris digitos aperuisse.[1]

The contributions of another African writer to this subject, and indeed to the general topic of mathematical study, have been strangely neglected. I refer to Augustine, the great bishop of Hippo, in whose works, especially his sermons, may be found certain significant passages that throw light upon the method of counting commonly employed in his time. At first thought, a sermon seems a strange field in which to gather material of this nature; yet to one familiar with Augustine's method of biblical exegesis—a method which he learned from Ambrose, who in turn was influenced by Origen and certain schools of Alexandria—it is not a matter of surprise. Briefly stated, this method is that which with almost a caricature of the term he calls the "spiritual" as opposed to the literal interpretation; it is an effort to find in the plain prose of historical narrative with the frequent occurrence of numbers that seemed to him so inconsistent with the dignity of the Holy Scriptures, some hidden mystery of divine revelation, disclosed only to the diligent searcher after the pearl of sacred truth. In this way only had Augustine succeeded in overcoming his distaste for that which had earlier appeared to him trivial or even revolting in some of the Old Testament stories.[2] Naturally the result of this perverted ingenuity is too often something puerile, which would appear ludicrous, were it not tragic in its awful waste of intellectual energy. Add to this a real Pythagorean feeling for the mystery of numbers, so characteristic of many early Christian teachers and so prominent in much of the early literature of the church. One passage may be cited in illustration of Augustine's point of view.[3]

Et horum quidem numerorum causas cur in scripturis sanctis positi sint, potest alius alias indagare vel quibus istae quas ego reddidi praeponendae sint vel aeque probabiles vel ipsis etiam probabiliores: frustra tamen eos esse in scripturis positos et nullas causas esse mysticas cur illic isti numeri commemorentur nemo tam stultus ineptusque contenderit.

Even proper names are given a mystical interpretation in accordance with the numerical value of the letters with which the

[1] Apuleius *Apologia* 89. Cf. L. C. Purser *Hermathena* XXXIII, pp. 391–93.

[2] *Confessiones* 6. 3. 6.

[3] *De Trinitate* 4. 6. 10.

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word is written in its Greek form. To cite one illustration only, Adam is thus made an unconscious prophet of the forty-six years of the building of the temple.[1]

Of the passages more properly illustrating the topic of this paper, the first is found in *Sermon.* clxxv. 1. Here by a species of *contaminatio*, Augustine attempts to find a connection between the "ninety and nine" of the parable, whom he identifies with the Jews, and the goats standing at the left hand on the day of judgment.

Superbiebant Iudaei, extollebant se, alta sapiebant, iustos se putabant et Dominum colligentem peccatores insuper accusabant. Qui ergo superbiebant et alta sapiebant, relicti sunt in montibus, ad nonaginta novem pertinent. Quid est, relicti sunt in montibus? Relicti sunt in timore terreno. Quid est, ad nonaginta novem pertinent? In sinistra sunt, non in dextera. Nonaginta enim et novem in sinistra numerantur: unum adde, ad dexteram transitur.

From the last words, the one conclusion to be drawn is that the members of the congregation addressed by Augustine were perfectly familiar with a method of counting by which the numbers from one to ninety-nine were represented on the left hand, while the sign for one hundred was formed on the right hand. This view is supported by other passages from the sermons which will be mentioned later and particularly by the *Tractatus in Iohannis Evangelium* cxxii. 7: quia in summa centenarii numerus ad dexteram transit.

An interesting parallel is thus presented to the lines of Juvenal *Satire* x. 248, 249 with their reference to the long life of Nestor.

> Felix nimirum qui tot per saecula mortem
> Distulit atque suos iam dextra computat annos.

A second series of interesting passages from Augustine's sermons is based upon his interpretation of John 21. 1–14.[2] After

[1] *Tractatus in Iohannis Evangelium* x. 12: Quomodo ergo ibi invenimus et quadrenarium senarium numerum? Ad litteras computant Graeci. Quod nos facimus *a* litteram, ipsi lingua sua ponunt alpha et vocatur alpha unum. Ubi scribunt δ, vocatur in numeris ipsorum quatuor—*m* quod nos dicimus et illi dicunt my μ, quadraginta significat. Iam videte istae litterae quem numerum habeant et ibi invenietis quadraginta sex annis aedificatum templum.

[2] *Sermones* ccxlviii. 3; ccxlix. 3; ccl. 3; ccli. 5–7; cclii. 8–11; cclxx. 7; *Tractatus in Iohannis Evangelium* cxxii. 8; *Enarrationes in Psalmos* xlix. 9; cl. 1.

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the resurrection Jesus appeared at the Sea of Tiberias to certain of his disciples, who in the discouragement and despair that followed the Crucifixion had returned to their former occupation of fishermen. After casting their net to the right hand at the command of their Lord, they drew it back to land "full of great fishes one hundred and fifty and three." But why one hundred and fifty-three rather than any other number?[1] Here evidently is a sacred mystery for the preacher to interpret to his people and he succeeds in discovering at least two solutions. His favorite explanation, however, is as follows: Seventeen is a significant number, because it is made up of ten, the number of the decalogue (*decem propter legem*) plus seven, the number of the Spirit (*septem propter Spiritum*). Now if all the numbers from unity to seventeen in an ascending arithmetical progression are added, the sum is just one hundred and fifty-three. On several occasions Augustine calls on his audience to follow the calculation for themselves and his words offer us some hint of the method employed, although unfortunately only the earlier combinations in the addition are mentioned.

Sermon. ccxlviii. 5 and cclxx. 7: Apud vos numerate: sic computate. Decem et septem faciunt centum quinquaginta tres: si vero computes ab uno usque ad decem et septem et addas numeros omnes—unum, duo, tria: sicut unum et duo et tria faciunt sex; sex, quatuor et quinque faciunt quindecim: sic pervenis usque ad decem et septem, portans in digitis centum quinquaginta tres.

We are justified, surely, in drawing from this passage the conclusion that in the congregation of this North African church, composed mainly of persons in humble circumstances and apparently with rather slight educational advantages, there were many who were able to perform rapidly on their fingers this calculation, which, it must be admitted, is not one of great simplicity.

In his commentary on the same text, Augustine again alludes to the use of the right hand for numbers above one hundred. Thus in *Sermon.* ccli. 7 after the explanation of the mystical

[1] *Sermones* ccxlviii. 1: Numquam hoc Dominus iuberet nisi aliquid significare vellet, quod nobis nosse expediret. Quid ergo pro magno potuit ad Iesum Christum pertinere, si pisces caperentur aut si non caperentur? Sed illa piscatio nostra erat significatio.

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number, this exhortation follows: cum pertinueris ad decem et septem, iam exinde excrescet numerus ad centum quinquaginta tres. Eris ad dexteram coronandus: ne remaneas ad sinistram damnandus.

A question naturally arises as to the identity of the system of computation thus employed in Africa at the close of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth, with that in vogue in Italy at the time of Quintilian. In this connection it should be remembered that while Augustine was trained in the African cities of Thageste and Carthage, yet the educational system of these provincial schools was practically identical with that of Italy, where indeed he afterward taught, and in all probability had not been greatly changed since the time of the early empire. More positive evidence, however, is afforded by a comparison with the early mediaeval system of counting as it has been handed down to us in the work of the Venerable Bede (672–735) entitled *De loquela per gestum digitorum et temporum ratione.*[1] This must have been drawn from early sources; at the same time, it is in complete accord with the passages cited from Augustine.

Fortunately we have additional evidence from a contemporary of Augustine in a far-distant province, Jerome, in letters written from his retreat at Bethlehem. In support of his favorite thesis of the supreme glory of chastity and the unequal merit of the three orders among Christians, the virgins, the widowed, and the married, he finds an analogy in the seed that "brought forth fruit, some an hundred-fold, some sixty-fold, some thirty-fold." His interpretation of this parable is thus developed in Letter xlviii. 2.

Centesimus et sexagesimus et tricesimus fructus quamquam de una terra et de una semente nascatur, tamen multum differt in numero. Triginta referuntur ad nuptias quia et ipsa digitorum coniunctio, quasi molli osculo se complexans et foederans, maritum pingit et coniugem. Sexaginta vero ad viduas, eo quod in angustia et tribulatione sint positae. Unde et superiori digito deprimuntur, quia quanto maior difficultas expertae quondam voluptatis illecebris abstinere, tanto maius est praemium. Porro numerus centesimus (quaeso diligenter lector attende) de

[1] E. F. Wüstemann in Jahn's *Jahrbücher*, Supplementband XV (1849), pp. 511–15 gives the text and also very interesting illustrations from the Regensburg manuscript.

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sinistra transfertur ad dexteram: et iisdem quidem digitis: sed non eadem manu, quibus in laeva, nuptae significantur, et viduae, circulum faciens, exprimit virginitatis coronam.[1]

Let Bede's description of the representation of these three numbers serve as a commentary: Quum dicis triginta, ungues indicis et pollicis blando coniunges amplexu. Quum dicis sexaginta, pollicem (ut supra) curvatum, indice circumflexo diligenter a fronte praecinges. Centum vero in dextra quemadmodum decem in laeva facies. (Quum dicis decem, unguem indicis in medio figes artu pollicis.)[2]

A comparison of the figurative passage of Jerome with the prosaic instruction of Bede furnishes convincing proof that each was familiar with the same method of the representation of numbers.

To return to Augustine, one somewhat indirect proof of the frequent use of "finger-counting" may be cited. If it be assumed that this was the ordinary method of performing calculations, it is natural to find *digiti* at times employed in a way that does not seem to admit of a literal translation. Thus in *De civitate Dei* xviii. 53, in refutation of certain predictions as to the end of the world, it is said: Omnium vero de hac re calculantium digitos resolvit et quiescere iubet ille qui dicit: non est vestrum scire tempora, quae pater posuit in sua potestate. In the *Enarratio in Psalmum* xxxi. 2. 16 he thus declaims against the astrologers: dicant illi electos et doctos numeratores siderum: dicant illi sapientes eos qui quasi digerunt in digitis fata hominum.

In conclusion, certain mathematical terms employed in the passages already cited may be briefly noted. *Computare* seems to have throughout the specific meaning of "count on the fingers" as opposed to the more general *numerare*.[3] This is consistent also with the use of *computare* or *computatio* in the quotations from Quintilian, Juvenal, and Apuleius in the early part of this paper.

The relation between seventeen and one hundred and fifty-three is thus expressed in *Sermon.* ccli. 5: A decem et septem

[1] Cf. Letter cxxiii. 9.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 513. The Regensburg illustrations explain Jerome's words at a glance. The system of Nicholaus of Smyrna does not seem to be the same.

[3] As in *Sermon.* ccxlviii. 5: apud vos numerate, sic computate.

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nascitur numerus crescens. In other passages *crescendo* is consistently used of an ascending arithmetical series. Where seventeen is said to be the seed (*semen*) of one hundred and fifty-three, the expression is probably figurative, suggested by the preceding sentence.[1] An unusual phrase for an ascending series occurs in *Enarratio in Psalmum* cl. 1: quod decem et septem in trigonum missis, id est ab uno usque ad decem et septem omnibus computatis, ad eundem numerum pervenitur. The phrase *in trigonum mittere* is not mentioned either in Harper's *Lexicon* or in Forcellini, and it was evidently too technical to be readily understood by Augustine's congregation, for it is directly followed by a definition introduced by the explanatory *id est*. It is perhaps, analogous to the English "pyramid-building."

The use of *ducere* is puzzling: sometimes it is a synonym of the more common *multiplicare*, sometimes it means "to add"—a use not noted in the dictionaries. Thus the first sense is illustrated by *Sermon.* cclii. 8: septuaginta quinque bis ducti faciunt centum quinquaginta; but in *Contra Iulianum* iii. 11. 22: nisi cum amborum anni computati et simul ducti centum transisse docerentur, the reference is clearly to the added ages of the husband and wife. The confusion is probably to be explained by the fact that with the Romans, whether finger-counting or the *abacus* was the means employed, the process of multiplication was performed by a series of additions, so that naturally the same term might be employed in either case.

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[1] *Sermon.* cclxx. 7.

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ON CERTAIN SUPPOSED LITERARY RELATIONSHIPS. I

By Campbell Bonner

In his dissertation *De Alciphronis Longique aetate* (Königsberg, 1894) Hermann Reich put forth certain conclusions about the dates of Alciphron and Longus, their literary relations to each other, and the relation of Alciphron to Aelian, which may be briefly stated as follows:

1. Aelian in his *Epistulae Rusticae* imitates the letters of Alciphron. The "floruit" of Alciphron is therefore to be placed, at the latest, some years earlier than the date of Aelian's death (about 229 A. D.); and if, as seems probable, Aelian's *Epistulae Rusticae* are a youthful work, the date of Alciphron's activity must be correspondingly earlier—hardly extending beyond 200. A *terminus post quem* is derived from the circumstance that Alciphron appears to imitate certain dialogues of Lucian,[1] which can hardly be later than 170.

2. Alciphron borrowed some ideas from the pastoral romance of Longus, who is therefore to be placed in the second century.

These conclusions were accepted, not without applause, by Christ (*Gesch. d. griech. Litteratur*[4], p. 762, n. 2, p. 852) and by Norden (*Antike Kunstprosa* I, pp. 437 f.). Rohde uttered an emphatic protest in a brief note which has been incorporated in the second edition of his *Der griechische Roman* (p. 535, n. 3 *a*), and W. Schmid (*Jahresber.* 1901, pp. 258 f.) questioned the validity of Reich's contentions, and indicated in general terms some opposing arguments. It is the purpose of this paper and a following one, which will deal more particularly with Longus, to

[1] That Alciphron did imitate Lucian here and there can hardly be doubted, though in several passages it is probable that the two writers merely drew from the same source—the Comedy; cf. Boldermann, *Studia Lucianea*, pp. 38 ff. Even after the work of Volkmann (*Studia Alciphronea*, I: *de Alciphrone comoediae imitatore*) and some instructive suggestions of Leo (*Plautinische Forschungen*, pp. 128 ff.) there remains, in my opinion, enough material to justify a new and thorough study of Alciphron's relation to the Comedy. At some future time I hope to return to the subject.

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supply what, so far as I can discover, is still lacking—namely, a proof in detail that Reich's views of the interrelations of the three authors are mistaken. The results thus obtained are negative except for some by-products; but that fact will call forth no disparaging criticisms from readers who believe that a convenient but unsound hypothesis is less to be desired than the truth.

Because of the minute and cumulative character of Reich's evidence, it is hard to avoid a tedious particularity in discussing it; on the other hand, considerations of space recommend an allusive treatment, which could be satisfactory only to those who have read Reich's work with scrupulous care. A mean between these extremes has been sought, though certainly not always attained, in the following paragraphs.

I. ALCIPHRON AND AELIAN

Aelian's supposed imitations of Alciphron are found only in the short collection of *Epistulae Rusticae*.[1] Corresponding to them in Alciphron is a much larger number of *Letters of Country Folk*,[2] and it is just here that we find most of the passages supposed to have been imitated by Aelian. In both collections the subject-matter is, broadly speaking, the same, namely the ordinary incidents of rural life. Resemblances of a general nature are therefore to be expected. They would probably be even more numerous, had we the whole of Aelian's collection;[3] on the other hand, the verbal and stylistic differences between Alciphron and Aelian might in that case be even more marked than they are.

These general resemblances prove nothing except, perhaps, that the *epistula rustica* as a literary form antedates both Alciphron and Aelian. Turning to resemblances in detail, we find them by no means numerous. Reich tries to account for this by assuming that Aelian carefully concealed his borrowings (pp. 33 f.).

[1] I follow Hercher and Reich in maintaining the genuineness of these letters; cf. Reich, pp. 26–32, *contra* Christ *Littgesch.*[4], p. 762. May not an argument for their authenticity be drawn from the phrase chosen by Philostratus to describe his style? ἡττίκιζε δὲ ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι (*Vit. Soph.* ii. 31).

[2] Book ii in Schepers' edition, the numbering of which I follow throughout.

[3] The title, ἐκ τῶν Αἰλιανοῦ ἀγροικικῶν ἐπιστολῶν shows that these twenty letters formed part of a larger collection.

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Thus he argues very plausibly (pp. 34 ff.) that in four letters (13–16), which depict the character of a crusty and misanthropic farmer, Aelian has derived several ideas from the *Timon* of Lucian. But when he finds in the fact that Aelian gave another name to his churl a proof that he was carefully concealing his debt to Lucian, it is impossible to follow him (p. 35). Aelian was dealing, as everywhere in these letters, with a somewhat vaguely defined type; to make use of a character to which other authors had already given a strong individuality would have been foreign to his method. Consequently he rejects the name Timon, though he adopts Timonic characteristics for the sketch of his unsociable rustic. Furthermore, in two cases certainly, Aelian has borrowed with no attempt at concealment. In one of these cases (*Ep.* 2), to which I shall revert later, he has paraphrased some lines of Menander's Γεωργός. In the other (*Ep.* 6) he has made use of one of the few humorous passages in Demosthenes—a sentence in Or. 55. 18. The language is very similar, and besides, Aelian has not scrupled to give to the writer of his letter and the person to whom it is addressed the names Callarus and Callicles, both of which occur in Demosthenes' oration. Here, at any rate, there is no careful concealment.

Before entering upon an examination of the parallel passages in Alciphron and Aelian, passing notice must be given to three arguments of a general character, which Reich evidently considers of some importance. They may, however, be dismissed briefly. In the first place, Reich infers from Aelian's unquestioned inferiority to Alciphron in style and diction that the poorer artist imitated the abler (p. 39). This will convince nobody who is versed in the history of literary forms, and it may well be doubted whether Reich himself would employ such reasoning today. Again, Reich calls attention (pp. 42 ff.) to the fact that Aelian represents his characters as Attic farmers (*Ep.* 20), but fails to produce the local color of Attica, as Alciphron does, by intelligent allusions to Attic festivals, place-names, etc. Herein he sees a proof of Aelian's plagiarism. But if we had all of Aelian's letters, Attic allusions would probably be numerous enough to nullify this argument. Besides, as will be shown later, Aelian evidently tried

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to infuse the Attic flavor into these trifling letters by the use of rare Attic archaisms. A similar answer suffices for another of Reich's arguments (p. 44). Pointing out that both Alciphron (iii. 29. 3) and Aelian (*Ep.* 20) take occasion to account for the learned style of the letters by reminding the reader that the characters are Athenians, Reich contends that Aelian's style does not warrant such an explanation, and, consequently, he was merely aping Alciphron, the skilled Atticist. Again a false assumption. The archaizing tendency, as we find it in Aelian, was a recognized pedantry of the time,[1] fully justifying his apology without reference to Alciphron. And may not the apology itself be a motive borrowed from earlier Atticizing *genre*-epistles?[2]

Equally unsatisfactory are certain arguments that Reich derives from resemblances in the subject-matter of the individual letters (pp. 36 ff.). In one pair of letters there is talk of bees and bee-keeping (Alc. ii. 20; Ael. 5)—no resemblances in detail—in three others the life of the farmer is praised (Alc. ii. 12, 13; Ael. 20), two others still are concerned with a countryman's desertion of agriculture for the sea (Alc. ii. 4; Ael. 18). Surely matters of this sort are only the commonplaces of such a literary form as the *epistula rustica*. The violation of the country woman (Alc. ii. 35; Ael. 1) is probably to be reckoned in the same category, though the letter of Aelian is not without a suggestion of the rude phallic song of Dicaeopolis (*Ach.* 271 ff.). The rejection of cheap gifts by a courtesan (Alc. iv. 9; Ael. 7, 8) doubtless played its part in the Comedy,[3] and we find a similar passage in Lucian (*Dial. Mer.* 14). The fact that Alciphron alludes to the story of Timon (ii. 32) while Aelian depicts a crusty, Timon-like farmer (*Epp.* 13–16) only shows that both were impressed by the Timon

[1] Cf. Lucian *Lexiph. passim; Vit. Demon.* 26.

[2] If Rohde is right in his conjecture (*Der griech. Roman*[2], p. 541, n. 5) that the Θαλαττουργοί of Nicostratus was a work analogous to Alciphron's idyllic letters, we may place the writing of *genre* letters as early as the middle of the second century; *vide* Suidas *Νικόστρατος*. On general grounds there is reason to believe that this literary form, preserving as it does the idyllic tendency of the Hellenistic age, was cultivated from the very beginning of the new sophistic movement. It should be noted that Philostratus (*Vit. Soph.* ii. 31) in speaking of Aelian says *ἡ μὲν ἐπιστολὴ ἰδέα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀφέλεια προσβάλλουσά τι τῆς Νικοστράτου ὥρας, ἡ δὲ ἑνίοτε πρὸς Δίωνα ὁρᾷ*, κτλ.

[3] Cf. Volkmann *Stud. Alciphr.*, p. 24; Leo *Plaut. Forschungen*, p. 134.

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legend as handled by other writers—the *Timon* of Lucian or perhaps the comedy of *Timon* by Antiphanes.

The points of similarity in details are worthy of somewhat more respectful consideration. Thus Reich shows (p. 33) that among the thirty-one proper names occurring in the *Letters* of Aelian, eight are also used by Alciphron, a proportion which certainly seems significant at first glance. However, six of these eight names—Χρέμης, Φρυγία, Θρασυλέων, Παρμένων, Λάχης, Φαιδρίας—are sufficiently familiar from the Comedy and other sources. Two are comparatively rare—Ἀνθεμίων and Κωμαρχίδης (Alc. ii. 29; iii. 25; Ael. *Epp.* 2, 4). Yet the former is used by Homer, Plato, Demosthenes, and Plutarch (cf. Pape *Eigennamen*), and it is so suggestive of rural surroundings that it is not strange to find both Alciphron and Aelian using it; compare Alciphron's use of the name Ἀμπελίων (ii. 27). The name Κωμαρχίδης occurs, aside from Alciphron and Aelian, only once; but that once, be it noted, is in Aristophanes (*Peace* 1142). Reich over-boldly declares (p. 42) that no traces of imitation of Aristophanes have been found in Aelian,[1] while on the other hand it is known that Alciphron borrowed from Aristophanes; consequently, Aelian must have taken this name, as well as others, from Alciphron's *Letters*. But proof of Aelian's use of Aristophanes will be forthcoming in the course of this paper, and the argument from proper names must be regarded as worthless.

The remainder of Reich's evidence is concerned almost entirely with rare words, or rare uses of common words, which occur in both Alciphron and Aelian. In the following numbered paragraphs Reich's citations are reproduced, and others are added, especially from the comic poets.[2] An inspection of these additional data should prove that the rarities had a wider circulation

[1] Schmid's study of the language of Aelian (*Atticismus*, Vol. III) was apparently not yet accessible to Reich, though it bears the date 1893.

[2] My obligations to Schmid's lists (*Atticismus* III, on Aelian) are manifest; in strictly verbal matters I have been able to supplement them in only a few cases. Schmid, however, does not deal with connected passages, does not separate comic from other poetic words, and does not note that comic expressions are disproportionately frequent in the *Epistulae Rusticae*. He has divined, but not demonstrated, the true position of Aelian with regard to Alciphron and to the Comedy (*Jahresber.* 1901, p. 258).

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than Reich thought, and consequently that the inference as to an imitation is unwarranted.

1. Let us first examine two connected passages brought together by Reich, and compare with them a third from Aristophanes.

Alc. ii. 15. 1: *τοὐμοῦ παιδίου γενέσια ἑορτάζων ἥκειν σε ἐπὶ τὴν πανδαισίαν, ὦ Πιθακ⟨ν⟩ίων, παρακαλῶ, ἥκειν δὲ οὐ μόνον ἀλλ' ἐπαγόμενον τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ παιδία καὶ τὸν σύργαστρον· εἰ βούλοιο δέ, καὶ τὴν κύνα. . . . .*

Ael. *Ep. rust.* 2: *τὴν οἶν τὴν τὰ μαλακὰ ἔρια, ἣν ἐπαινῶ πρὸς σέ, παρ' ἐμοῦ πρόσειπε καὶ τὼ βοϊδίω καὶ τὴν κύνα, καὶ τὴν Μανίαν καὶ αὐτὴν χαίρειν κέλευε.*

Ar. *Plut.* 1103 ff.:

> *ἀλλ' ἐκκάλει τὸν δεσπότην τρέχων ταχύ,*
> *ἔπειτα τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ παιδία,*
> *ἔπειτα τοὺς θεράποντας, εἶτα τὴν κύνα,*
> *ἔπειτα σαυτόν, εἶτα τὴν ὗν.*

In these three passages the common feature is a humorous mingling of human beings and domestic animals in an invitation, a greeting, or a summons.[1] Having an eye only for Alciphron and Aelian, Reich at once concluded that Aelian copied Alciphron and clumsily overdid the matter, "ut imitatorum est," as he puts it (p. 42). But the resemblance between Aelian's letter and Alciphron's is no more marked than that between Aelian's and the passage from the *Plutus*. In fact the humor of this idea is undoubtedly more distinctly developed in the last two passages than it is in Alciphron's letter. It seems decidedly rash to maintain that Aelian must have got this idea from Alciphron and not directly from Aristophanes.

2. The rare Attic word *φελλεύς*, a rough, stony pasture-land, occurs in Alciphron twice (ii. 18. 2; iii. 34. 3), and in Aelian once (*Ep.* 2). Reich says that he has found it elsewhere only twice—Cratinus, fr. 271 Kock and Isaeus 8. 42. Upon these circumstances he builds the following argument (p. 41): Alciphron uses rare and peculiarly Attic expressions often, while Aelian is

[1] The similarity between the passages in Aristophanes and Alciphron had already been noted by Volkmann (*Studia Alciphronea*, p. 9).

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not wont to employ such unusual words; furthermore, Aelian imitated neither Cratinus nor Isaeus: consequently he must have taken the word φελλεύς from Alciphron—a supposition which gains in likelihood from the fact that it occurs only in the *Letters*. This argument may be met with a direct denial of almost every point. In the first place, the second section of this paper will furnish sufficient proof that Aelian took some extremely rare words from the Attic Comedy. Again, it is by no means certain that he could not have picked up the word φελλεύς from even a cursory reading of some works of Cratinus. He quotes Cratinus twice (*N. A.* xii. 10; *V. H.* ii. 13), and it is probable that he imitates him in a peculiar passage, which will be discussed in the second section, "Aelian and the Comic Poets." Furthermore, Reich seems to have overlooked three important passages in which the word φελλεύς occurs—Ar. *Ach.* 273; *Clouds* 71; Plato *Critias* 111 C—an omission which can hardly be explained except on the supposition that he regarded φελλεύς as a proper name in those places. But it has long since been proved that φελλεύς is a common noun, and not the name of an Attic mountain district.[1] It is just as likely that Aelian learned this word from his readings in Aristophanes or Plato as it is that he borrowed it from Alciphron; and the fact that he uses it only in the *Letters* has just the same significance that we may attach to the occurrence of other rare Atticisms, not used by Alciphron, in this same work. Reich, however, finds what he considers a certain proof of Aelian's unintelligent plagiarism in the fact that he misuses the word φελλεύς, employing it, apparently, in the sense of "stone" instead of "stony ground." The sentence runs Ἡμέρων ὁ μαλακὸς φελλεῖ (MSS φελλέα) ἐπέκοψε τὸ σκέλος (*Ep.* 2) which, if we accept Hercher's reading, we must render as he does, *delicatus Hemero crus in saxum impegit*. This sentence, as will be shown more fully in another connection, is based upon a passage in Menander's Γεωργός where the corresponding words are Κλεαίνετος . . . . πρώην ποτ' ἐν ταῖς ἀμπέλοις | σκάπτων διέκοψε τὸ σκέλος, κτλ. (Geneva fragment 46 ff.). The presence of σκάπτων here, and farther on (l. 65) of δικέλλης, the implement that Cleaenetus was using, sug-

[1] See, for example, Kock on Cratinus fr. 86, or Wyse on Isaeus 8. 42.

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gests δικελλῃ instead of φελλεῖ in the Aelian passage;[1] but it is hard to see how a corruption of Aelian's text could result in a word so unusual as φελλεύς. But granting that Aelian misunderstood the word, it is still not proved that Alciphron was his source. Neither of the two passages where Alciphron uses it would be likely to mislead an interpreter as to its meaning. One of them (ii. 18. 2), where something is said about a thief stealing a goat ἐκ τοῦ φελλέως—hardly "out of a stone"—is clear enough to set the stupidest interpreter right.

3. Another argument of Reich's is concerned with the ironical use of χρυσοῦς, "precious ass," which occurs in Alc. ii. 14. 2 and iii. 33. 1, and in Ael. *Ep.* 19. Reich remarks (p. 38) "ironice autem hanc vocem e scriptoribus Alciphronis tempora antecedentibus nemo nisi Lucianus semel adhibet (*Laps.* 1)." To this should be added Luc. *Indoct.* 9, and I suspect that other examples could be found in Lucian. Two cases to which Schmid calls attention (*Atticismus* I. 303), namely Luc. *Prom. es in verbis* 1, *Peregr.* 33, are figurative but not ironical. But as Schmid points out (*op. cit.* I. 164, 303), the way for this idiom was prepared as early as Plato. Cf. *Phaedr.* 235 E, φίλτατος εἶ καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς χρυσοῦς. Jowett renders this "You are a dear golden simpleton." Cf. also Cassius Dio lxxii. 16.

4. The very rare adverb κορικῶς occurs, as noted by Reich, in Alc. i. 12. 1, αἰσχύνεσθαι κορικῶς, and Ael. *Ep.* 19, αἰδουμένη κορικῶς. Add Ael. *N. A.* ii. 38, βαδίζει δὲ (ἡ ἶβις) ἡσυχῇ καὶ κορικῶς. Aelian's clever application of the word in this last passage to the stately, maidenish tread of the ibis gives him a right to it from which we should hesitate to oust him in favor of Alciphron. Besides, the word was used nearly two centuries before Aelian by Philo *Vit. Mos.* i. 10 (Vol. II, p. 89, Mangey).

5. As another proof of the imitation which he alleges, Reich brings together Alc. iii. 5. 2, θρύπτεται καὶ συνεχῶς ἀκκίζεται, Ael. *Ep.* 9, ἀκκίζονται καὶ θρύπτονται, in which passages the two similar phrases refer to the simulated coyness of wily courtesans. But it should be observed that the MSS of Aelian show here ἀκκίζουσι

[1] Since writing the above I find that the same conjecture has been made by Kaibel, *Götting. Nachrichten*, 1898, p. 158, n. 10.

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καὶ θρύπτουσιν ἑαυτάς, a circumstance which lessens the value of the sentence as evidence, even though we must acknowledge that the use of these verbs in the active voice is unexampled elsewhere. ἀκκίζομαι occurs in practically the same sense in Philippid. fr. 5, Kock, Alc. iv. 10. 1, 13. 15, 14. 5, Ael. fr. 123; in a somewhat broader sense, "to affect indifference," Plat. *Gorg.* 497A, Plut. *Sympos.*, p. 620B, Luc. *De merc. cond.* 14. θρύπτομαι occurs in this same sense Ael. *Ep.* 1, cf. Eupolis, fr. 358 K., Luc. *Dial. mer.* 12. 1, and Ar. *Eq.* 1163, a doubtful text. In a different sense Ael. *V. H.* i. 19, fr. 70.

6. Reich cites αὐτόχρημα as a "vox perrara" (p. 39) from Alc. ii. 22. 2, 26. 1; Ael. *Ep.* 12. He finds it elsewhere only in Ar. *Eq.* 78 and Luc. *Dem. enc.* 13. Pointing out that the *Demosthenis encomium* is not Lucianic, and reiterating the worse than perilous declaration that Aelian never imitates Aristophanes, he argues that Aelian must have borrowed the word in question from the vocabulary of Alciphron (p. 40). He goes on to show, by way of strengthening his case, that Alciphron uses eight compounds of αὐτο- while Aelian has only two in the *Letters*. This ignores the disparity in the length of the works under examination as well as the fact that only a part of Aelian's *Letters* has been preserved. But the whole argument may be disposed of by a fuller statement of the usage of αὐτόχρημα.[1] Add Ael. *N. A.* ii. 44; xiv. 10; *V. H.* iv. 20, *Ep. rust.* 8, fr. 118, a fragment in *Etym. Magn.* 438. 16 attributed by Nauck to Alciphron (Alc., ed. Schepers, p. 157), schol. Luc. *Pisc.* 37. The word also occurs a number of times in Aristides (*vide* Schmid's indexes). The contention that Aelian must have got the word from Alciphron is untenable in the face of the references given.

7. Alc. ii. 34. 3: τῷ δ' ἐγὼ ἐγκανάξας κύλικα εὐμεγέθη φλυαρίας φάρμακον ὤρεγον, ὁ δὲ καὶ ταύτην καὶ πλείονας ἐπὶ ταύτῃ καὶ ἀδροτέρας ἐκπιὼν οὐκ ἐπαύσατο τῆς ἀδολεσχίας. Ael. *Ep.* 4 τρεῖς ἀδρὰς ἐξεκάναξα κύλικας. This comparison does not, as Reich thinks (p. 39) throw any light upon Aelian's supposed imitation of Alciphron. ἐγκανάσσω and ἐκκανάσσω are two different verbs. The former appears to be found elsewhere only in Ar. *Eq.*

[1] For this word my notes were materially supplemented by Schmid's lists.

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105,[1] the latter only in Eupolis Φιλ. 272 (Kock), τήνδε (*sc.* κύλικα) αὐτὸς ἐκκανάξει. Aelian's readings in the Comedy, which will be more fully illustrated in section II, makes it quite permissible to explain the use of this verb as a borrowing from Eupolis. ἁδρότερον πιεῖν is found in Diphil. Αἰρ. 5 (Kock).

8. κιχλίζειν, Alc. ii. 24. 2; iii. 42. 2; iv. 6. 3; Ael. *Ep.* 11. This rare verb occurs also in Ar. *Nub.* 983, fr. 333 (H. and G.), and in Theocr. xi. 78.[2] That Aelian was indebted for it to Alciphron rather than to Aristophanes is by no means clear.

9. Alc. ii. 18. 2: ὁ δὲ λύκος ἀργαλέος πάροικος, Ael. *Ep.* 13: σὺ δὲ . . . . ἄγροικος εἶ καὶ γείτοσιν οὐκ ἀγαθὸς πάροικος . . . . καὶ μέγα κέκραγας ἰδὼν ἄνθρωπον ὡς διώκων λύκον, καὶ ἀργαλέος εἶ . . . .: These passages are cited only to show at what straws Reich catches (p. 38). If any point in the comparison deserves attention it is the personal or quasi-personal use of ἀργαλέος, which is stated by L. and S. to be rare in prose. This use, however, is found in Ar. *Nub.* 450, *Eq.* 978, Menander Πλοκ. 2 (Meineke), all of which cases are cited by L. and S., and Luc. *Pseudol.* 19 may be added.

Such is Reich's evidence, which, in strict fairness to his method, I have been obliged to discuss at undesirable length. It will be observed that he does not call attention to even one point of resemblance between Alciphron and Aelian which cannot be explained in one of three ways: as a natural characteristic of the *genre* epistle as a literary form, as a feature taken by both writers from earlier sources, or as an expression belonging to contemporary or slightly earlier usage, with a wider circulation than Reich admits, and hence used with equal right by both authors. Partial or entire coincidences in the exploitation of the comic vocabulary have been shown to be especially frequent.[3] It is the purpose of the second section to show that Aelian's study of the comic poets was independent of Alciphron.

[1] In Eur. *Cycl.* 152, Valckenaer and Pierson read ἐγκάναξον for MSS ἐκπάταξον.

[2] Schmid (*op. cit.* III, p. 245) classes κιχλίζειν, rather strangely, under the head, "Aus dem Gebrauch späterer Schriftsteller."

[3] Alciphron and Aelian agree in the use of at least four words of comic coloring which are not noticed by Reich: ἅβρα, αἰγίδιον, εἴλη (cf. Luc. *Lexiph.* 2), παιδαισία (cf. Harpocr. *s. v.*). Others could doubtless be added.

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II. AELIAN AND THE COMIC POETS

1. Menander Γεωργός, Geneva fragment 46 ff.

ὁ Κλεαίνετος γάρ, οὗ τὸ μειράκιον [ἀγρὸν
[ἐ]ργάζεται, πρώην ποτ' ἐν ταῖς ἀμ[πέλοις
σκ[ά]πτων διέκοψε τὸ σκέλος χρησ[τῶς] πάνυ.
. . . . . .
ἀπὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἕλκους, ὡς τριταῖον ἐγένετο
βουβὼν ἐπήρθη τῷ γέροντι, θέρμα τε
ἐπέλαβεν αὐτόν, καὶ κακῶς ἔσχεν πάνυ.[1]

Ael. *Ep.* 2 Ἡμέρων ὁ μαλακὸς φελλεῖ (MSS φελλέα) ἐπέκοψε τὸ σκέλος πάνυ χρηστῶς καὶ θέρμη ἐπέλαβεν αὐτοῦ καὶ βουβὼν ἐπήρθη.

Disregarding chronology, I have given the first place to this comparison, because we have here a context of Menander that is full enough to enable us to judge how closely Aelian imitated the language of his models. With this case in mind, we may believe that if larger portions of the lost works of the older comedians had been preserved, Aelian's borrowings from them would be more conspicuous, and cases of imitation which we now characterize as probable might be marked certain. These passages hardly need comment. Aelian's apparent misuse of the word φελλεύς has already been discussed.

2. Ar. *Ach.* 994 ff.:

ἀλλά σε λαβὼν τρία δοκῶ γ' ἂν ἔτι προσβαλεῖν·
πρῶτα μὲν ἂν ἀμπελίδος ὄρχον ἐλάσαι μακρόν,
εἶτα παρὰ τόνδε νέα μοσχίδια συκίδων,
καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἡμερίδος ὄρχον, ὁ γέρων ὁδί,
καὶ περὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐλᾷδας ἅπαν ἐν κύκλῳ.

Ael. *Ep.* 4: Τί σοι καλὸν εἴργασται καὶ τί σοι πεπόνηται χρηστόν; ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀμπελίδος ὄρχον ἐλάσας, εἶτα μοσχίδια συκίδων παραφυτεύσας ἀπαλά, καὶ ἐν κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ αὔλιον κατέπηξα ἐλᾷδας.

The imitation is plain enough. It confirms ὄρχον, the reading of the Aldine edition and some minor MSS, where the vulgate has the impossible κλάδον. Brunck had proposed ὄσχον, Bergk ὄζον.

3. Cratinus, fr. 298 Kock:

ὡς ἄνω τὴν μασχάλην αἴρωμεν ἐμπεπωκότες.

[1] The text is that of Grenfell and Hunt. Aelian's imitation of lines 51, 52, which were known before the discovery of the Geneva fragment, was observed by Kock on Menand. fr. 98; see also Kaibel *loc. cit.*

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Ael. *Ep.* 15. *οὐ χεῖρον δ' ἂν εἴη οἰνωμένον σε καὶ μασχάλην ἆραι.*

μασχάλην αἴρειν is noted by Hesychius and others[1] as an action characteristic of drunken conduct. It seems to occur in the literature only in the passages cited. The parallelism *ἐμπεπωκότες*: *οἰνωμένον* is an additional proof that Aelian had Cratinus in mind here.

4. *μυστιλῶμαι*, "sop up," is one of the rare Attic words satirized by Lucian in the *Lexiphanes* (§ 5). It occurs elsewhere so far as I can discover, only in Ar. *Eq.* 827, 1168, *Plut.* 627, and Ael. *Ep.* 9.

5. *ἀποφράς*, *nefastus*, as applied to persons is extremely rare. I have found it only in the following passages:

Eupolis, fr. 309 Kock:

συνέτυχεν ἐξιόντι μοι
ἄνθρωπος ἀποφρὰς καὶ βλέπων ἀπιστίαν.

Ael. *Ep.* 15: *σὺ μὲν τῶν ἀποφράδων διαφέρεις οὐδὲν οὕτως ἄγριος ὢν καὶ μονήρης τὸν τρόπον.* Ael. fr. 325: *ὁ ἀποτρόπαιος καὶ οἷον ἀποφράς.* Synes. *Ep.* 79 *ad init.* *ἀποφρὰς ἄνθρωπος.* The unfamiliar character of the word is shown by Lucian's defense of the phrase *ἡ ἀποφρὰς* (*sc.* *ἡμέρα*) in the *Pseudologistes*, especially §§ 8, 11, 32.

6. Other examples of Aelian's exploitation of comic usage may be briefly indicated without comment. *ὡράζομαι*, give oneself airs, occurs in Eupol. fr. 358 (Kock) *ὡραζομένη καὶ θρυπτομένη*, Ar. *Eccl.* 202, Cratinus fr. 272 (K.), in Ael. *Ep.* 1. *ἐθρύπτετο καὶ ὡραζομένη πολλοῖς ἔβαλλε τοῖς σκώμμασιν*, and again in *Ep.* 9, *παρόντων δὲ ἡμῶν ὡράζονται* (of courtesans). *ὡράζομαι* is not so used in Alciphron. *ἐπιτύφομαι* with gen. of person, to be inflamed with love, is found in Ar. *Lys.* 221 and Ael. *Ep.* 1; not in Alciphron. *τρυγᾶν*, *sensu obscæno*, Ar. *Pax* 1338 *τρυγήσομεν αὐτήν*, Ael. *Ep.* 1 *τῆς ὥρας ἐτρύγησα.* Cf. Luc. *Dial. mer.* 1. 2; *Anth. Pal.* xii. 256. 1. Not in Alciphron.[2] *βωλοκοπεῖν*, Ar. fr. 761 (K.); Schol. *Pax* 566, 1148; Ael. *Ep.* 19; not in Alciphron. Amphis *Φιλαδ.* fr. 33 K.: *δρᾷ τι καὶ νεανικὸν | καὶ θερμόν*; Ael.

[1] Hesychius and Suidas *s. vv.* "*Αἶρε μασχάλην*," "*μασχάλην αἴρεις*;" Zenob. *Cent.* v. 7.

[2] Schmid notes Lucian's use of this expression (*op. cit.* I, p. 396), but not Aelian's.

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Ep. 15: *εἰ δέ που καὶ μεθύων κόρῃ περιπέσοις . . . . τάχα πού τι καὶ θερμὸν δράσεις καὶ νεανικὸν ἔργον*, cf. Ar. *Plut.* 415 f. *ὦ θερμὸν ἔργον . . . . τολμῶντε δρᾶν.* Alciphron does not use *νεανικός* thus, though we find *νεανικῶς κραιπαλᾶν* in iv. 13. 18. Cf. further Luc. *Conv.* 3; Plat. *Ep.* 4. 320 D.[1] The *πίσινον ἔτνος*, pea soup, of which we hear in the Comedy (Ar. *Eq.* 1171, Antiph. *Παρασ.* 183 K.) is the dinner of Aelian's farmer in *Ep.* 4.

When it is remembered that the resemblances noted in this section have to do with rather unusual terms of expression, and that none of them is matched in Alciphron, it seems a justifiable conclusion that Aelian studied the comic poets independently; and in the light of this conclusion we should regard it as highly probable that the comic words and phrases in section I also were taken by Aelian directly from the Attic Comedy, and not through the medium of Alciphron's *Letters*. Aelian seems to have wished to reproduce in these *Epistulae Rusticae* the atmosphere of the rural Attica of the classical period, and to have sought to accomplish this end by borrowing from various sources incidents and ideas characteristic of country life, rare words used chiefly in connection with agriculture, and, in general, peculiar archaisms. He certainly drew upon Aristophanes, Demosthenes, and Menander, probably upon Eupolis and Cratinus; others also may have been used, for my notes bearing upon his relations to earlier writers make no claim to completeness. The *Letters* owe more to the Comedy than to other sources simply because its popular language and its frequent introduction of rural personages made its vocabulary and its ideas especially adaptable. If we knew more Attic comedies, it is likely that we should be able to declare without qualification what I already suspect in view of the evidence at hand—namely, that these *Letters* of Aelian are throughout little more than a stupid patchwork of material derived chiefly from the Comedy. I cannot believe, therefore, that Aelian imitated Alciphron, as has been alleged; and although the date assigned to Alciphron by Reich is in itself probable enough, it must, in my judgment, be determined by other evidence.

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[1] This use of *νεανικός* is not noted in Schmid's index.

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THE BOOK DIVISION OF PROPERTIUS

By B. L. Ullman

The problem of the book division of Propertius is one that is familiar to all students of that author.[1] Lachmann was the first to challenge the division into four books which the MSS show, and to propose a division into five books. His views brought on a controversy which has lasted to the present day. Only one serious objection, outside of the testimony of the MSS, has been raised against Lachmann's theory. Nonius Marcellus (169M) under the word *secundare* has *Propertius Elegiarum lib. III* followed by a quotation of iii. 21. 14 according to the MS division, or iv. 21. 14 according to Lachmann's division. The Lachmann adherents met this by saying that the MSS were wrong, that Nonius wrote iiii not iii. Müller and Lindsay, accordingly, adopted this change in their editions of Nonius, the former noting that the vulgate reading was iii, the latter making no comment whatever in his scanty apparatus. Quicherat and Onions retained iii, without comment. Birt,[2] after a very careful and searching investigation, found another solution. His theory is that the first book was published separately and was called the *Monobiblos*, a name which is supported by MS authority and by an ancient title to one of the *apophoreta* of Martial. The rest of the poems were published, perhaps two books at a time, to make up one volume under the title of *Elegia*. Naturally they were numbered from 1 to 4, not from 2 to 5, as in Lachmann's scheme. In this arrangement the citation in Nonius actually comes in the third book of the Elegies, as Nonius calls them.

It seemed to me desirable to make sure that the MSS of Nonius actually had iii, not iiii. Lindsay,[3] in discussing the Nonius tradition says: "Our original authorities for the text are thus reduced to (1) L, (2) H^2V, and for books i–ii med. PE, (3) the

[1] See Plessis, *Études critiques sur Properce*, for a résumé of the arguments brought to bear.

[2] *Das antike Buchwesen*, pp. 413–26. [3] *Class. Rev.* IX, p. 357.

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extract MSS, (4) F^3." The extract MSS do not concern us in the question under discussion, because they omit the Propertius citation. P stops before this point, and E in this part is a copy of F.[1] Of the rest I have examined all but V, and in addition all the MSS in Leyden. They all have III uncorrected, except L, the most important one, which originally had IIII, corrected by erasure to III, a state of affairs which nobody appears to have noticed. It is impossible to determine who made the correction. It may have been L^1, L^2 (who used a MS of the "extract" class), or L^3 (who used a MS of the "doctored" class).[2] The question to decide is whether the common archetype of all the MSS had III or IIII. The evidence is at least two to one in favor of the former, i. e., that of F^3 (which does not change III to IIII),[3] and H^2V (though I have not seen V, it is practically certain to have III. H has III, not touched by H^2). I say at least, because the correction in L may have been made by L^1 or L^2 from the archetype. We must therefore decide that the common archetype probably had III.

There is one other question that seemed worth investigating in this connection. Hosius[4] cites three MSS of Propertius which quote the Nonius passage and have *in quarto libro* written out. I examined the three and found that Vatic. 1612 is dated 1480, Neapolit. IV. F. 22 (270) is dated 1465, while Barber. VIII. 58, though not dated, clearly was written toward the end of the fifteenth century. On the other hand, I found that Ambros. H 46 sup., which appears to have been written about 1450, also contains the Nonius passage, but has *Propertius in III. li⁹.* It gives the Propertius line (*Iam nitidum nautis aura secundæ iter*) which the others omit, and besides, the whole passage is phrased a little differently. Probably the three later MSS give a changed (and corrupted) version of the Ambrosian MS. At

[1] Onions' edition of *Nonius*, p. xx, Lindsay's edition, p. xxviii.

[2] For these corrections see Lindsay in *A. J. P.* XXII, p. 34.

[3] F^3 would not be likely to overlook this point, as he corrects liqui ~~dd~~ dum immediately after. I agree with Brown (*Class. Rev.* IX, p. 450) in assigning the deletion to F^3. It is in the light brown ink. Lindsay, by implication, makes it the same hand. (*Class. Rev.* X, p. 16.)

[4] *Rhein. Mus.* XLVI, pp. 587, 588.

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any rate the presence of the Propertius line in this MS shows that its text does not come from any of the other MSS or their archetype.

I think I have shown that the common archetype of the Nonius MSS had III, not IIII. That does not prove, however, that this is what Nonius himself wrote. The archetype may have been wrong: the interchange of IIII and III is a mistake easily made. In Book II of Nonius I find twenty-two cases of variation in the MSS cited in Onions' critical apparatus. It may be remarked that seventeen of these show IIII for III, and only five show III for IIII.

Birt's other arguments, though plausible, have not convinced all scholars, and further light, if it can be obtained, will not be without interest. After giving evidence tending to show that the first book remained separate from the rest of the elegies during antiquity, Birt (*op. cit.*, p. 425) remarks that the *Tetrabiblos* was better known and more widely read than the *Monobiblos*. Evidence for this is the fact that, of eleven citations by the grammarians, none is from the first book, and that only among the wall inscriptions of Pompeii is there a reminiscence of a line from the first book. These facts are still more striking than Birt makes them. Eleven different passages of Propertius are quoted in Latin literature, according to Baehrens' edition, most of them by the grammarians. They are:[1]

ii. 1. 2: Caesius Bassus (K. VI. p. 264, 10)
ii. 3. 24: Macrobius (K. V, p. 626, 17)
ii. 9. 41: Servius ad Verg. *Buc.* v. 21
ii. 13. 35: Charisius (K. I, p. 89, 23)
ii. 13. 35. *De Dub. Nom.* (K. V, p. 588, 5)
ii. 14. 1: Charisius (K. I, p. 67, 14)
ii. 33. 37: Charisius (K. I, p. 107, 28)
ii. 33. 37: *De Dub. Nom.* (K. V, p. 590, 24)
ii. 34. 65–66: Donatus *Vit. Verg.*
ii. 34. 65–66: *Anth. Lat.* I. 264
iii. 8. 37: Priscian (K. II, p. 536, 15)
iii. 8. 37: Diomedes (K. I, p. 369, 22)
iii. 11. 15: Charisius (K. I, p. 103, 17)

[1] The manuscript numbering is followed.

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iii. 11. 15: *De Dub. Nom.* (K. V, p. 576, 22)
iii. 21. 14: Nonius Marc. (169 M)
iv. 1. 11–14: Lactantius *Instit.* ii. 6
iv. 1. 13: Isidorus *Orig.* xviii. 4

Some of these passages are quoted more than once; in only one case is it probable that the quotations are independent: iv. 1. 11–14 are quoted by Lactantius, and line 13 is quoted also by Isidorus, who does not seem to have drawn from Lactantius. In addition it is clear that iv. 10. 44 was originally cited in *De Dub. Nom.* K. V, p. 592, 5: *Torques generis feminini, ut Propertius* 'torquem auream.'* Keil's note to this line reads: *excidit Propertii uersus* IIII. 10. 44. torques ab incisa decidit unca gula. torques aureae *ex Varrone attulit Nonius.*[1] Besides, Baehrens gives two quotations from the Pompeian wall inscriptions, one of iii. 16. 13–14 in *CIL.* IV. 1950 and the other of iv. 5. 47–48 in *CIL.* IV. 1894. To this may be added a third, ii. 5. 9–10 in *Acta inst. arch. R.* 1875, p. 190 (Buecheler *Carm. epig.*, p. 823). The grand total is sixteen, divided equally, strangely enough, among the last four books of Lachmann's division or the four books of Birt's *Elegia.* Actual quotations only are to be taken into account, and imitations cannot be introduced as evidence, because it is not always possible to tell which is the imitation and which the original. For example, *CIL.* IV. 1520 (cf. *add.*, p. 208), has the lines

> Candida me docuit nigras odisse puellas
> Odero se (= si) potero se (= si) non invitus amabo.

The second line is an exact citation of Ovid *Am.* iii. 11. 35. The first has been compared to Prop. i. 1. 5.

> Donec me docuit castas odisse puellas
> Improbus (Amor)

[1] Possibly there is a reference to a lost poem of Propertius in the same treatise, K, p. 587, 18. The MSS read (l. 16) "Cotta nunc ad praesepia p̧ p̄ n̄ (so V; M has *non*) sunt in praesepibus boues et Virgilius plena ad praesepia ponunt." The first words have been emended to Contra <Tibullus>; the p̧ p̄ n̄ comes in the place where the name of an author should come, as Keil points out. It may be a corruption of propertius, through the stages properti', p̧ p̧ ti'. This fits in very well with Lachmann's and Birt's theory that some of the poems of the first book of the *Tetrabiblos* have not come down to us.

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Birt accepts this as a reminiscence of our author. This does not at all mean that the Pompeian wall-scribbler had read the first book of Propertius. The aptness of the lines consists in their being direct quotations. A man is not likely to make up one line and answer it with a quotation from somebody else. Moreover, parts of the first line are found elsewhere (IV. 1523, 1526, 1528, 1536, 3040) apparently written by different people, which makes it probable that it was a well-known line as it stands. In that case, the poet who wrote it may have imitated Propertius or vice versa.

But this is not the only evidence to be gleaned from the quotations. The one from Caesius Bassus is of particular interest. It necessitates an examination of the nature of the poetical quotations to be found in the Roman metricians. In general, it may be said that there are two kinds, first, lines or parts of lines showing some exception to a general rule, or some other peculiarity, in which case the choice of lines is, of course, limited; second, lines illustrating a class or a rule, as, for example, a hexameter line. Here the grammarian had thousands of lines to choose from. Naturally he chose the most familiar: the first line of the *Aeneid*. Most of such quotations were undoubtedly made from memory, or from memory refreshed by a glance at the original. Citations of this sort are not confined, however, to the first line or lines of the *Aeneid*, though these are the ones most frequently found. The first line of the second book also is common. The better known the poet, the more various the quotations. So the first lines of many of the Epodes of Horace are quoted, though those of the first and second Epodes are much more frequently met with. The second Epode seems to have been more popular than the first, to judge from the number of quotations. In the case of the Odes, the first line of the first poem illustrating a certain meter is the one usually given. For less well-known poets, the range from which quotations of this sort are taken is more limited. The use of the first line of the work is the rule. The case of Tibullus is in point. He is quoted five times in what may be called the "general" way (described above) by the metricians. He is quoted once by Diomedes (K. I, p. 484, 19) in illustration

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of his definition of an elegy as a poem consisting of hexameter and pentameter lines in alternation. The verses given are i. 1. 1–2, as was to be expected. The other four quotations are all of the line, i. 1. 6. It is chosen because it is the first "perfect" (i. e., dactylic) pentameter in Tibullus; lines 2 and 4 each have one spondaic foot. In the metrical fragment of Keil VI, p. 612, 12, it is quoted as a normal pentameter line. In the other three cases (K. VI, p. 616, 15, p. 127, 7, and p. 264, 14), it is quoted as a pentameter line for use as a base from which to form other meters. It is now possible to apply the principle just discussed to Propertius. The only quotation in the metrical writers is that in Caesius Bassus, and this occurs in connection with the Tibullus line just mentioned (K. VI, p. 264, 10.) The passage discusses the formation of the choriambic verse, and an illustration is given of the way in which such a verse is formed from a pentameter line:[1] *ad summam pentametrum heroum, qui habet dactylos primos duos, velut hunc,*

unde meus veniat mollis in ora liber,

adiectis duabus syllabis longis facies choriambicum ex heroo pentametro sic,

unde meus *nunc* veniat mollis in haec ora liber,

et

dum meus assiduo, luceat igne focus

sic,

dum meus *hic* assiduo luceat hoc igne focus.

The second quotation is the one from Tibullus, the first is from Propertius ii. 1. 2. This is surprising. Why is i. 1 not quoted? Is there no normal dactylic pentameter line in i. 1? But there is: i. 1. 4.

Et caput impositis pressit Amor pedibus

which can be changed to a choriambic line in this way,

Et caput (hoc) impositis pressit Amor (tum) pedibus.

Failing this, there were i. 1. 14, i. 2. 6 and many others in the first book. Why was the first book ignored? Two answers are

[1] The manuscripts are confused here, but Keil's text is probable. The point at issue is not affected.

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possible: one, that the first book was not the first, but was farther on, perhaps last, in Caesius' manuscript of Propertius; the other, that it was not a part of the book of elegies which Caesius possessed. When the other evidence is taken into consideration, that of the sixteen quotations from the later books as against none from the first, and that which Birt adduces, we must conclude that the second is the correct answer, and we may say with a great deal more confidence than before that the first book was not a part of the book of Propertian "Elegies" known to antiquity.

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THE VERBAL IN -TEO IN POLYBIUS

By Hamilton Ford Allen

The use of the verbal adjective in *-τεο* "from Homer to Aristotle, exclusive" has been studied and the results of that study have been published,[1] so that we have a sound basis for the examination of the use of this verbal in the *κοινή* as represented in Polybius. In view of the completeness of Bishop's treatment of the verbal, it will be enough if we present the results of our study of the use of the verbal in *-τεο* in Polybius and refer the reader to Bishop for comparison.

1. *Form.*—Polybius uses a verbal adjective in *-τεο* 153 times, formed from 70 different verbs, simple 39, compound 31 (B., p. 5). From 48 of these verbs a verbal is formed once, from 11 twice, from 2 three times, from 3 four times, from 1 (*δίδωμι*) 6 times, from 2 (*τίθημι, χράομαι*) 7 times, from 1 (*ἡγέομαι*) 13 times, from 1 (*εἴρω, ῥητέον*) 15 times, from 1 (*νομίζω*) 17 times. Polybius is not peculiar in using the same verbal many times (B., p. 5). The verbal is formed from 46 *ω*-verbs, from 12 *μαι*-verbs and from 12 *μι*-verbs in which Polybius shows no decided preference for any one class as compared with the authors examined by B. (p. 4). Polybius does not form the verbal in any new way (B., pp. 3 f.).

2. *Use.*—In spite of the fact that the majority of the verbs from which Polybius forms verbal adjectives are used transitively a verbal used personally is found but once *ὑποδεικτέος ἂν εἴη τρόπος* 3. 36. 5. In view of the fact that Polybius has studiously avoided the personal use of the verbal, Goetzeler[2] ascribes this one occurrence to a scribal error and would emend accordingly. He thinks that Polybius uses the impersonal verbal in imitation of Latin, which, at the period at which he wrote, said: *oppugnandum est Athenas;* in support of this he quotes Draeger and Wölfflin.

[1] Charles Edward Bishop "The Greek Verbal in *-τεο*," *Am. Journ. Phil.* XX (1899), pp. 1-21, 121-38, 241-53, cited as B. in this article. For literature of the subject see B., p. 2, note.

[2] Ludovicus Goetzeler *De Polybii Elocutione* (Würzburg, 1887), pp. 29 f.

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F. O. Hultsch, in his review[1] of Goetzeler's dissertation, opposes Goetzeler's view, since (1) it may well have happened that some cases of the personal use of the verbal were contained in the lost parts of Polybius, (2) if we examine the passages where a personal construction might have been used instead of the impersonal, of such passages Hultsch has a list of thirty, it will be found that the impersonal form is used "wenn der vom Verbum abhängige Begriff zu einer gewissen Wortfülle sich erweitert," (3) the personal use in 3. 36. 5 has a better sound and is more suitable than the impersonal.

To this we may add that the personal construction of the verbal, though it is found in all periods of the literature (B., pp. 10 f.), is very much less used than the impersonal (1 : 10 according to B. for all the literature examined by him), and its frequency of use varies greatly in the several authors. Some do not use it at all. And Draeger (*Hist. Syntax*, p. 822) whom Goetzeler quotes, says: "Der Nominativ des Gerundivs mit dem Begriff der Nothwendigkeit und im passiven Sinne steht schon oft im archäischen Latein." So we need not wonder that we find but one occurrence of the personal verbal in Polybius' history in its present fragmentary state. It is retained in the text by Schweighaeuser and Büttner-Wobst. In all other cases the verbal is neuter in gender. It is never compared and is always predicative.

In the proportion of direct to indirect discourse, 5 : 1, the use of Polybius is about that of Xenophon (B., p. 8).

The impersonal verb is used absolutely (B., p. 14) 12 times: προσεκτέον 1. 64. 2, ὑπέρ c. gen., cf. 9. 15. 12; 1. 50. 5, 80. 3; κινδυνευ- 4. 11. 7; εὐλαβη- 2. 49. 1, cf. 1. 14. 7; πολεμη- 3. 15. 12, 20. 2; ῥη- 1. 64. 2, ὑπέρ c. gen., 3. 58. 4; 12. 25ª. 3, περί c. gen.; διαλημπ- 11. 25. 3, περί c. gen.; νομισ- 3. 32. 1; πολυπραγμονη- 9. 19. 5, ἐκ c. gen.; στοχασ- 9. 15. 13, ἐκ c. gen.

The verbal is used 6 times with the genitive alone, and 15 times with the dative alone; quite a different proportion from that found by B. (p. 15).

The accusative of direct object (B., p. 18) of an impersonal verbal occurs 5 times of personal object, 21 times of thing object

[1] *Berl. phil. Wochenschrift* 1887, No. 37, col. 1142.

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(masculine or feminine). The impersonal verbal is used with a neuter noun, pronoun, or participle with the article, in the singular 16 times, plural twice. Of course, the neuter noun, etc., may be called the subject of the verbal, but we can hardly think that the speaker made any close distinction between this usage and such as *ταύτης παρεσπονδημένης τοὺς αἰτίους ἐκδοτέον εἶναι σφίσι* 3. 21. 7, or *μακαριστέον τῶν προγεγονότων τινάς* 23. 12. 5, especially when we find such a use as *ῥητέον ἂν εἴη τὴν παρασκευὴν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς δυνάμεως* 2. 24. 2, and *τῆς διαθέσεως μεγίστην μερίδα νομιστέον ἔθη μοχθηρὰ καὶ τροφὴν κακήν* 1. 81. 10. These examples show that B. is right (p. 137) when he argues that, though the neuter noun, etc., may be the grammatical subject of the verbal, it is in reality the logical object. And they also show that, at least in the time of Polybius, (1) no distinction was made between neuter and gender words as subject and object, (2) that the impersonal verbal was not thought of as transitive-active when used with a gender accusative and personal-passive when used with a neuter, the nominative and accusative of which had the same form, and (3) that an infinitive (B., p. 131) is rather the object than the subject of a neuter verbal formed from a transitive verb.

With the impersonal verbal the accusative of thing and dative of person occur 10 times, the accusative and dative of thing once. Polybius does not use the accusative and genitive with the verbal.

With two accusatives the impersonal verbal is used 20 times, in each case one accusative being predicate. Still the line between two accusatives and O. O. cannot be surely drawn in each case, since several of the verbals taking two accusatives also take the O. O. construction (which occurs 26 times after a verbal).

A complementary infinitive is used with a verbal 6 times (B., pp. 130 f.).

The articular infinitive (B., pp. 132, 137) with the verbal is found but twice in Polybius, and if the statements above made regarding the objectivity of the colorless neuter with the impersonal verbal are correct, both of the articular infinitives must be considered accusative, the one 1. 62. 6 being the subject of *εἶναι*, the other 3. 4. 9 in apposition with *τοῦτο*, which is the subject of *εἶναι*.

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With the verbal a ὅτι-clause (B., p. 133) is used only in its causal sense 2. 60. 2; ὡς introducing O. O. is used once 6. 50. 2, since in 24. 14. 4 it is in apposition with τοῦτο; a participle in O. O. is found once 12. 8. 1; there is no occurrence of a ὅπως-clause (B., p. 134) depending on a verbal; an indirect question occurs twice 1. 5. 2; 2. 14. 3; there is one occurrence of a conditional relative clause 3. 112. 5.

The agent by whom the action stated in the verbal is to be performed is expressed but 21 times, though a verbal is used 153 times, so that the ratio of use to omission is about 1:7, a much lower ratio than that found by B. (p. 242). Of these 21 occurrences of the expressed agent 11 are dative and 10 accusative. The agent is expressed by the dative of a personal pronoun in 3 passages, 1. 64. 2; 3. 21. 7; 15. 7. 3, where more than one group of persons is mentioned and the pronoun is necessary for the sake of clearness. In 3 passages the agent is expressed by a noun in the dative in all of which it would be impossible to omit it, and in 5 passages by a participle with the article in the plural. In 1. 35. 9 the dative participle without the article is a dative of relation or subjective dative (Kühner, 423, 18*e*).

By a construction which is peculiar to the Attic dialect the agent may be expressed by the accusative (B., pp. 242 ff.). In Polybius we find that this accusative-agent is used in 10 passages, while the dative-agent, which, considering B.'s figures, we might expect to find much more frequently used, occurs in but 11 passages. But in Polybius we nowhere find this accusative-agent expressed by a noun or pronoun. It is always a participle with or without the article. The accusative participle *without* the article is found in the plural 1. 14. 8; 3. 58. 4 (5 participles); 4. 41. 8; 12. 8. 1; 24. 14. 4; 35. 2. 10; in the singular 8. 1. 4; *with* the article in the plural 4. 27. 8, cf. 1. 13. 13; 2. 2. 2, where the same participle is dative, 5. 32. 5 (2 participles, cf. 1. 64. 2); 5. 98. 9. With the exception of 1. 14. 8, all of thee cases are found later than the five occurrences of the dative participle.

The reason for using the accusative-agent in place of the dative cannot depend on nearness to or remoteness from the verbal; for the accusative-agent stands next to the verbal as well as widely

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removed from it. Nor can it depend on actual or incipient O. O., though in 12. 8. 1; 24. 14. 4; 35. 2. 10 it might possibly be considered as due to this cause. For an explanation we must rather look to B. as cited above. In no case in Polybius are the dative and accusative-agent found side by side, though such a use is cited by Kühner (427, n. 2), and yet not with one and the same verbal.

As to the use of the copula when the accusative-agent is employed, Kühner (427, n. 2) says: "Der Indikativ ἐστί wird hier regelmässig weggelassen." Polybius omits the copula in 8 cases out of 10, using it but twice, εἶναι, in O. O. (B. 247). Otherwise the use is as follows: ἐστί 7 times, twice in statements of facts, 5 times in O. O.; εἶναι 4 times in O. O.; εἴη 5 times in O. O.; ἂν εἴη potential 9 times; ἦν once in the protasis of a simple past condition; in all 26 times, making the ratio of use to omission 1 : 5. The copula stands (B., pp. 252 f.) 21 times after the verbal to 5 times before it and is never separated from the verbal by more than one word.

The negative used with the verbal is always οὐ or some compound form of it (B., p. 9).

According to Kühner 427, n. 2 end, the verbal construction sometimes passes over to the infinitive and two examples are cited. In the former of these the change to the infinitive may be due to δεῖ intervening between the verbal and the infinitive. And in any given case, even though δεῖ does not occur, the change is probably due to the effect of δεῖ implied in the preceding verbal. This change, which is not mentioned by B., is found once in Polybius δῆλον ὡς οὔτε (15 words) νομιστέον, οὔτε (16 words) οἴεσθαι 18. 13. 4.

The so-called philosophic use (B., pp. 7, 137 f.) of the verbal with the article does not occur in Polybius.

Polybius does not overwork the verbal construction, using it but 153 times in 1,369 Teubner pages. Nor does he pile up one verbal upon another, like Xenophon, for example, who, *Mem.* 2. 1. 28, uses 10 verbals in a space of 14 lines. Four is the the largest number of verbals which Polybius uses without intervening expressions of necessity or obligation.

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STUDIEN ZUR TOPOGRAPHIE VON PAESTUM

By Th. Kluge

Zu der vorliegenden Untersuchung bin ich durch eine Anregung Koldeweys (*Neandria* a. a. O.) gekommen, der es für wünschenswert hielt, einmal die doppelzelligen Tempel einer genaueren Bearbeitung zu unterziehen.

Ich begann meine Untersuchungen mit dem älteren Tempel in Lokroi Ep., dann folgte die sog. Basilica in Paestum, u. a. m. Diese Untersuchung gedenke ich später zu veröffentlichen. Zunächst interessierten mich mehr die Tempel von Paestum, die ich ausserdem im Frühjahr vorigen Jahres sehen konnte, und daraus entstand begreiflicher Weise der Wunsch, zu versuchen, ihrer Namenlosigkeit ein Ende zu machen. In welchem Umfange und mit welchem Grade von Wahrscheinlichkeit,—denn beweisen lässt sich leider nichts Wesentliches—mir das gelungen ist, mag jeder beurteilen. Die Aussichtslosigkeit eines derartigen Versuches hat vielleicht viele verhindert, sich mit dieser Frage eingehend zu beschäftigen, schon aus dem Grunde, weil sämtliche antiken Zeugnisse über die Stadt für die Benennung der Tempel nicht das geringste ergeben; das darf indessen nicht abschrecken, und der Versuch das Rätsel zu lösen muss auch ohne ihre Hilfe unternommen werden.

Was bisher an brauchbaren Arbeiten über Paestum vorhanden war, ist ausserordentlich wenig. Die Zeugnisse sind zum ersten Male fast vollständig gesammelt in der inhaltlich überholten Abhandlung von Joh. Crosse: Commentatio brevis, qua in Paesti . . . . origines . . . . inquiritur, Halle Magdeburg, 1768, der die Anregung dazu auf einer Italienreise empfing. Ueber die Tempel selbst: Puchstein u. Koldewey, *Antike Tempel in Unteritalien und Sicilien*, dessen Hauptzweck eine genaue Aufnahme der Grundrisse war. Eine genaue Aufnahme der Tempel selbst bleibt vorläufig wohl ein frommer Wunsch.

Bevor wir indessen an unsere eigentliche Aufgabe gehen, wird es zweckmässig sein, dass wir das aus der Geschichte der Stadt

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Bekannte noch einmal vorbringen, weil einiges Neue nachzutragen ist.[1]

Zur Ueberlieferung des Namens ist folgendes zu bemerken. Wir haben drei Namen: den griechischen Ποσειδωνία, den lateinischen Paestum und Paistum (-om); dazu kommt als dritter, aber zweifelhafter, ϝισ. Paistum (-om) kommt nur auf Münzen vor, und repräsentiert die altlateinische Form.

Mazocchi[2] und nach ihm Pasquale Magnoni[3] haben aus dieser Form auf einen phoenikischen Ursprung der Stadt schliessen wollen, in dem sie Paistum vom hebr. פשׂים (*sic*) herleiten. Es wird immer ein bedenklicher Versuch bleiben italische Städtenamen aus semitischen Wurzeln zu erklären, und die mangelhafte Begründung (oder vielmehr die fehlende), die die beiden ihrer Etymologie haben zuteil werden lassen, hat es wohl bewirkt, dass sie keinen Nachfolger bisher gefunden haben. Trotzdem ist der Versuch nicht von der Hand zu weisen, schon aus dem Grunde, weil wir heute weiter sind, und mehr Vergleichsmaterial zur Verfügung haben.

Dass P. ursprünglich phoenikische Faktorei gewesen sein kann, liegt zwar nicht ausserhalb des Bereiches der Möglichkeit, denn wir kennen ja auch in Etrurien derartige Niederlassungen (Mommsen *Röm. Gesch.*, Bd. 1. a. a. O.), und im allgemeinen kann man behaupten, dass im westlichen Mittelmeerbecken dem griechischen Colonisator der semitische voraufgegangen ist. Die Funde mykenischer Tonware an der Ostküste Italiens und vormykenischer in Sicilien kommen demgegenüber nicht in Betracht.

Im bibl. hebr. bedeutet nun פִּשְׁתָּה (st.c. פִּשְׁתִּי Flachs, bez. Lein, Baumwolle) פִּשְׁתָּה, der auf dem Acker wachsende Lein (*Ges.* a. a. O. 1905) pl. פִּשְׁתִּים pun.[4] *φοιστ* = fist פִּשְׁתָּה, und dass diese Her-

[1] Mommsen *CIL.* X, pp. 52 f., wo auch die antiken Zeugnisse. Ueber die weitere Literatur; cf. Mau *Kat. d. k. d. a. Inst. in Rom*, Pt. I, p. 179, wo die Uebersicht der Literatur über P. Auf eine Reihe von Einzelheiten hat mich Herr Professor Huelsen (Rom) aufmerksam gemacht.

[2] *Ad Tabl. Heracl.* (1754), pp. 498 f. [3] *Opuscoli* (Napoli, 1804), p. 7.

[4] J. Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen* (Leipzig, 1881), pp. 233, 460. Die Identifikation ist s. Z. von Bochart aus den *Wiener Dioskurides-Handschriften* vollzogen. Ich konnte das nicht weiter verfolgen; die Ausgabe von 1683 war mir nicht zugänglich. Stattdessen fand ich: Ausg. 1692, Bd. 1., p. 88 סלח = Sela, emissio aquarum. An einen Gleichklang ist hier wohl kaum mehr zu denken.

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leitung grosse Wahrscheinlichkeit hat, beweisen die Münzen, wie wir nachher sehen werden, wenn man nicht den vorläufig unbeweisbaren Einwand geltend macht, dass hier der Gleichklang eines Wortes zweier verschiedener Sprachstämme vorliegt. Der Name der Stadt stammt also von der Beschäftigung seiner Bewohner, denn wenn überhaupt dort Lein gebaut wurde, so bildete er einen Exportartikel. Der Name der Stadt ist damit von den Phönikiern gegeben, und bedeutet soviel wie Leinstadt, oder Flachsgegend. Es steht aber dies Ergebnis nicht im Widerspruch mit dem, was wir sonst aus den ältesten Zeiten Italiens wissen, dessen Bewohner Weinbauer, Arbeiter, und Schnitter waren, und dass der heutige Zustand der Gegend nicht auf die Zeiten, von denen eben die Rede gewesen ist, übertragen werden darf, bedarf weiter keines Beweises.

Aber, da dieser Fall für das Festland Italien vorläufig ganz vereinzelt dasteht, so können wir vor der Hand keine weiteren Schlüsse daraus ziehen, um so mehr als wir nachher noch eine andere Deutung bieten werden.

Ueber die Herkunft des griechischen Namens sind wir glücklicherweise genau orientiert, denn wir erfahren aus Strabo[1] dass Posidonia den Namen von seinem Eponymos[2] hat.

Der Name der Stadt wird von antiken Historikern, Geographen,[3] u. s. w., ziemlich häufig erwähnt; das ist aber auch alles. Aber wir ersehen daraus doch das eine, und die Denkmäler bestätigen uns das, dass, je älter die Zeugnisse sind, von um so grösserer Wichtigkeit die Stadt gewesen ist.

An der Mündung der Sele lag wahrscheinlich der Flusshafen Alburnum[4] (cf. Nissen *It. Lk.* 2, p. 892). Südlich von jener erwähnt Strabo (c. 252) einen Tempel des Ἥρα Ἀργῴα.[5] Dass er von Jason gegründet worden sei, ist für unsere Untersuchung

[1] Strabo c. 397. [2] Cf. hierzu Str. c. 373.

[3] Strabo c. 21. 22. 209. 211. 251. 252; Ptolemaeus iii. 1. 8; Dion. Hal. c. 73. 19 B. 1. c. 11; Scyl. Car. 4; Steph. Byz. *s. v.*; Lykophr. *Al.* 722; Cic. *Ad Att.* lib. xvi, ep. 6; Plinius *N. H.* iii. 5. 10, 7. 13; Vellejus i. 15. 4; Silius viii. 578; Pomp. Mela ii. 69; Mart. Cap., p. 218. 1; Enn. Dict. ed. Vogel. 1885, 8. p. 79. 2, u. a. m.

[4] C. Lucilius iii, xiv. (II) ed. Müller 1872; Vibius Sequester (1878), p. 9: Siler in Lucania, oppido Alburno; Pauly-Wiss. I. 1338.

[5] Dazu Grosskurd in der *Uebers. zu Strabo*, p. 439.

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gleichgültig, beweist nur sein hohes Alter. Dann folgt 50 Stadien weiter südlich Posidonia. Es war von Sybaris aus gegründet worden, und wir erhalten damit einen ungefähren Anhalt für die Gründung; denn sie muss vor der Zerstörung und nach der Gründung von Sybaris[1] geschehen sein, also zwischen 510 und 731; näher jedoch dem ersten Datum und vor 530 (Herod. 1. 169.). Wahrscheinlich trug der Untergang der Mutterstadt zum Emporblühen der Colonie sehr viel bei. Später wurde sie an die Stelle verlegt, die die heutigen Ruinen einnehmen. Dass die Stadt in der Folgezeit mit dem benachbarten Velia rivalisierte, erfahren wir aus Strabo (252). Ausser zwei kurzen griechischen Inschriften, die uns den Gebrauch des dorischen Dialectes lehren (desgl. Solin c. 2. 10, Münzen) sind damit die Quellen, die uns über die Geschichte der griechischen Periode der Stadt Aufklärung geben könnten, vollkommen erschöpft.

Nur soviel lässt sich ersehen, dass die Stadt in der griechischen Zeit ihre Blüte hatte. Genaueres erfahren wir erst wieder im 6. Jahrzehnt des 4. Jahrhunderts, als Alexander von Epirus[2] Paestum zum Stützpunkt seiner Operationen macht. Die Stadt hat jedenfalls die kurze Befreiung vom Druck der Italiker späterhin büssen müssen. Gegen Anfang des 3. Jahrhunderts fiel die Stadt wahrscheinlich in die Gewalt der Lukaner. In welcher Verfassung die griechischen Einwohner sich etwa 300 v. Chr. befanden, können wir am besten aus der bekannten Mitteilung des Aristoxenos bei Athenäus[3] ermessen. Jedenfalls aber fehlt die Hauptsache, nämlich Tag und Name des Festes.

Eine durchgreifende Aenderung, die, wie man aus dem Verhalten der Stadt im zweiten punischen Kriege schliessen kann, als Wohlthat empfunden wurde, erfuhren die Zustände erst als 273 eine römische Colonie nach Posidonia und Cosa kam. Es ist auffallend, dass die Epitome[4] den griechischen Namen enthält, während Livius sonst durchweg Paestum gebraucht. Die Vorlage, die L. hier benutzt hat also entweder den Namen enthalten, oder der Epitomator tat sich auf seine Kenntnisse etwas zu gute.

Das Verhältnis zu Rom scheint bald Formen angenommen zu

[1] Cf. Pauly-Wiss. *s. v.* Paestum.
[2] Livius viii. 17. 9.
[3] Athenaeus xiv. 632.
[4] Livius *Ep.* xiv.

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haben, die über das gewöhnliche Maas von Mutterstadt und Colonie hinausgingen. Nach der Schlacht bei Cannae schicken sie eine Gesandschaft mit goldenen Schalen — wahrscheinlich Tempelgeräten — nach Rom;[1] dafür wird gedankt, das Gold aber nicht angenommen. Danach scheint sich die Stadt also immer noch eines gewissen Wohlstandes erfreut zu haben, was ferner auch daraus hervorgeht, dass Marcellus (210) laut eines abgeschlossenen Vertrages für eine Expedition nach Sicilien 20 Schiffe von ihnen, Velia, u. Rhegion verlangt.[2] Die traurigen Folgen der Schlacht bei Cannae, die den Abfall einer Reihe von Colonien zur Folge hatte,[3] bilden für Paestum eine Ausnahme, die von Livius rühmend erwähnt wird, und die Tatsache mit erklärt, dass die Stadt bis in die Kaiserzeit hinein noch Kupfergeld prägte. Dass die Stadt auch noch zu Ciceros Zeit Seeverkehr hatte, erwähnt er in einem Briefe an Attikus.[4]

Ueber die weiteren Schicksale der Stadt in römischer Zeit, hat Nissen (*loc. cit.*, p. 293) alles Wesentliche mitgeteilt; es braucht hier nicht wiederholt zu werden.

Auch unsere Kenntnis von der inneren Geschichte der Stadt ist nur unbedeutend. Als die Stadt noch griechisch war, erfahren wir das folgende: Im ersten Jahr der 78 Ol. (468) berichten uns Dionys von Hal. und Diodor von einem Siege des Posidoniaten Parmenides in Olympia (die genauere Angabe bei Diodor).[5]

Eine andere Notiz bringt Herodot 1. 167, die die Gründung von Hyela in Campanien betrifft. Ein Posidoniat legt den nach Rhegion fliehenden Phokäern, die eine Stadt gründen wollen, den Spruch der Pythia aus.

Später, in römischer Zeit, hat man dort schöne Rosen gezogen, denn bis ins späte Altertum machen die Dichter Rühmens davon.[6]

Der Vollständigkeit halber erwähnen wir noch kurz die Schicksale der Stadt im Mittelalter. Die mittelalterlichen Berichte schliessen mit einer Lücke von etwa 350 Jahren an die

[1] Liv. xxii. 26. 9. [2] Liv. xxiv. 39. [3] Liv. xxvii. 10. 7.

[4] Cic.-*Ad Att.* xi. 17. [5] Dion. Hal. ix, lvi, Diod. xi. c. 65.

[6] Ovid *Ex Ponto* ii. 4. 28, *Metam.* xv. 708; Prop. iv. 5. 59; Virgil *Georg.* iv. 119; Martial ix, Ep. xxvi, vi, Ep. xxx, xii, Ep. xxxi; Ausonius *Id.* xiv. 11.; Claudian *De nupt. Hon. et Mar.* v. 247; Martianus Capella, p. 215, 14; Columella ix. 37; Ennod. *Dict. loc. cit.*

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antiken an. Bald nach 649 beginnen die Einfälle der Saracenen, die eine fortschreitende Verödung der Gegend zur Folge haben, und schliesslich die Verlegung des Bischofsitzes nach Capaccio vecchio (Caput Aquense) zur Folge haben. Auch Paulus Diakonus[1] erwähnt sie noch einmal. Dann erscheint der Name[2] noch einmal in zwei Heiligenlegenden; der des Apostels Matthaeus und des hl. Vitus.[3] Die Gebeine des ersten kamen 350 angeblich aus der Bretagne, 954 wurden sie wieder entdeckt, und finden eine endgiltige Ruhestätte in Salernum, wo Robert Guiscard eine prächtige Kirche baut. Das Material dazu liefern die Tempel und Gebäude (Arena?) von Paestum. Nur die Unbrauchbarkeit des Materials der griechischen Tempel hat diese vor einem ähnlichen Schicksal bewahrt.[4]

Von weiteren Hilfsmitteln, die uns dem Ziele unserer Untersuchung näher bringen können, stehen uns die Münzen zur Verfügung. Nach Babelon[5] zerfallen sie in 2 Klassen, wenn wir zunächst einmal von den Münzbildern absehen, mit verschiedener Abbreviatur, 1) Ποσ . . ., 2) Ποσ . . . ϝιισ.

Ueber die Bedeutung des Namens oder Wortes ϝιισ gehen die Meinungen auseinander. Millingen[6] denkt an Phistelia in Campanien, was sicher falsch; Lenormant[7] hält ihn für den ursprünglichen Namen von Posidonia; während Babelon[8] der Ansicht

[1] Paulus Diakonus *H. L.* ii. 17.

[2] Capelletti, *Chiese d'Italia* 20. 334 ff., auch Ughelli *Italia sacra* X, p. 156, vergl. dazu MGh. *Auct. ant.* x, Mommsen, *Cassiodor.*, p. 400. 44, u. p. 409. 49, wo die richtige Lesung von Paestum (Plestrinus).

[3] Doch is von dem letzteren nur die Rede bei Stadler *Heiligenlexicon* 5. 746. sp. 2, die ASS. 15. Juni u. a. enthalten nicht davon.

[4] Ich habe fast alles, was auf die mittelalterliche Geschichte von Paestum Bezug hat, auch die jüdischen und arabischen Schriftsteller durchgesehen, weil ich glaubte, es würde eine Kleinigkeit für die Tempel dabei herauskommen. Die Hoffnung hat sich nicht erfüllt. Ich kam darauf, weil Koldewey nach *Mus. Borb.* XV. zu T. 7–12, p. 22, Anm. mitteilt, dass man im Umgang des nördlichsten Tempels an einer Ecke auf dort Bestattete gestossen sei; diese müssen notwendigerweise Christen gewesen sein; dass der Tempel als Kirche gleich dem Girgenti benutzt gewesen sei, ist mehr als wahrscheinlich, und es ist nur ein Residuum aus alter Zeit, wenn heute nur noch Bischöfen das Recht zusteht, in der Kirche bestattet zu werden. Dass heute noch eine zweite Kirche in Paestum steht, macht nichts aus, denn diese ist in eine antike Thermenanlage hineingebaut (Delagardette T. 1).

[5] *Monnaies grecques et romaines* (1907), Bd. 2, pp. 1427 ff.

[6] Millingen *Cons. sur la numismatique de l'ancienne Italie*, p. 45.

[7] Lenormant *À travers l'Apulie* II, p. 181. [8] *Loc. cit.* 1434.

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Head's[1] folgt, darin den alten Namen der Juncarella zu sehen. Man kann daher im Zweifel sein, was hier mit ῥισ gemeint ist. Es wäre doch aber merkwürdig, dass die Stadt ihren Namen von einem kleinen Bächlein, das nur die Breite eines Chausseegrabens hat, führte, und den viel grösseren Silar ignoriert hätte. Dass die Juncarella ehemals viel grösser gewesen sein kann, schliesst die Mitteilung Strabos aus. Die gesamte antike Topographie kennt nur den einen Hauptfluss Lukaniens, und konnte wegen des sumpfigen Terrains nur den einen kennen.

Danach ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, dass, wenn überhaupt ῥισ ein Flussname ist, dies nur ein Name für den Silarus sein kann. Ausschlaggebend sind hier die antiken Zeugnisse. Lykophron[2] *Alex.* v. 722 ff.

ἀκτὴν δὲ τὴν προὔχουσαν εἰς Ἐνιπέως
Λευκωσία ῥιφεῖσα τὴν ἐπώνυμον
πέτραν ὀχήσει δαρὸν ἔνθα λάβρος Ἴς
γείτων δ' ὁ Λᾶρις ἐξερεύγονται ποτά.

Ferner das Citat aus Parthax bei Herodian 19. 9 (*Fr. H. Gr.* III, p. 641. 21). Ἔστιν Ἴς [καὶ] τῆς Ἰταλίας ὡς Πάρθαξ ἐν τῷ β' τῶν Ἰταλικῶν· Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Ποσειδωνέαν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς· ἔστι δὲ ποταμὸς Ἴς καλούμενος μέγας. Dass hier mit ποταμὸς μέγας nicht die Juncarella gemeint sein kann, bedarf wohl kaum eines Beweises. Aber bevor wir uns dazu verstehen, in Ἴς einen Flussnamen zu sehen, wollen wir das sonstige Vorkommen des Namens kurz erwähnen. Zunächst kommt der Name als Stadtname bei Herodot 1. 179 vor: (jetzt Hit) ἔστι δὲ ἄλλη πόλις ἀπέχουσα ὀκτὼ ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος. Ἴς ὄνομα αὐτῇ ἔνθα ἐστὶ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας· Ἴς καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ ὄνομα. ἐσβάλλει δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμόν, κτλ. Das kommt hier selbstverständlich nicht in Betracht. Anders dagegen die Stelle bei Strabo, οἰκιστὴς δ' αὐτῆς ὁ Ἴσ[ος] Ἑλικεύς (c. 273). Hier wird also Ἴς als Gründer der Stadt Sybaris erwähnt. Die Stelle ist verderbt, die Ergänzung von Ἴς zu Ἴσος bleibt zweifelhaft. Es stand hier offenbar ein Name, den

[1] *Hist. num.*, p. 67.

[2] Ed. Holzinger, cf. auch den Commentar, pp. 278 ff. Der Ansicht Nissens *loc. cit.*, p. 895 Anm. 4, Ἴς u. Λᾶρις seien Bäche des Cilento vermag ich mich nicht anzuschliessen. Ich vermute, dass N. die Stelle bei Parthax entgangen ist; s. a. Garrucci, p. 175.

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der Abschreiber nicht verstand. Der Name Ἴς steht nun in keiner weiteren Beziehung zu Σύβαρις; anders Ἴς zu ϝισ, woraus mit Wahrscheinlichkeit hervorgeht, dass der Name des mythischen Gründers auch bei Posidonia wieder auftrat.

Wir hätten danach also die Münzaufschrift als Personennamen zu deuten. Das ist weniger unwahrscheinlich, befriedigt aber auch nicht. Es fragt sich daher, ob man nicht beide Ergebnisse in Einklang bringen kann, wenn man ϝισ . . . in Hinsicht auf Paistom (Paestum) als ehemaligen Stadtnamen ansieht. Zunächst würde die Vermutung, dass Ἴς der Name einer ursprünglich lukanischen Gründung ist, dadurch abgewiesen werden, dass er unzweideutig auf Sybaris und damit nach Griechenland hinweist. Weiter: Die Stadt erhält den Namen ihres Gründers, was indessen nicht einwandsfrei ist. Die alte Ansiedlung der Sybariten lag in grösserer Nähe des Flusses, als die heutigen Ruinen Posidonias. Stadt und Fluss führten ursprünglich denselben Namen. Vielleicht hauptsächlich durch die Verlegung der Stadt, oder durch andere Umstände, die sich unserer Kenntnis vollständig entziehen, schwand der alte Name, und blieb nur auf den Münzen; das bedarf keiner weiteren Erklärung. Der Name des Flusses dagegen lebte weiter in der Mythologie.

So kann also Ἴς ebensogut die Stadt als auch den Fluss und Person bezeichnen. Dass Stadt und Fluss denselben Namen führen, ist nicht weiter auffallend, und für das benachbarte Pyxus sogleich zu belegen (Strabo c. 263).

Gegen die Erklärung von Ἴς als Stadtnamen[1] wird man kaum triftige Gründe vorbringen können, obgleich die Beweisführung, dass er es nun tatsächlich ist, ihre schwachen Seiten hat. Hingewiesen muss indessen darauf werden, dass der Name Silarus mit dieser ganzen Erklärung nicht zu vereinigen ist.[2]

Einen anderen Münztypus Ποσει . . . Συβα . . .[3] entspricht Ποσ . . . Συ . . .[4]

[1] Schon Grotefend *Alt. Italien* II. S. 49 spricht die Vermutung aus, dass ϝισ . . . der alte Name der Stadt sei.

[2] Cf. hierzu das obige Ergebnis aus den semitischen Namen.

[3] Garrucci, *Monete dell' It. loc. cit.* ii. 175.

[4] Head, *loc. cit.*, p. 70.

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P. 1435 erwähnt Babelon (nach Head) eine Münze, die gleichzeitig mit dem Namen der Stadt auf dem Revers auch den Namen des Silarus trägt. Das Stück is abgebildet bei Millingen[1] nach einem Exemplar der Sammlung Dupré[2] (Paris, 1867). An die Lesung Σειλε, die an und für sich, offenbar beeinflusst durch Ποσ . . . ρυσ . . . , unglaubwürdig ist, ist nicht zu denken. Sie ist vielmehr Μέγυλ(λος) zu lesen, und ist ein Personenname.[3]

Betrachten wir ferner in den verschiedenen Perioden der Münzprägung die einzelnen Münzbilder, so kann man, in Anlehnung an Head,[4] folgendes Schema aufstellen:

Ποσ . . . . Paistom, Paestum

	—480	—400		nach 273.
Poseidon	1	1		1
Hera		1		
Demeter		2		1
Athene		2		7
Zeus		2		3
Dioskuren				1
Dionys				1
Artemis				1
Apollo				3
Juno Moneta				5
Mens Bona				6
Persephone				4
u. s. w.				

Fast derselben Epoche entsprechend (493–480) findet sich das posidoniatische Münzbild des Poseidon auf Münzen von Zankle (Messina) (B. Head, pp. 133 f. 82) und Caulonia (Babelon, p. 1463).

Sehen wir uns die Tabelle weiter an, so finden wir, dass die Ausprägung von Göttertypen erst dann in grösserem Umfange vor sich geht, nachdem die Stadt römische Colonie geworden ist. Aehnlich ist das in den übrigen griechischen Colonien in Italien und Sicilien der Fall. Versuchen wir einmal aus den Münzen auf

[1] *Sylloge of Anc. C.*, Pl. I, 7. [2] Millingen, *Anc. C.* p. 11, no. 58.

[3] *Cat. d. berl. Münzslg.* III. 2, p. 381 (nicht im Buchh. erschienen). Cf. dazu Avellino im *Bull. Neap.* I, p. 24. Garrucci *loc. cit.*, pp. 177, 19–22; derselbe Name auf einer Inschrift aus Megara, Le Bas *Inscr.* II, nos. 27, 28.

[4] Head, p. 68, u. a.; (2) *Cat. Berlin* III. 2, p. 390. 391; (5) Mionnet *Descript. Suppl.* I. A. 734. Z. 737; (4) *Cat. Br. Mus.*, p. 274. 8–11; (5) *Cat. Br. Mus.* p. 282. 77 (6) Mionnet *ib.* 815–17; (7) Mionnet *ib.* 781. 786.

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die in Paestum verehrten Götter zu schliessen, so wird das nur möglich sein, wenn wir auch die anderen griechischen Städte Italiens und Siciliens mit zum Vergleich heranziehen. Für eine ganze Reihe von Städten, wie Akragas, Eryx, Messina, Leontini, Syracus, Tauromenium, Croton, Lokroi, Adranon, Thurii, Sybaris, Metapont, Tarent, Ancona, bis etwa 400 herunter, oder wenn wir die Grenzen etwas weiter fassen, bis zur jedesmaligen Colonisation durch die Römer, entsprechen die Münzbilder im ganzen und grossen auch einer Gottheit mit ihrem Tempel.

An Inschriften besitzen wir aus Posidonia zunächst zwei griechische:

(*a*) *IG.* XIV. 664: τ' Ἀθάνᾳ Ψιλλῶ Χαρμυλίδα δεκάτα[ν]. Statuette einer Kanephore aus Bronce.[1] Hierüber hat Curtius bereits ausführlich berichtet. Aus dem Grunde, dass der Eponymos von Posidonia Poseidon ist, glaubt C. hier auf Athene schliessen zu müssen, vorbehaltlich der Tatsache, dass die Statuette wirklich aus Paestum stammt. Die Arbeit selbst gehört an den Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts. Aber das Bedenken von Curtius ist hier wohl zu weitgehend, denn, dass die Statue verschleppt ist, ist kaum anzunehmen. Curtius hat hier ganz offenbar Athenische Verhältnisse im Auge, aber was soll das für Posidonia beweisen, eine Kolonie mit stark dorischem Einschlag?

(*b*) 665: τᾶς θεοῦ τ//ς[2] παιδός εἰμι auf einem kleinem Silberplättchen, ebenfalls in Paestum gefunden. Die Inschrift enthält also eine Widmung an Demeter. Hier ist auch noch der Helm mit der Weisung an Persephone Περιφόναι [ἀνεθηκ]έ με Ξενα (*IG.* XIV. 631), der wohl eher nach Paestum, als nach Lokroi gehört: vermutlich zu den Ausgrabungen von 1805. (De Ruggiero *Scavi nelle province*, p. 461.)

Die römischen Inschriften (*CIL.* X, p. 52, Nos. 472–500) sind für unsere Fragen ohne Belang, und enhalten fast nur Familiennamen, Namen der duoviri, ausserdem zwei Kaiserinschriften.

Damit sind wir am Ende unserer Untersuchungen angelangt. Es fragt sich nun, wie die einzelnen Tempel auf die Gottheiten zu verteilen sind. Dabei ist natürlich im Auge zu behalten, dass auch noch in Paestum andere Tempel bestanden haben können,

[1] *Arch. Ztg.* XXXVIII, p. 27.

[2] τ[ᾶ]ς nach der Lesung von Wilamowitz. τ[ρισέμνο]υ nach Welcker, *Kl. Schr.* 3, pp. 237 f. *Rh. Mus.* III. (1835), p. 581.

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von denen heut nichts mehr zu sehen ist, doch ist es ziemlich unwahrscheinlich, dass ausser den drei griechischen, noch andere griechische vorhanden gewesen sind. Nach den Untersuchungen Puchsteins ist die sog. "Basilica" ebenfalls als Tempel zu bezeichnen, eine Tatsache, die Perrot[1] offenbar noch nicht bekannt war.

Ausser der Basilica haben wir in Paestum noch zwei andere griechische Tempel: den Poseidon und den Cerestempel und das Fundament eines römischen, des sog. tempio della pace. Ferner lernen wir aus der oben angeführten Münztabelle, dass noch zwei weitere römische Tempel in Paestum bestanden haben, nämlich ein Distylos für den Mens-Bona[2] und ein zweiter für die Juno Moneta.[3] Ausserdem noch einen Hexastylos, der aber ohne Besitzer ist.[4] Es ist das höchstwahrscheinlich aber derselbe Tempel, der den Namen della Pace führt. Dass es nicht der Neptuntempel sein kann, geht mit Sicherheit aus der jedesmaligen summarischen Darstellung des jon. Säulenfusses hervor.

Fünf Götter kommen für die griechische Zeit als Tempelinhaber in Betracht. Den grössten Anspruch auf einen Tempel hat Poseidon, schon aus dem Grunde, weil er der Eponymos der Stadt ist. Hier ist zunächst noch die Frage des Cultbildes zu erledigen. O. Jahn (*Nuov. Mem. dell. Ist.*, p. 19), und nach ihm wohl Lenormant (*loc. cit.*), haben in dem Münzbilde eine Copie der Cultstatue sehen wollen. Dem hat Overbeck (Km. 2. 221 f. 3. 77), Müller-Wieseler (*Ant. Denkm.*[4] S. 149), und neuerdings Regling (Slg. Warren, p. 15) widersprochen mit der Begründung, dass dieser Typus auch auf anderen Münzen vorkomme, und daher ein allgemeiner sei. Das trifft ja bedingt zu. Es ist indessen zu bemerken, dass dieser Typ auf den Münzen von Caulonia und Zankle nur vereinzelt ist, während er sich in Posidonia lange hält und häufig ist, mithin wohl Paestum die Priorität der Type zukommt und ferner, was hatte man denn in damaliger Zeit noch für andere Typen schreitender Götter als diese? Mir sind weiter keine bekannt, und ich kann nur der Ansicht J. u. L. zustimmen, wenn es auch nicht möglich ist, sie zu beweisen, zumal da bei

[1] *H. d. l'Art.* 7, p. 560.

[2] Mionnet *loc. cit.*; Carelli *N. It.*, tab. 131. 32–34. [3] *Cat. Br. Mus. loc. cit.*

[4] Magnan *Luc. num.* I. 27. 2. 3. 5. T. 30. 3; *Mus. san. clem.* 1. 245; Carelli *loc. cit.*, tab. 131. 29; Mionnet *Suppl.* T. 1, pp. 315, 802–5.

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genauerem Zusehen der Typus in seinen Einzelheiten doch recht variirt. Für Poseidon kommt nun entweder der sog. Neptuntempel oder der Cerestempel in Betracht. Dieser ist älter als jener. Wir müssen aber den jungen als Poseidontempel in Anspruch nehmen, weil wir durch die Auffindung eines Delphinmosaikes im Tempel dazu gezwungen sind; es bleibt aber damit nur übrig einen Neubau an Stelle des alten anzunehmen, was um so eher wahrscheinlich ist, da der Tempel zur Zeit der Blüte der Stadt entstanden ist, sein Kult aber doch jedenfalls der älteste gewesen ist. Es folgt daraus, dass der Neptuntempel seinen Namen mit Recht führt, dass es aber richtiger ist ihn als Poseidontempel zu bezeichnen.

Für Hera einen Tempel anzusetzen ist nicht gut möglich, wegen der Stelle bei Strabo.

Die sog. Basilica war als Tempel natürlich für zwei wesensgleiche—oder gleichgesetzte—Götter bestimmt. Für Lokroi lässt sich das sicher nachweisen. Es kommen also nur die Dioskuren oder Demeter-Kore in Betracht; wer von beiden hier aber das meiste Anrecht auf den Besitz des Tempels hat, darüber kann kein Zweifel sein. Er gehörte den grossen Göttinnen von Eleusis, Demeter und Kore. Es widerspricht dem so gut wie nichts, auch nicht die Nähe des Poseidontempels, denn Demeter und Poseidon waren Cultgenossinnen.[1] Es ist ferner erwähnenswert der grosse Fund von etwa 1000 Demeterstatuetten, der 1820 zwischen beiden Tempeln gemacht wurde.[2] Wir werden also künftig nur noch von einem Demetertempel reden.

Es bleiben noch Zeus und Athene übrig. Wäre die Statuette gesichert, so wäre die Entscheidung sehr einfach, denn ihre Aufstellung ist nur in einem Tempel denkbar. Auf Grund der obengemachten Bemerkungen liegt indessen kein Grund vor daran zu zweifeln, und wir werden von jetzt ab den dritten Tempel als Athenetempel bezeichnen.

Damit ist die Reihe der griechischen Tempel und Götter

[1] Gruppe *Gr. Mythol.*, p. 1138.

[2] Lenormant *loc. cit.*, pp. 209 ff.; Gerhard *Ges. Abh.*, Bd. 2. Die Notiz Le. über den Statuettenfund 1820 habe ich übernommen, nach demich seine Quelle nicht ausfindig machen konnte. Ich vermute fast, dass hier ein Irrtum seinerseits vorliegt, denn auch bei Ruggiero steht kein Wort davon, wo doch zu allererst etwas stehen müsste (*Scavi di ant.*, pp. 459 f., 468 f.).

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erschöpft, und wir wenden uns nunmehr zu den römischen. Es bleibt der Rest des Pantheons auf der oben angeführten Tabelle zur Verfügung. Da aber nicht der leiseste Anhalt vorhanden ist, wem der Tempel wohl zuzuweisen sein könnte, so bleibt das vorläufig dahingestellt.[1]

Einen kleinen Schritt[2] weiter gelangen wir noch, wenn wir die Tempel nach der Nissenschen Theorie behandeln. Freilich die Namen der Götter werden wir nicht herausrechnen können; und besonders hier in unserm Falle, wo wir weder Namen noch Feste kennen, wird das Ergebnis ein besonders dürftiges sein. Aber es wird schon ein nicht zu unterschätzender Beweis für die Richtigkeit unserer Untersuchungen sein, wenn unser Resultat nicht den archäologischen Zeitansätzen für die Gründungszeit der Tempel widerspricht, sondern sie vielmehr bestätigt. Die Unterlagen entnehmen wir dem Werke P. u. K's[3] unter Beibehaltung der bisher üblichen Bezeichnungen.

Die Pohlhöhe der Tempel ist nach der der Generalstabskarte zugrundegelegten Berechnung:

$$\begin{array}{ll} \phi C & 40^\circ\ 25'\ 30''\ \text{n. Br.}[4] \\ \left.\begin{array}{l}\phi B\\ \phi P\end{array}\right\} & 40^\circ\ 25'\ 10''\ \text{n. Br.} \\ \phi R & 40^\circ\ 25'\ 20''\ \text{n. Br.} \end{array}$$

Die berechnete Deklination beträgt für 1892 9° 11′ westl. mit einer jährl. Abn. v. 5, 5′.

Die Orientation der Tempelaxen ist demnach: (1) Cerestempel, $265\frac{1}{4}$; (2) Basilica, $270\frac{3}{4}$; (3) Poseidontempel, $273\frac{3}{4}$; (4) Röm. Tempel, 355°.

Setzt man den Meridian von Rom (Monte Mario) = 0, so ist die östliche Länge des Cerest. 2° 33′ 15″, der beiden anderen 2° 33′ 10″, des röm. 2° 33′ 12″.

Vergleicht man die Richtung der Orientierungslinien mit den anderen gr. Tempeln in Sicilien und Unter-Italien, so ergiebt

[1] Garrucci, *Mon. dell' It.* II. 180. 24. ergänzt QVI(rinus): sollte das nicht stehen für QVIN(quennales)?

[2] Dieser Teil der Arbeit ruht auf: Nissen *Templum* (1869); *Rh. Mus.* XXVIII, p. 513 (I), XXIX, p. 369 (II), XL, p. 38. 329. (480) (III), (IV), XLII, p. 28 (V) und *Orientation* I. 1907.

[3] Pp. 188 ff. [4] Die Werte auf der Karte sind bis 2″ genau!

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sich folgendes; natürlich unter Zulassung einer Differenz von 1–2°: zu 1. Akragas, sog. Concordientempel, Herculestempel mit Altar; zu 2. B. C. D. F in Selinus; zu 3. die Tav. Pal. in Metapont, Olympeion, Apollonion in Syracus, das *kleine Megaron* A. O. G. E. in Selinus.

Von grösserem Interesse ist aber die Orientierungslinien der Tempel von Hellas damit zu vergleichen.

Zu 1., Athen, Erechtheion, 264°; Olympia, Heraion, 267½°; Delos, Apollotempel, 264¾; Delos, Letoon, 264¾°; zu 2., nichts; zu 3., Altar des Heraion (Ol.); zu 4., nur in Italien (Rom, Bogen des Septimius Severus 356°).[1]

Man sieht also, es kommt fast nur für den Cerestempel bei dem letzten Vergleich etwas heraus.

Vorausgesetzt wird ferner die von Nissen bewiesene Tatsache, dass der Sonnenaufgang am Gründungstage mit der Tempelaxe zusammenfällt, beziehungsweise mit der jedesmaligen Festfeier.

Die Berechnung der Tempelgründungstage wäre hiernach eine kleine Aufgabe, wenn die Natur die Sache nicht complicierter machen würde. Der Horizont von Paestum ist nämlich nach Osten nicht eben, und der scheinbare Winkel, unter dem die ersten Sonnenstrahlen sichtbar werden ein ganz bedeutender.

Trägt man mit Hilfe eines genauen Winkelmessers die Richtung der Tempelaxen auf durchsichtigem Papier auf und schiebt dieses so über die Karte, dass die entsprechenden Axen mit den Tempeln zusammen fallen, und orientiert richtig, so dass N = 180° ist, so findet man, dass sämtliche Axen auf einen Appeninausläufer (Mte. Soprano) treffen, der in etwa 1100 m. Höhe flachkreisbogig das Gesichtsfeld abschliesst.

A_O in 7, 5 km. Abstand auf cr. 1040 m. Höhe[2]
A_B in 9, 0 km. Abstand auf cr. 1050 m. Höhe
A_P in 12, 8 km. Abstand auf cr. 1000 m. Höhe[3]

[1] *Rh. Mus.* XXVIII, p. 554.

[2] Dass seit Gründung der Tempel die Berge um ein gutes Stück kleiner geworden sind, ist hier ausser Acht gelassen worden; es hat keinen Zweck, wenn man mit Bruchteilen einer Sekunde rechnet, und davon überzeugt ist, das die Minuten nicht genau sind. Die Abnahme beträgt aber jedenfalls mehr als 1, o. m. für das Jahrtausend.

[3] Die Richtung der Axe fällt gerade in die Passhöhe des Weges von Capaccio-Rocca d'Aspide (Pino di Vesole); der etwa 100 m höhere Mte. Balvari (1108 m) verdeckt den

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Es ergibt sich daraus die scheinbare Höhe der Sonne:

$$h_C = 7° 53' 41''$$
$$h_B = 6° 39' 16''$$
$$h_P = 4° 28' 1,8''$$

Der Sonnendurchmesser wird 32″ in Rechnung gestellt. Die Refraction mit den entsprechenden Werten nach den Tafeln von Vega

zu 6′ 34,4″: 7′ 40″: 10′ 43,3″

Die danach berichtigte Höhe:

$$h_C = 7° 47' 7''$$
$$h_B = 6° 31' 36''$$
$$h_P = 4° 17' 19''$$

Aus dem Azimut der Orientierungslinien schliesst man sofort, dass die Gründungstage und Feste in die Zeit der Aequinoctien oder nahe dazu fallen. Die Deklination des Sonnenmittelpunktes ergibt sich zu

$$d_C = +8° 22' 36''$$
$$d_B = +3° 23' 28''$$
$$d_P = -0° 20' 1''$$

Für $\epsilon - 500 = 23° 46' 12''$[1] in die weitere Rechnung eingesetzt gibt die Länge der Sonne zu:

$l_{C1} = 20° 59' 20''$ $\quad l_{C2} = 159° 0' 40''$
$l_{B1} = 8° 27' 15''$ $\quad l_{B2} = 171° 32' 45''$
$l_{P1} = 0° 50'$ $\quad l_{P2} = 179° 10'$

Diesen Werten entsprechen nach dem Nautical Almanac für das Jahr 1905, folgende Tage:

d_{C1} = April 11 oder 12 $\quad d_{C2}$ = September 1. od. 2
d_{B1} = März 29 $\quad d_{B2}$ = September 14
d_{P1} = März 21 $\quad d_{P2}$ = September 22

Welchem Kalender oder welchem Zeitrechnungssytem diese Tage entsprechen, ist völlig gleichgültig.

Aufgang der Sonne. Herr Dr. Neugebauer vom astr. Recheninstitut machte mich angesichts dieser Tatsache darauf aufmerksam, dass man vermuten könne, der Tempel sei a priori nach einem möglichst frühen Sonnenaufgange orientiert worden. Allein im Vergleich zu den anderen Tempeln ist die Differenz nicht sehr gross, Da wie wir später sehen werden, die Feste ziemlich zusammen fallen, kann man von der weiteren Verfolgung dieses Einwandes Abstand nehmen.

[1] Nach den Neugebauer'schen Tafeln: *Veröffti. d. astr. R. Inst.*, N. 25. *Abgek. T. der Sonne u. d. gr. Pl.* 1904, No. 27. *Abgek. T. d. Mondes*, 1905.

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Zunächst ist die Fragestellung die, welches Datum kommt überhaupt inbetracht, denn eins kann nur sein, also entweder Frühling oder Herbst. Leider tappen wir hier fast völlig im Dunkeln.

Für Athene müssen wir von vornherein darauf verzichten. Es ist für Italien kein datiertes Fest bekannt. Auf den griechischen Kalender können wir uns zwar beziehen, und es läge nahe an die Panathenäen zu denken; allein dies fällt etwa in den Juli (Nilsson *Gr. Feste*, pp. 84 ff.).

Für Poseidon weist uns unsere Untersuchung zurück nach Sybaris, und von hier nach Trözen;[1] die Anfänge des Cultes selbst nach Böotien und Lakonien.[2] In Lakonien ebenso wie in Kos und Kalymnia tritt der Monatsname Γεραίστος auf, der in der Trözenischen Tribus Γεραιστία wiederkehrt.

Ferner wird auf Euboia, in Lakonien, und in Trözen, Geraistos verehrt, der mit Poseidon-Geraistos identisch ist.[3] Der spartanische Monatsname Γεραίστιος ist aber dem att. Elaphobolion gleich zu setzen; wir geben also, da der Elaphobolion dem März/April entspricht, dem Frühlingsdatum[4] den Vorzug. Unter den Mondphasen käme wohl nur der Vollmond inbetracht, entsprechend anderen grossen Festfeiern; soviel ich weiss ist darüber nichts überliefert.

Vorausgesetzt, dass die Basilica ein Tempel der Demeter war, wird die Festzeit festgelegt auf den Vollmond des betreffenden Monats; wir können das ohne weiteres voraussetzen, wofern der Schluss von dem grossen eleusinischen Fest auf andere Demeterfeste zulässig ist, in dieser frühen Zeit.

Ueber den Kult der Demeter im Verhältniss zu den beiden vorherbesprochenen, sind wir zwar besser unterrichtet, aber das erschwert wiederum die Beurteilung umsomehr, als wir uns mit keinen zureichenden Gründen für das eine oder andere Fest entscheiden können.

Aber das ist zunächst nicht das entscheidende. Es kommt zunächst darauf an, von wo der Kult eingeführt wurde. Setzen

[1] Solin, a. o. O.

[2] Nilsson, pp. 64 ff., 68, u. 82; Sam Wide *Lak. Kulte*, pp. 34 ff.

[3] Wide, pp. 43 f., cf. dort die näheren Ausführungen.

[4] Herrmann *G. Alt.*, p. 464. 24, datiert die Poseidonien auf dem Vorsommer. Kommt also zu einem Ergebnis, das hinsichtlich der Jahreszeit mit dem unsrigen zusammenfällt. (Vergl. dazu A. Mommsen, *Chronologie* (1883), p. 22, Anm.)

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wir den einfachsten Fall als tatsächlich voraus, so ist der Kult von Sybaris hergekommen. Er ist dort nicht bezeugt, muss dort aber doch wohl ausgeübt worden sein. Von Sybaris führt uns der Weg nach Lakonien, wo die Verehrung einer Göttin Eleusinia[1] bezeugt ist, die wesensgleich mit den grossen Göttinnen von Eleusis gewesen ist. Von den Demeterfesten sind die Thesmophorien die verbreitetsten. Das Fest ist fest an die Aussaat geknüpft (Syrakus, Diod. 5. 4; Athen, 9–13 Pyanepsion, Stengel *Gr. Ka.*, p. 203).

Die Eleusinien wurden am 16–25 Boedromion (I. X) gefeiert. Ausnahmen bilden Theben und Delos, wo die Thesmophorien in den Metageitnion fallen.

Wir haben bisher die Basilica als Demetertempel bezeichnet, um die Darstellung nicht zu sehr auf das Gebiet vager Vermutungen zu bringen. Hier aber wird die Frage unabweisbar, wenn andererseits der Kult nicht von Sybaris eingeführt ist, wo kommt er dann her, und wie verhält sich dazu Kore-Persephone?[2] Schon Lenormant vermutete, dass die Basilica der Persephone und Kore geweiht war.

Dann ist das zweite möglich, dass der Kult aus Sicilien eingeführt war, denn die sicilischen Colonien sind doch ebenso alt als die Unteritaliens. Die Feste der Kore-Persephone scheinen teils in den Frühling (Anthesphoria, Poll. 1. 37) teils in den Herbst (Diod. 5. 4 und Phot. *s. v.* Σπήνια) gefallen zu sein.[3] Die weitere Untersuchung scheitert an dem Fehlen jeglicher Anhaltspunkte. Das einzige beweiskräftige Moment, das gegen die zweite Vermutung spricht, ist der archäologische Befund. Wir können uns also auch hier für das Herbst-Datum entscheiden.

Dass das Fest vor die grossen Eleusinien in Attica fiel, hat vielleicht seinen Grund darin, dass bei einem Zusammenfall beider Feste das der Posidoniaten notwendigerweise durch die Abreise vieler Festteilnehmer dürftig ausfallen musste; um dies zu verhindern fand das heimatliche Fest vorher statt. Auf Grund dieser Berechnungen und Voraussetzungen sind wir jetzt in der Lage die Gründungstage angeben zu können, und zwar für den Poseidon-

[1] Nilsson, p. 334; Wide, pp. 175, 181. [2] Nilsson, pp. 354 ff.

[3] Beachtenswert ist auch das, was Strabo 6. 256 über Hipponium sagt. Nil., p. 357, Anm.

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tempel der 29. März, 418 v. Chr.,[1] und für den Demeter-Koretempel. 19. September, 548 v. Chr. (jul.). Dazu is folgendes zu bemerken. Der archäologische Ansatz ist für den Poseidontempel das 5. Jahrhundert, für die beiden anderen das 6. Da weiter keine Anhaltspunkte vorliegen, so hat man zunächst nach Massgabe des Voraufgegangenen für die entsprechenden beiden Jahrhunderte und Monate die zugehörigen Mondphasen zu berechnen. Dies geschieht am bequemsten in Tabellenform nach dem Compendium von Fleischhauer.[2] Nun verwandelt man das Datum der Sonnenlänge aus dem Nautical Almanac in ein julianisches, und sieht jetzt sofort, dass von den 100 möglichen Jahren etwa 10–12 übrig bleiben, in die das Gründungsjahr des Tempels fallen kann.[3] Nun berechnet man aus diesen übrigbleibenden Daten wiederum die Sonnenlänge. (Man braucht freilich sich um das aus dem N. A. gewonnene Datum nicht weiter zu bekümmern, und dafür aus jedem Datum der Mondphase die Sonnenlänge berechnen; das kostet aber Zeit, und man wird bald gewahr, dass das Datum, welches überhaupt in Betracht kommt, das des N. A. ist, natürlich julianisch ausgedrückt.)

Diese neu berechneten Sonnenlängen werden mehr oder weniger von dem durch die Beobachtung der Tempelaxe gewonnenen abweichen, eine oder zwei aber sind jedenfalls darunter, die der gesuchten entsprechen, und diese entsprechen den Gründungsjahren der Tempel. Man kann nun wiederum die Phasen des Kompendiums nach den Neugebauerschen Tafeln der Sicherheit wegen noch einmal nachprüfen; man erhält dadurch die Mondphase auf o, 2 d. genau. Insbesondere ist für den vorliegenden Fall noch das nachzutragen.

1. Für den Poseidontempel: Sonnenlänge aus Beob. berechnet, 0°, 83: berechnet nach den Tafeln,—417 v. Chr., März 29, 0°, 82. Vollm.+0, 22 d nach März 29.[4]

[1] Koldewey *loc. cit.* setzt den Tempel von Segesta, der etwas jünger ist, auf 420–430 an; ich möchte lieber der Ansicht Holms folgen, *Gesch. Sic.* I. 304, der den Tempel dem 4. Jahrhundert zuweist, also etwa 390–380. Das stimmt sehr gut mit unserem Ergebnis.

[2] *Kalendercompendium*, 1884.

[3] Denn mit der Sonnenlänge allein, die, wie die Neugebauerschen Tafeln lehren, in 4-jährigen Perioden schwankt, ist natürlich nichts anzufangen. Die Möglichkeit, dass ein Jahr das Gründungsjahr ist, tritt fast jedes 2. oder 3. Jahr ein. Erst der Mond bewirkt die Ausschaltung.

[4] Das astronomische Jahr ist um 1 kleiner, als das bürgerliche!

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2. Demeter-Koretempel: 171°, 55–547 v. Chr., September 19, 171°, 83. Vollm.+0, 6 d nach September 29. Der Wert für den Poseidontempel ist der einzige in dem Jahrhundert, der dem beobachteten am nächsten kommt. Vom Demetertempel gilt dasselbe wie vom Poseidontempel. Wichtig ist, dass das Ergebnis der Berechnung mit dem archäologischen Ansatz übereinstimmt. Das Datum selbst ist Nebensache, da es sich auf einen "anticipierten" Kalender bezieht. Einen Beweis, dass die Benennung der Tempel richtig ist, liefert die Rechnung nicht, und kann sie auch nicht liefern (vgl. Nissen a. a. O. *Rh. Mus.*), aber sie widerspricht jener auch nicht.

Für den römischen Tempel ist Folgendes zu bemerken. Da das Aufgangsazimut vom Untergangsazimut nur 10° entfernt ist, so kommen Sonne, Mond, Planeten nicht inbetracht, und der Tempel ist, wenn überhaupt, nach einem Fixstern orientiert, der erst wenige Jahre vorher für Paestum überhaupt sichtbar geworden war. Die Orientierungslinie trifft in einer Entfernung von 18, 2 km auf die 688 m hohe Pta. la Carpinara. Der Gesichtswinkel beträgt demnach 2° 9′ 53, 5″; unter Berücksichtigung der Refraction ist die berechnete Deklination des Sternes 47° 27′ 25″. Welcher Stern hat demnach im Gründungsjahre diese Deklination gehabt? oder giebt es überhaupt einen? Es ist β Crucis, 1. 7 Grösse. Es ergiebt sich, dass der Stern 272 v. Chr. (astr.) eine Deklination von 47° 4′ 8″ gehabt hat. Ein Ergebnis, das mit dem aus dem Azimut des Tempels berechneten sehr gut übereinstimmt, denn die Abweichung beträgt nur 0, 39°. Anders ausgedrückt heisst das: Das Gründungsjahr des Tempels fällt in das Gründungsjahr der Colonie, oder aber nicht viel später, auf alle Fälle aber in das dritte Jahrhundert. Es lässt sich danach vermuten, dass der Tempel ein Jupitertempel war, denn die anderen Götter scheiden wohl aus, und das würde der Ergänzung Garrucci's QVI(rinus) nicht wiedersprechen.[1]

[1] Das findet man natürlich erst nach mehreren Fehlschlägen. Die Rechnung wurde für α Centauri u. η Argus ebenfalls ausgeführt; indessen ohne Erfolg. Herr Dr. Neugebauer hatte die Güte, die Ergebnisse zu controllieren. Die Berechnung geht vor sich nach den Praecessionsgleichungen bei Oppolzer *Bahnbest. der Kom.*[2] (1882) I, p. 216.

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AN ARCHAIC BOEOTIAN INSCRIPTION

By Carl Darling Buck

The following inscription is one of those which were brought to light by the French excavation of the temple of Ptoon Apollo in 1885–86, but has not been officially published hitherto. Its discoverer, M. Maurice Holleaux, now director of the French School at Athens, showed it privately to a number of friends, one of whom M. Bréal published, in the *Mém. Soc. Ling.* VII (1892), p. 448, his own reading of the text as follows: *καλϝὸν ἄγαλμα ϝάνακτι ϝοίδας. Ποίϝεσε μ' Ἐχέστροτος. Αὐτὰρ ἔπεμφσαν ὀν Πτοϊέϝι. Τὸς τὺ, ϝάναξ, φεφύλαξο, δίδου ὀαρτάν.* It was the last word, thought to be equivalent to *ἑορτήν*, which attracted Bréal's interest. But in the next volume of the *Mémoires* (VIII, pp. 180 ff.) Holleaux declares the reading *ὀαρτάν* impossible, and comments on the conclusion of the inscription as follows:

> δίδου (ou peut-être διδοι?) δ' *ἀρτάν*. La présence de la conjonction δέ après δίδου est indispensable. Quant au mot *ἀρτάν*, il ne peut guère être autre chose que *ἀρετάν*, soit qu'il y ait syncope, soit que par mégarde on ait omit l' ε. Il faut interpréter ici *ἀρ(ε)τάν* non par "bravoure" ou "vertu," mais plutôt par "prospérité" ou "force." Mon vénéré maître M. Weil, qui a bien voulu lire et étudier l'inscription, m'a indiqué deux rapprochements intéressants. A la fin des deux hymnes homériques XV et XX (ainsi qu'à la fin de l'hymne I de Callimaque), on lit: *δίδου δ' ἀρετήν τε καὶ ὄλβον*. Il semble donc que nous retrouvions dans notre texte une formule d'un usage assez fréquent, mais abrégée ici par la suppresion des mots: *τε καὶ ὄλβον*. En résumé, je pense qu'il faut traduire: "Protège-les, ô roi, et donne-leur la prospérité (ou la force)."

In limiting his comments to the last line, Holleaux stated that several of his readings differed from those proposed by Bréal, but that the publication of the inscription was reserved for the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* and would be given in its next number. The promised publication failed to appear, however, and, while the interesting form *καλϝόν*, which settled at once a dispute over the source of *καλός*, has long since found its way into

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our handbooks, the inscription as a whole has remained unavailable to scholars. It was obvious that something was radically wrong with Bréal's reading. The unaugmented πολϝεσε pointed clearly to verse, and the hexameter started off well, but was soon wrecked. Furthermore, the abrupt change to the plural ἔπεμφσαν and τός, with nothing in the preceding to which they could refer, was unintelligible, as were also, in the context, the forms ϝοίδας and ὄν. But it was useless, as well as improper, to attempt anything with the text before its official publication with the necessary epigraphical data.

Wishing, if possible, to make use of the inscription in a forthcoming work on the Greek dialects, I recently made inquiries, through the American School at Athens, regarding the prospect of publication. M. Holleaux informed our secretary, Mr. Caskey, that he had not the leisure to publish it, and suggested that a copy and squeeze be made for me. Mr. Stais, of the National Museum, in which the inscription now lies, granted me permission to publish it, since M. Holleaux had given up the idea of doing so. Mr. Caskey has very kindly furnished the epigraphical data, with a copy, pencil rubbings, and an excellent plaster impression which Mr. Stais had made. I give first the description and a photograph made from the plaster impression,[1] the negative being reversed to restore the original relations. (See opposite p. 78.)

It is evident at a glance that the inscription is incomplete, the tile being broken at the bottom. Bréal's impossible text was due to the failure to recognize this fact, which was not pointed out by Holleaux and must have been overlooked by him when he assumed (see above) that the last words were an *abridgment* of the phrase used in the Homeric hymns. It is now possible, even if we do not effect a complete restoration, to read what is extant without violence to the demands of form, meter, or sense. The meter is plainly hexameter, and by a process of elimination we

[1] The impression, Mr. Caskey writes, is in most cases clearer than the original, though imperfect in a few letters, notably in the third letter (λ) of the first line, which is sufficiently clear in the original. Some few letters have not come out quite as clearly in the photograph as they appear in the impression. But for the most part it is a faithful reproduction. At the end of line 1 we must not mistake for a vertical what is only a portion of the line caused by the shadow of the edge. No part of the letter following ϝ is actually preserved.

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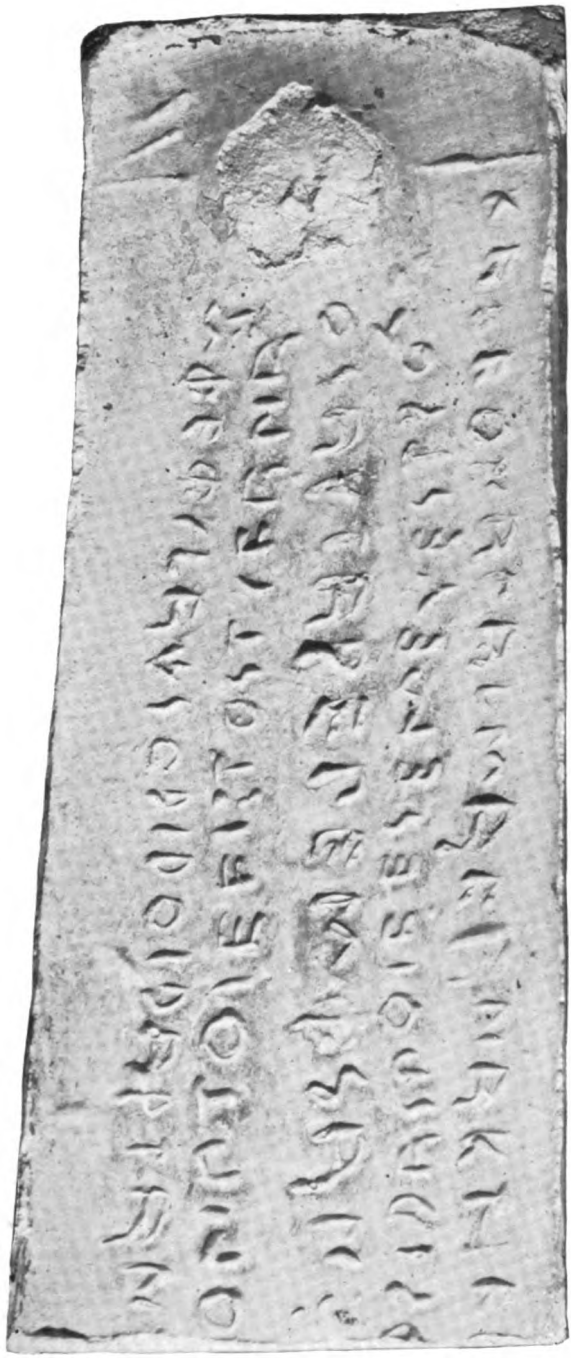
arrive at *αὐτὰρ ἔπεμφσαν* as a verse-ending, naturally the second, which is confirmed by the punctuation. *Πτοιε͂ρι* before *τὸς τύ* must also be a verse-ending, the third, and this too is confirmed by the punctuation. There is missing then, from the end of line 1 and the beginning of line 2 (the arrangement being *βουστροφηδόν*), the conclusion of the first verse and the first syllable of the second; from the end of line 3 and the beginning of line 4, all but the last two feet of the third verse;[1] and from the end of line 5, the conclusion of the fourth verse. That is, we have the following scheme as a basis for restorations:

Καλϝὸν ἄγαλμα ϝάνακτι ϝ[˘ – ˘˘ – ×
—]οσιδας ποίϝε͂σε μ' Ἐχέστροτος αὐτὰρ ἔπεμφσαν
]ον Πτοιε͂ρι
τὸς τὺ ϝάναχς φεφύλαχσο δίδοι δ' ἀρ(ϵ)τάν[˘˘ – ×

The conclusion of the first verse may be restored as *ϝ[εκαβόλοι* (or perhaps *ϝ[ηεκαβόλοι*, cf. *Fηεκαδάμοε*) *Ἀπό(λ)λω̃νι*. The beginning of the second is more difficult. The sixth letter of line 2 is *ι* according to Mr. Caskey's copy. In this case the word would have to be a dative in agreement with the preceding, but *Λατοίδαι*, the only known epithet of Apollo which comes anywhere near meeting the requirements, is impossible, unless one strikes out the second letter of the line (*σ*) as an error of the engraver. From the plaster impression, however, the sixth letter appears to me to be a *σ* with angles not strongly marked, but unmistakable, and nearly, if not fully, as distinct as e. g. the *σ*'s of *Ἐχέστροτος*, or of *φεφύλαχσο*. The form being then a nominative, doubtless of a proper name, we must either revise our restoration of the first verse and introduce a verb *ἀνέθε͂κε* or *ἔστασε*, which otherwise, in view of the later *ἔπεμφσαν*, is not needed, or else this nominative must be in agreement with *Ἐχέστροτος*. It may be, as my colleague Professor Tarbell has suggested to me, a patronymic. This epic use of forms in *-ίδης* (*-ίδας*) as true patronymics occurs, though infrequently, in inscriptional epigrams, e. g., *Ἀνθεμίδης*, son of *Ἀνθέμιος*, Kaibel *Epigram. Gr.* add. 903*a*.

[1] Lines 3 and 4 must have extended somewhat farther down on the tile than 1 and 2.

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Tile of reddish clay, face painted black. Paint much worn away. Broken at bottom. Length .175 m. Width at top .06 m., at bottom .072 m. Thickness .025 m.

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Or it may designate the gens or phratry to which Ἐχέστροτος (a Boeotian; note -στροτος = -στρατος) belonged. Cf., e. g., Παυσανίας Διογένους Ἰαμίδης, Κάλλιτος Ἀντία Κλυτιάδης of Elis, Dittenberger *Sylloge* 612. 12, 13. As but few of the Boeotian gentes and phratries are known to us, any attempt at restoration along this line is useless. For a patronymic one may think of various possibilities, e. g., Ἁρμοσίδας, which occurs in Rhodes (as a name, not as a patronymic), Δαμοσίδας (cf. Δαμόσιος), Εὐδοσίδας (cf. Εὔδοτος, Εὐδοσία), etc. But it should be stated here that the incomplete letter at the beginning of line 1 is not certainly an *o*. On the impression it looks to me rather more like a portion of *ρ* formed like the *ρ* in *ἀρτάν*, line 5. And, since violations of the meter in proper names are by no means unknown in inscriptional verse (cf. Allen *Greek Versification in Inscriptions*, pp. 39, 75 ff.), a name in -ρσίδας, such as, e. g., Εὐθαρσίδας (cf. Εὐθάρσης), Εὐχερσίδας (cf. Χέρσις, Χερσίας, Εὔχειρ), must be admitted as within the range of possibilities. But on the whole I incline to -οσίδας.

In the third verse stood the subject of *ἔπεμφσαν*, the names of the donors. The word of which the final *ον* remains may be a noun in apposition to, or an adjective in agreement with, *ἄγαλμα* understood. The possibilities are too numerous to be worth mention.

The fourth verse is to be completed to accord with the verse-ending to which Weil called attention (see above). The *τός* (so to be transcribed, later Boeot. *τώς* not *τός*) refers, of course, to the lost subject of *ἔπεμφσαν*. *φεφύλαχσο* = Hom. *πεφύλαξο*, with assimilation of aspirates, as in Cret. *θιθέμενος* = *τιθέμενος*, Locr., El. *θέθμιον* = *τέθμιον* (Att. *θέσμιον*), Arc. *φαρθένος* = *παρθένος*, Boeot. *Φίθων* = *Πίθων*, etc. The omission of *ε* in *ἀρτάν* I take to be merely the engraver's blunder. As regards the question of *δίδου* or *δίδοι*, we must certainly choose the latter. It is true that for the last letter the copy, rubbing, and, much less clearly, the impression, show what looks like a short stroke leading out of the vertical on the right. But this must be either a defect in the tile or a slip of the engraver. In the *ν* of *τύ* and that of *φεφύλαξο* the main stroke turns to the right, while the short stroke is added

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to the left (see the photograph). Furthermore, and this is decisive, *δίδου* with *ου* for the "spurious diphthong" is out of the question for Boeotian of any period, or, at the time of this inscription, for any dialect except Corinthian. The proper reading is *δίδοι*, which occurs in Pindar, in another Boeotian, and in a Corinthian inscription, and which, with other imperative forms of like character, has been explained by Wright *Harvard Studies* VII, pp. 85 ff., and by Brugmann *Idg. Forsch.* XV, p. 128, *Kurze Grammatik*, p. 559.

Our reading of the whole, with the suggested restorations, is then as follows:

Καλϝὸν ἄγαλμα ϝάνακτι ϝ[εκαβόλοι Ἀπό(λ)λōνι.
ʔ Δαμ]οσίδας ποίϝēσε μ' Ἐχέστροτος· αὐτὰρ ἔπεμφσαν
[– – – – – – – – – – – -]ον Πτōιεῖ ϝι.
τὸς τὺ, ϝάναχς, φεφύλαχσο, δίδοι δ' ἀρ(ε)τάν[τε καὶ ὄλβον.]

This is one of the very earliest Boeotian inscriptions. The letters are as archaic as, for example, those of *IG.* VII. 2729, which Dittenberger ascribes to the early sixth century, and the ϝ is preserved uniformly, while *IG.* VII. 2729 has *ἐποίϝēσε* but Πτōιεῖι.

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NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

ON THUCYDIDES II. 15. 4

τὸ δὲ πρὸ τούτου ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἡ νῦν οὖσα πόλις ἦν καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον. τεκμήριον δὲ· τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστί, καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἵδρυται, τό τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τὸ Πύθιον, κ. τ. λ.

Without involving myself in the interminable topographical controversy I wish to propose what seems to me the necessary construction of the last three lines as they stand. All difficulties may of course be circumvented by the assumption of a considerable *lacuna* which it is an easy exercise in Greek prose composition to fill up. But as there is practically no variation in the manuscript readings (I do not know Professor Capps's authority for the reading *τὰ δὲ ἔξω* from which he argues in *Class. Phil.*, Vol. II, pp. 40, 41) and no emendation has won general acceptance, we are bound to retain the text if possible. It becomes not only possible but very easy if we take the first *καὶ* as idiomatically balancing and anticipating the second. (Cf. Plato *Protag.* 347 A, and examples in Kühner-Gerth § 524. 2.)

The commonly accepted device of taking *καὶ ἄλλων* as opposed to Athena "understood" from *τῇ θεῷ* three lines, four clauses, and two sentences back is, I think, quite inadmissible. No good parallel is cited for so violent a retroactive "understanding." The suggestion of Whibley (*Class. Review* XIV. 275) that the antithesis of Athena and *τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν* is familiar in Athenian legal terminology overlooks the considerable difference between *ἄλλων θεῶν* and *τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν*. If, however, we take the first *καὶ* as balancing and anticipating the second, and note the true emphasis and order of the words all becomes clear. Thucydides is determining the site of the ancient city by the position of the *ἱερά*. The question of the absolute validity of this method does not concern us. He says in substance: "Formerly the present Acropolis was the city—and the region beneath it southward chiefly. A confirmation of this are the *ἱερά*—as well those of divers [lit. "other"] deities on the Acropolis itself, as also [more particularly] those outside to wit:"—etc.

The key-word *ἱερά* is placed first and then divided by what is in effect a loose partitive apposition into two categories. The first category seemed to Thucydides either more self-evident or perhaps less significant for his purpose than the second. He therefore merely mentions it without pausing

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to enumerate the divinities of the Acropolis, and warns us of the more explicit clause to come by the anticipatory καὶ. This is a little obscured by the pregnant brevity of the whole and the position of καὶ. There was no real reason for *contrasting* the shrines of the Acropolis with those outside. But when τὰ γὰρ ἱερά had been placed first there was no other good place for καί, which besides has an affinity for ἄλλος. The word ἱερά practically does double duty standing at once for all the ἱερά and those on the Acropolis. And the clause καὶ τὰ ἔξω condenses the two statements that the ἔξω ἱερά are the second half of the τεκμήριον and that they are situated πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος. Thucydides might have written with painful Isocratean explicitness something like: τῶν γὰρ ἀρχαίων ἱερῶν τὰ μὲν . . . . τὰ δὲ . . . . εἰ καὶ ἔξω . . . . πρὸς τοῦτο γοῦν τὸ μέρος, etc. But it is not his way. An explicit statement that the older ἱερά are either found on the Acropolis itself or if outside are toward the Acropolis, or toward the south, or toward that part of the (modern) city constituted by the Acropolis and the region under it toward the south—this would have required thrice as many words as he has employed. He is indifferent to smooth grammatical and logical concinnity. So Miss Harrison commenting on this very passage (*Primitive Athens*, p. 66) could have written "Readers . . . . might take and have taken." But she prefers to write: "Readers . . . . might and have taken"—and as she is not writing Greek we know what she means.

PAUL SHOREY

SOME CLASSICAL QUOTATIONS FROM THE MIDDLE AGES

Manitius in making up his list of classical references (see *Philologus*, Nos. 47–53 *passim*) has apparently neglected the literatures of the Scandinavian countries. I have noted a few Latin quotations from that field, assuming that they may prove to be of some interest in marking how far classical interests extended in the Middle Ages.

Þioðrek Munk (Theodoricus Monachus), evidently a monk of Trondhjem, Norway, wrote in Latin a history of his native land about 1160 (see Langebek *Script. Rer. Danicarum* V, pp. 312–41). This man quotes several Latin writers, probably using books that were to be found in the monastery or in the cathedral of his native town. He uses the following passages of Lucan: 1. 92, 93 (p. 315 and again p. 323), 1. 183 (p. 332, partly misquoted), 1. 337 (p. 334), 1. 666–69 (p. 336), 7. 552–54 and 556 (p. 341), 7. 812–15 (p. 327). He also quotes Stat. *Theb.* 1. 151 as belonging to Lucan.

From Horace he gets *Epode* 1. 1 (p. 323) and *Epist.* 1. 2. 69, 70 (p. 338), the latter incorrectly and without naming the author. A quotation attributed to Vergil is identified by Suhm as coming from Proba's cento

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of Vergil (Lang., p. 336). Ovid *Met.* 1. 128–31 is introduced with the phrase: ut videatur notasse *satyricus* (p. 341).

Theodoricus also employs Pliny the Elder three times. He cites *Plinius Secundus Naturalis historiae* (scriptor) as a source of information regarding Charybdis (p. 325, the reference may be to *N. H.* 3. 14). On p. 327 he quotes a sentence from the same work regarding the deterioration of the human race (see *N. H.* 7. 16). Again (p. 334), in writing of Mithradates, he cites from Pliny: "*De hoc Rege scribit Plinius secundus his verbis: Mithridates, inquit, rex Ponti, homo potentissimus et ditissimus annis XL bellum protraxit nobiscum variis eventibus, XXII gentium Rex totidem linguis jura dixit pro concione singulos sine interprete affatus.*" Here the writer is evidently using some intermediate source, for the end of the alleged quotation is all that is to be found in Pliny (see *N. H.* 25. 3).

There is finally a reference to Plato reminiscent of some lines in the *Timaeus* (see *Tim.* 22 C, and cf. *Laws* 677*b*): "*Hanc vicissitudinem seculorum exustionis et eluvionis inducit Plato, dicens: expletis quindecim millibus annorum eas alternatim accidere, omneque humanum genus interire, praeter paucissimos qui aliquo casu evadant unde postea reparentur homines: hoc semper extitisse et semper futurum esse.*" In discussing this doctrine he uses, curiously enough, some Greek phrases, a bit of pedantry somewhat unusual for the remote region from which this work comes. I have not been able to find his immediate source.

The collection (Langebek) from which I have been quoting also contains some other documents which give proof of classical activities in the North. An *Anonymus de Profectione in Terram Sanctam* tells of a pilgrimage undertaken from Norway about 1190. The writer quotes Verg. *Ecl.* iii. 90, 91 in his preface (V, p. 342), and later (p. 347) reports a preacher as quoting Juvenal: *juxta illud poeticum proverbium "quod non dant proceres dabit histrio"* (cf. *Sat.* 7. 90). Ovid *Rem. am.* 2 occurs in the Life of Gunner of Viborg (Lang. V. 579), and Ov. *Trist.* 9. 5, 6 is slightly misquoted in a letter of Wilhelm the abbot (Lang. VI. 74 about the year 1192). *Anth. Lat.* 256 (Riese) is quoted in the *Encomium Emmae Reg.* (II. 492) in the form that Donatus' *Vita Vergilii* employs:

> Nocte pluit tota redeunt spectacula mane
> Divisum imperium cum Jove Caesar habet.

The lines were frequently used in the Middle Ages (see Manitius, *Phil.* 51, p. 158) but not in this form. Our author attributes the distich to Vergil.

TENNEY FRANK

BRYN MAWR

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NOTE ON EURIPIDES *ALCESTIS* 290 FF.

καίτοι σ' ὁ φύσας χἠ τεκοῦσα προύδοσαν,
καλῶς μὲν αὐτοῖς κατθανεῖν ἥκον βίου,
καλῶς δὲ σῶσαι παῖδα κεὐκλεῶς θανεῖν.

The lamented Dr. Hayley rightly called this "a *locus desperatissimus.*" Those who would see briefly summarized the views held by scholars on this passage should consult his judicious note. I must dissent, however, from his own conclusion that "the *sense* doubtless was 'though it was highly fitting (καλῶς ἥκον) for them to depart from life,' and that κατθανεῖν is either corrupt or a gloss which has displaced some verb governing βίου." That κατθανεῖν is sound is suggested by the following θανεῖν, it being common in Euripides as elsewhere to let the simple verb repeat the compound. As for βίου, it is conceivable that it may depend directly on κατθανεῖν felt as the equivalent of ἐξελθεῖν; or it may be defended by referring to Hdt. vii. 157 σὺ δὲ δυνάμιός τε γὰρ ἥκεις μεγάλης, where the editors, following Reiske, generally read ἥκεις μεγάλως, a construction dubious at best. The real difficulty in the passage under consideration is that it ill becomes the heroine Alcestis to suggest that it was "highly fitting" for the parents of Admetus to depart this life; moreover, in v. 284 (παρόν μοι μὴ θανεῖν ὑπὲρ σέθεν) where the emphasis lies upon παρόν μοι μὴ θανεῖν, not upon ὑπὲρ σέθεν) a plain hint occurs of what we may expect: Alcestis volunteers to die, though she may live if she chooses; but Admetus' parents—why, they must die in any event (αὐτοῖς κατθανεῖν ἥκον). This is what Admetus very unkindly tells Pheres at 642 ff.:

ἦ τἄρα πάντων διαπρέπεις ἀψυχίᾳ,
ὃς τηλικόσδ' ὢν κἀπὶ τέρμ' ἥκων βίου
οὐκ ἠθέλησας οὐδ' ἐτόλμησας θανεῖν
τοῦ σοῦ πρὸ παιδός, ἀλλὰ τήνδ' εἰάσατε
γυναῖκ' ὀθνείαν, ἣν ἐγὼ καὶ μητέρα
πατέρα τ' ἂν ἐνδίκως ἂν ἡγοίμην μόνην.
καίτοι καλόν γ' ἂν τόνδ' ἀγῶν' ἠγωνίσω
τοῦ σοῦ πρὸ παιδὸς κατθανών, βραχὺς δέ σοι
πάντως ὁ λοιπὸς ἦν βιώσιμος χρόνος.

Thus suspicion at once arises in regard to the first καλῶς. Because of the words just quoted I had thought of πάντως as probably displaced by καλῶς, by a sort of dittography, as καλῶς stands, and properly stands, at the head of the following verse. I am now convinced that the remedy is simpler, though the resulting sense is the same: for καλῶς, read κἄλλως. "and yet your parents have left you in the lurch, though they are at 'the term of life' to die in any case, but nobly save their son and win them ame in dying." Alcestis pointedly suggests that they should make a

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virtue of necessity and live on in *fama superstes*. For this use of καὶ ἄλλως compare Plato *Symp.* 173 *c*, *Rep.* 458 *a*, 495 *b*; Homer *Π.* 9. 699; ἄλλως also occurs, as Ar. *Ran.* 1115, Aesch. *Choeph.* 680, etc.

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Despite the ingenuity of Professor Heidel's suggestion, in which, however, the position of κἄλλως is doubtful, I think the text may be construed if we allow ἦκον to play a double part by slight idiomatic looseness. With κατθανεῖν it means that they have reached the natural season of life to die. Compare *Phoenissae* 967:

> αὐτὸς δ' ἐν ὡραίῳ γὰρ ἔσταμεν βίου
> θανεῖν ἕτοιμος.

With the second line it means that it well becomes them to save, etc. The repetition of θανεῖν merely gives the a b a order not infrequent in tragedy. It is really a case where, to borrow Professor Gildersleeve's Gallicism "analysis loses its rights." No one who does not stop to analyze stumbles over the passage or is troubled by the false antithesis of the anaphora. Neither Isocrates nor Plato nor Lucretius would have objected to what offends our daintier logical sense, the fact that the repeated καλῶς must be taken in a slightly different way and may be referred ambiguously to ἦκον or σῶσαι.

P. S.

ON THE HYPOTHESIS TO ANTIPHON 2 β

Ὁμολογεῖ μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἔχθραν, κτλ. The text will construe, but πρώτην has given trouble as in the previous member of the tetralogy there is no "first enmity." Jernstedt would delete πρώτην and adds αὐτὴν to the ἔχθραν of l. 3. It is necessary to secure a reading which will cause the hypothesis to state the facts as they occur in the tetralogy and I would suggest ὁμολογεῖ μὲν πρῶτον τὴν ἔχθραν. The text as emended presents the required statement.

The common usage in the hypotheses to express "first . . . . secondly" is either πρῶτον . . . . δεύτερον, πρῶτον . . . . ἔπειτα, or πρῶτον . . . . εἶτα as is shown in the hypothesis to Dem. 18, sec. 5; 22, sec. 2; 25, sec. 1; (Andoc.) 4, l. 8. But there are instances where πρῶτον with the meaning of "first" is used with no correlative following it. In the hypothesis to (Andoc.) 4, l. 5, there appears τὸν Ἀνδοκίδην πρῶτον παραγράφεται, λέγων where there might have been a correlative intended for πρῶτον but none exists because the writer goes off on another tack. Similarly in Libanius' ὑποθέσεων προοίμιον sec. 6 we find καὶ γὰρ δειλὸς ἦν τὸ πρῶτον and we might reasonably expect a correlative. Finally in the hypothesis to

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Dem. 22, sec. 9 there are three examples of the use of πρῶτον without a correlative.

It appears then that the use of πρῶτον meaning "first" without a correlative can be substantiated, and that fact removes the chief objection to the proposed emendation as there is in the hypothesis in question no word for "secondly." The writer may have intended to use a correlative but it slipped his mind after the explanation in λέγει γάρ and he merely added the second argument, prefacing it with δὲ καί. This careless usage is in accord with the general character of the hypotheses and is analogous to the use of *μέν solitarium*.

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NOTE ON DIOGENES LAERTIUS IV. 59

Τοῦτόν φασι καὶ περὶ οἰκονομίαν γλυκύτατα ἐσχηκέναι.

With these words Diogenes introduces the familiar story of how the slaves of the stingy philosopher, Lacydes, found access to his locked cupboard. (See *Class. Phil.*, October, 1908, p. 400.) The words are generally understood as in the Didot Latin version: *aiunt ei in rei familiaris cura lepidissimum aliquid usu venisse*. But the Greek will hardly yield that meaning. Though γλυκὺς may be used of a person, γλυκὺ is very doubtful Greek for ἡδὺ in the sense of something funny or amusing, and γλυκύτατα ἐσχηκέναι is nearly, if not quite, impossible in the sense desired. The true reading is plainly γλισχρότατα (adverbial) ἐσχηκέναι "was very near." Cf. Plato *Laws* 765 A φιλοφρόνως ἐσχήκασι περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. The following γὰρ, then, will have its proper force and need not be the γὰρ that introduces a narrative. This reading is confirmed by the version of the story quoted from Noumenios by Eusebius *Prep. Evang.* xiv. 7. Noumenios begins: Περὶ δὲ Λακύδου βούλομαί τι διηγήσασθαι ἡδύ. ἦν μὲν δὴ Λακύδης ὑπογλισχρότερος καί τινα τρόπον ὁ λεγόμενος οἰκονομικὸς, οὗτος ὁ εὐδοκιμῶν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς. It will be seen further that οἰκονομικὸς in Noumenios corresponds loosely to περὶ οἰκονομίαν in Diogenes. Noumenios, however, is thinking of Plato's oligarchical man, γλίσχρως καὶ κατὰ σμικρὸν φειδόμενος . . . . θησαυροποιὸς ἀνὴρ, οὗς δὴ καὶ ἐπαινεῖ τὸ πλῆθος. *Rep.* 553 C, 554 B.

PAUL SHOREY

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BOOK REVIEWS

Die Religionsphilosophie Kaiser Julians in seinen Reden auf König Helios und die Göttermutter. Mit einer Uebersetzung der beiden Reden. Von GEORG MAU. Leipzig: Teubner, 1908. Pp. 169. M. 6.

Julian is the first imperial Roman after Julius Caesar whom one may call a man of letters. For Marcus Aurelius communing with himself is no more a literary man than were those emperors who, like Tiberius exploring the pedigree of Hecuba, took to Greek literature as a recreation from the daily routine of crime. Julian lived in a century when, creative genius being out of the question, to be literary was to be a sophist. But that aspect of him, his conformity to all the rules of the sophistic game, is to most people less interesting than his vain effort to give back polytheism to a reluctant world. The superficial phil-Hellene loves to sentimentalize over this failure of Julian's, as though here one saw the last attempt of the banished gods to restore beauty to the earth. But those who know their fourth Christian century are aware that, in spite of his *schwärmerei* for Athens, Julian was no Hellene, and that he was about as well qualified to revive the ethics and aesthetics of the Periclean Greeks as to achieve an Attic lucidity of thought or the charm of the Attic literary manner. He was a convinced and consistent Puritan. Plato could write of the Beautiful with such passion that the Good, however explicitly set up as the highest educational ideal, pales a little by contrast. But Julian, apart from his strong language when he scolds the vicious, always writes like a bishop. Many a bishop might envy him that unswerving strength of conviction for whose sake history ought to have forgiven all his mistakes. What has not been forgiven Julian is his restlessness, the instability of his outward expression, the number of parts into which he flung himself with the intensity of a fanatic, playing in turn military leader, railing cynic, oriental mystic, rhetorician, and Neo-Platonist.

Judging from what he saw about him he decided that Christ had failed to impose morality on the world. It was all to do again, this time by a philosopher, by one who could turn to account all that had been added to the dominant philosophy of his times, all the oriental grafts on Neo-Platonism. And, since Christian doctrine had proved so attractive to the masses, he would not hesitate to adapt certain of its essential features to the combination of religion and philosophy that was to take its place. He had ridiculed Christianity as an oriental cult that could have

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no part in Hellenism, yet he turned for allies, not to Athens or the Roman aristocracy, still profoundly pagan, but to the East. Only a mind confused as his would have chosen Iamblichus, the Syrian Neo-Platonist, as the prophet of a religion that was to regenerate mankind, and Maximus the theurgist as the most fitting interpreter of the "divine" Syrian's revelation. For Maximus all writers on Julian have a mortal antipathy, and ascribe to his influence the young emperor's superstitious frenzy. But mystics of Julian's type are born, not made. He was politely avoided by the clearer thinkers among the Neo-Platonists, the serious students of Plato and Aristotle, and left to carry out his mission from Mithras with charlatans, or men like Priscus, the cold and repulsive pedant.

In Mithraism, the religion of the sun-god which in its time swayed hundreds of thousands, and has utterly vanished from the ken of the average man, Julian saw his chance to frame a monotheism that had become indispensable to himself and his contemporaries, and to introduce what had fascinated mankind in the rival religion, a divine mediator. Mithraism, in spite of its strategic errors, such as the exclusion of women from its rites, was a sentimental cult that seemed to the Christians a "satanic plagiarism" peculiarly dangerous to the original, and under Constantius was so persecuted that one was liable to be arrested for gazing at a sunset. The Mithraic conception of the sun as the central symbol of the universe was in harmony with Neo-Platonic doctrine derived from Plato. Julian accordingly set out to unite in Mithras, his chosen god, the functions of those gods of Greece whom a phil-Hellene must have in at all costs. As though men whom Christianity had failed to reform were to be won by a gospel of Apollo and Dionysus purified of all the warm and endearing attributes that had charmed the sensuous Greeks! For the divine simplicity of the promises of Christ, Julian substituted the mystic phantasms of oriental Neo-Platonism, the glad tidings of the transcendental One, the intelligible gods (*νοητοί*), and the intelligent (*νοεροί*), the last an innovation due to Iamblichus, who gave a new vocabulary to Neo-Platonism. By his worship of Mithras and his peculiar syncretism Julian seems to have broken away from Iamblichus. But, these heresies apart, he is only the echo of that far less confused theosophist,[1] and to grasp Julian's meaning, unless one is content with his saving clause *πιστευέσθω μᾶλλον ἢ δεικνύσθω*, one must forever be turning to the *Protrepticus* and the *De Mathematica* of Iamblichus, to the *De Mysteriis*, which, if not authentic, at least reflects his views, and to Plotinus and Porphyry.

Mau's monograph is the first systematic attempt to trace in the emperor's two *φυσικοὶ ὕμνοι* the influence of preceding Neo-Platonists. This is following the excellent example of R. Asmus who has done so

[1] I cannot agree with Geffcken who, in *Neue Jahrbücher*, March, 1908, finds Julian's exposition "leichter und einfacher" than that of Iamblichus.

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much to determine the precise character of Julian's Cynicism. The loss of Iamblichus' Περὶ θεῶν, which was almost certainly the source of Julian's hastily written hymn to the sun, is a serious hindrance to a precise estimate of the emperor's borrowings, and the lack of a collection of the fragments of Iamblichus was so keenly felt by Mau that he promises an edition at some future date. His method is to expound the hymns section by section, giving in copious footnotes the parallel passages from Julian's predecessors. The notes are restricted to Neo-Platonic illustrations and occasional citations of Plato and Aristotle. Sallust's tract Περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου, called by Cumont the "official catechism of the pagan empire," and by Wilamowitz the "positive complement of Julian's work *Contra Christianos*," is frequently quoted by Mau, who points out a number of close parallels with Julian. He agrees with Zeller, Cumont, and Negri, against Wilamowitz, in identifying its author with that friend of Julian to whom his fourth oration is addressed.

In the fifth oration, the hymn to the mother of the gods, we see the effort of Julian to adapt to his philosophic scheme the other great mysteries cult of his day. The Mithraic religion, seeking to conciliate the other cults of the empire, had, from the first, associated with the sun-god the worship of the Magna Mater, and Attis had been endowed with the attributes of Mithras. Though the second hymn is nominally in honor of Cybele, Attis is the real hero. Writing of his descent to earth Julian uses the word συγκατάβασις, which had been employed by the Christians to describe the incarnation of Christ. Attis is Hermes, Dionysus, the moon, the sun, and finally Mithras the νοερὸς θεός. Vain is all Mau's endeavor to make clear to us what was so obviously never clear to Julian, the steps by which Attis attains his apotheosis and his precise functions. It is waste of time to try to make out for Julian a coherent or consistent creed.

In the translation of the two hymns which closes his tract Mau prints a few marginal references to indicate echoes or quotations of classical Greek literature, especially of Plato and Aristotle. But he does not attempt to be exhaustive, and hardly adds to Hertlein's collection of such references in the footnotes to his text. In fact, on Julian 143 A, where Julian cites Aristotle's *Ethics*, Mau reprint's Hertlein's error in the reference.

In this thorough discussion of the two orations, Mau ignores the fact that they are really sophistic compositions and fall under the definition of φυσικοὶ ὕμνοι given, perhaps a century earlier, by Menander in his treatise Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν. The fourth oration has, however, nearly all the features of a βασιλικὸς λόγος. But, after all, their only interest for us lies in this, that in all the range of Neo-Platonic literature they best illustrate the methods by which philosophy sought to enlist the support of the pagan cults against Christianity, that would conciliate no cult and no philosophy.

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Grundriss der Geschichte der klassischen Philologie. Von ALFRED GUDEMAN. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1907. 8vo. Pp. vi+224. Marks 4.80.

Every American philologian who loves the history of his subject is well acquainted with Dr. Gudeman's "Outlines" of that history (now in its fifth impression), and will give it a fresh welcome in its enlarged German form. I say "enlarged," because it has grown by some forty pages; but to the Germans, bowed down as they are by the weight of so many ponderous tomes, rendered difficult to read by close-packed pages, absence of running heads, of subtitles, varieties of type, and the rest of the devices which other nations have adopted to make reading easy, this book ought to come like a revelation. The presentation of so much useful material, without waste of words and in a manner that gives one pleasure in handling it, is a real object lesson.

The general plan of the book remains what it was before; the changes consist mainly in enlargement of details. There is more liberal quotation from the ancient sources in place of mere reference to them, and many more modern books and learned articles are cited than formerly Whoever wishes to appreciate the difference may turn, for instance, to the account of Didymus, where he will find four pages instead of a little more than two, the gain being due to the kind of additions which I have mentioned. Or one may glance over the eleven pages which contain the excellent survey of the Greek scholia and their sources (these last—the sources—ought to be very useful to many who still seem to think that the doctrine in a scholion originated in the time when we first find it written down). In the older book, only one page was given to this subject, and but eight lines to the Homeric scholia which now have a whole page to themselves. Seven pages (as against a page and a half) are devoted to Latin scholia, and the list of the oldest and most important Greek and Latin manuscripts occupies eight pages instead of one. And when we come to the scholars of the Renaissance and later times there is a similar increase in the generosity of treatment which they receive. But I have said enough to show that the book deserves to take the place of its predecessor.

Not, however, that it is free from blemishes. Of downright errors, perhaps there are only a few to be noted. Lactantius, the first dated book from an Italian press, was printed in Subiaco, not in Rome (p. 163), and it was followed by Cicero *De oratore*, not *De officiis*. It was also the first book in which Greek characters appeared. On the same page, after Hain's *Repertorium*, the additions by Copinger and others should certainly appear. There is no evidence whatever that Naevius (p. 95) wrote that Anna, not Dido, had that little affair with Aeneas; this view is Varro's, and what his source was (if not his own imagination, though few ancient writers except Posidonius are allowed any in these days) we

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know not. On p. 67, the reference in the sixth line should be to p. 65, and in the Index (which is too brief) under Longinus the citation of p. 64 is defective. Cicero's remark about Dicaearchus (p. 20) was, of course, a bit of sarcasm, as no doubt Dr. Gudeman knows, though perhaps all his readers may not. In connection with what Pisistratus did or did not do on Homer (p. 10), the important Townley scholion to *Iliad* K should be cited. A recent article in the *Bolletino di Filologia Classica* (XIV. 26) suggests that perhaps the new manuscript of *Agricola* and *Germania* is not altogether without significance (p. 149). No biography of Poggio (p. 157) is cited, but perhaps Dr. Gudeman agrees with me in thinking Shepherd's almost too small for mention. I recall it here only in the hope of stimulating some young scholar in search of a subject to undertake a work which should be enthralling. But it needs a light hand and not too many bristling footnotes.

These, however, are all slight matters. The real blemish in this book is a certain provincialism which is still too common in the products of Germany. There was once a reason for this in a philological leadership which no longer exists unchallenged. We no longer look merely to Germany for fresh ideas; we find them in France, in England, particularly in Italy in recent years, and even American products cannot be neglected. But writers of all these nationalities are too much neglected in the bibliographical lists of this book. And when we come to the lists of scholars in the different periods since the Renaissance, why should the French list stop with Montfaucon and the Italian with Victorius? Where, for instance, are Graux, Mionnet, Cohen, Mai, Borghesi, De Rossi, Fiorelli? And take England: if we must hear of German school teachers like Agricola and Reuchlin (*quos sine contumelia laudo*), why not also of other pioneers such as Sir Thomas Smith and Sir John Cheke, or of greater men like Linacre, Gataker, Gale, Gibbon, and Clinton. Dr. Gudeman mentions nobody in comparative grammar before G. Curtius; what of Bopp, Sir W. Jones, and Halhed? To come to our own country were perhaps invidious; but is a history of classical philology complete that says nothing, for instance, of E. A. Sophocles, Beck, Salisbury, and Whitney? These and like omissions under other nationalities are defects which should be remedied in future editions if the work is to commend itself fully in other lands than Germany.

MORRIS H. MORGAN

Lexicon Plautinum. Conscripsit GONZALEZ LODGE. Leipzig: Teubner, Vol. I, fascc. 1–5 (A–EGO), 1901–8. Pp. 480. Each fasc., M. 7.20.

American scholars are sometimes reproached with the fact that they rarely take up a large piece of work. Professor Lodge's *Lexicon* refutes

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this charge for his case at least. Anyone who glances over the thousands of citations which these five fascicles contain will recognize this fact at once. Indeed the editor spent ten years, we understand, in collecting his material before he began the composition of a single article.

The material given in most articles is arranged under two heads, viz. *Forma* and *Significatio*. Sometimes, as in the case of *cum*, *de*, or *edepol*, a third category, *Collocatio*, appears. Where a word has both an unassimilated and an assimilated form, the editor seems to have chosen the assimilated forms, e. g., *affatim*, *affero*, and *alloquor*, for the lemma. This seems hardly consistent with the appearance in other lemmas of such archaic forms as *avorto* and *avos*. Under *Forma* are given not only all the orthographical variants and the inflectional forms which the word in question has in Plautus, but also the MS readings and the readings adopted by Loewe, Goetz, and Schoell, by the Teubner text, by Leo, and by Ussing, to which from the fourth fascicle on Lindsay's readings have been added. Under *Collocatio*, noteworthy facts with reference to the position which a word takes in different idioms are set down. *Significatio* for many words falls into two main headings, the proper, and the transferred meaning. Sometimes, as in the case of a verb (e. g., *curo*), syntax furnishes the basis of further subdivision. In these subdivisions when a paragraph is given up to the occurrence of the lemma with a single word, e. g., *cum* with *esse*, the citations stand in the alphabetized order of the plays. Where a paragraph deals with several words, the alphabetical order of the words concerned is followed, e. g., *agere*, *degere*, *exigere*, etc. A bibliography is given in the first and fourth fascicles to which many additions are made in the several articles. To the fifth fascicle Professors Waters and Sihler have contributed the articles on *cum* and *de* and on *dico* respectively.

The editor's purpose was to furnish all the material for a study of Plautine meanings, and this object he has accomplished admirably. In point of fact he has done much more. He has given us a solid basis also for the study of Plautine forms, inflections, syntax, and word-groups, and has shown, as it never has been shown before, Plautus' use and his failure to use certain words and the characteristics of his style. The study of morphology, syntax, and sentence-accent in particular will be greatly furthered by this work. For the sake of completeness, the reviewer could wish that the editor had included prosody, pronunciation, word-accent, and the vernacular meaning of peculiar idioms in the scope of his plan. It would have been interesting, for instance, to have had his opinion on the prosody of *eodem*, the accent of a tribrach to which a short enclitic is appended, and the meaning of such characteristic and difficult idioms as *quid ais* and *quid tu ais* might well have been given, but this would be asking too much even of so generous a lexicographer as Professor Lodge.

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Criticism of this work is likely to be directed to three main points: (1) to the inclusion of variants from several editions, (2) to the classification within the articles, and (3) to the use of a large number of subdivisions. Most lexicographers either establish a text of their own or follow some good text. So, for instance, Leo's text has been made the basis for the Plautine citations which are appearing in the *Thesaurus*. Space, as well as the reader's time in examining a citation, is saved by these means. But the text of Plautus is not so surely established as is that of many other ancient authors, and it is very helpful to learn from a lexicon that at a given point there is difficulty and to get all the light upon it which may be had from the MS readings and from the conjectures of the best Plautine critics. The bearing of the second and third points of criticism may be illustrated by a brief examination of the article on *contra*. This word is treated under two heads, viz., as an adverb, and as a preposition with the accusative, dative, and ablative. All the instances cited with the dative and ablative, e. g., *aurichalco contra non carum fuit meum mendacium*, *Ps.* 688, the reviewer would regard as adverbial. Lodge gives three cases with the accusative as sure and four more as possible. In all his possible instances the accusative should probably be taken as the object of the verb of the sentence; the text is doubtful in all three of his sure cases, while over against these three stand fifty-four clear instances of the use of *contra* as an adverb. In other words, it is very doubtful if *contra* should ever be taken as a preposition in Plautus. In the same article heading No. 4, "*leniore sensu*," is rather vague; Nos. 6 and 7 are not classified on the same basis as the other numbers, and it is not clear why *Per.* 208 under No. 6 does not stand under No. 1. This brief analysis of a rather extreme case may illustrate the different opinions which may be held by scholars with reference to the classification of meanings in some of the articles, but in general the classification has been made with great judgment and the results presented with admirable clearness. The completed work will contain sixteen fascicles so that approximately one-third of it is already in print. The citations for the entire lexicon are already prepared and the MS for the sixth fascicle, which completes the letter F, is ready for the printer, so that the completion of the work within a reasonable time is assured. It will stand as a worthy monument to the scholarship of the editor.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT

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Singular und Plural. By KURT WITTE. Leipzig: Teubner, 1907. Pp. viii + 270. M. 8.

Witte begins with the proposition, well supported, that each word had originally its own number, e. g., πηγαί, ῥοαί, θύραι, λαοί, ζειαί, κριθαί, πύλαι, ῥῖνες, φρένες, τρίχες, ἔθειραι, σάρκες, ὄχεα were plural only; while εἰνή, κλισίη,

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πνοιή, ἀκτή, χαίτη, κόμη, μῦθος, ψάμαθος, μέγαρον, δάκρυ, στέρνον, τόξον, νῶτον, μέτωπον, ἅρμα, πῆμα, στῆθος, χάρις, ὕδωρ were singular, except when used with plural meaning as true plurals.

I shall illustrate his method by showing how he explains the shift of στῆθος to plural and of φρένες to singular without change of meaning. The plural of στῆθος is practically confined to the dative, where the verse might demand στήθεσσι(ν), στήθεσι(ν), but could not have developed the metrically difficult singular στήθει. We have a true plural in Δ 289:

τοῖος πᾶσιν θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι γένοιτο·

The meter under the influence of φρεσί, originally plural, developed the poetic plural. (The phrase poetic plural conveys a false idea, but is used for convenience.) Compare these two verses:

Φ 583: ἦ δή που μάλ' ἔολπας ἐνὶ φρεσί, φαίδιμ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
φ 317: οὐδ' αὐτός που τοῦτό γ' ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔολπεν,

Hence the reason for the familiar rule "When στῆθος means a part of the body, as such, the singular is generally used, the plural when it means the mind," since when it means mind στήθεσσι is a substitute for and is dominated by φρεσί. The last step in the change is taken, when this dative plural frees itself from its analogue, the reason for its use in the plural is forgotten, and the poetic plural is used for a part of the body as such:

K 131: ὣς εἰπὼν ἔνδυνε περὶ στήθεσσι χιτῶνα.

Meter and analogy with a word of like meaning, θυμός, developed the singular of φρένες in the phrase κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν. Homer confines the singular to the accusative except in two late passages where the origin of the accusative singular was forgotten and φρένα became independently productive, so that a nominative and dative singular were created, K 45, Z 65.

ἅρμα, originally singular, became plural, not because a chariot was composed of parts, but from the meter, from analogy with ὄχεα, a plural, and also from association with the plural ἵπποι; as in

E 192: ἵπποι δ' οὐ παρέασι καὶ ἅρματα τῶν κ' ἐπιβαίην·

Thus these nouns appear in three stages, the original number, a change under the influence of meter and analogy, and finally when the original number and the reason for the change were ignored or forgotten. Witte uses the stages of variation to determine the relative antiquity of the books of Homer, the oldest books showing the least, the latest books the most, deviation from the original singular or plural. The

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oldest books of the *Iliad* are Π–P, the latest is Ω; ιφψ the oldest of the *Odyssey*, αχ the latest. The bulk of the *Odyssey* lies between the earliest and latest books of the *Iliad*. Witte sees the original of Σ 24 in Π 798. Robert using another theory assigned Σ 24 to the Urilias, Π 798 to a later addition. Quot homines tot sententiae!

Applying these methods to Hesiod Witte finds the bulk of *Theogony* and *Works and Days* is older than the later Homeric books, but late verses have been interpolated, e. g., W. and D. 753 contains the form λουτρῷ. There is no other example of the singular of this noun until *Antigone* 1201, where because of the meter Sophocles substituted the accusative singular. In the passage in Hesiod there was no metrical reason for the change, hence the singular dates from Sophocles, and this verse is dependent on and subsequent to the *Antigone*. Aristophanes parodies this innovation of tragedy in *Wasps* 604; πρωκτὸς λουτροῦ περιγιγνόμενος, κτλ.

ὕδατα as poetic plural was developed by the choral lyric, and was first used in the dative plural without necessity of meter in Euripides *Alcestis* 159. This then dates the free use of this word as plural with singular meaning. The *Batrachomyomachia* abounds in this use, hence must be later than the *Alcestis*. Epic verse is so conservative that the poem must be much younger than the passages imitated.

The dramatic poets, as the epic, continued to change the original or received number under the stress of meter or analogy. Aristophanes generally avoided the innovation of tragic poetry, choosing rather the popular speech, except in parody.

Apollonius was more conservative in developing forms or accepting those already developed than most of the books of Homer (accordingly older), and so on this basis would wreck the theory, hence it is clear that Apollonius made just such a study as Witte himself, and thus avoided the errors of the late Homeric books; "Wer wusste vorher etwas von dem zeitlichen Verhältnis der Numeri φρένες φρήν? Von den Modernen niemand. Anders die Alexandriner; sie waren genau unterrichtet über die Erscheinung, die wir oberflächlich bisher den poetischen Plural genannt haben." However, although Apollonius had anticipated Witte in the knowledge of the use of φρένες, the facts about ὕδωρ had escaped him, so he uses the dative plural twelve times, Homer never. The author clearly presses his theories too far.

The division of Homer into strata in accordance with the divergence from the original number of nouns is a clever and interesting piece of linguistic dexterity, but will convince no one inclined to doubt. However, as a study of language and the development in syntax the book is of unusual merit.

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The Tebtunis Papyri, Part II. Edited by BERNARD P. GRENFELL, M.A., D.LITT., AND ARTHUR S. HUNT, M.A., D.LITT., with the assistance of EDGAR J. GOODSPEED, PH.D. (University of California Publications, Graeco-Roman Archaeology, Vol. II.) London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1907. 4to. Pp. xv+485, 3 plates.

In the winter of 1899–1900 Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, excavating for the University of California with funds provided by Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, found great quantities of papyri at the site of the ancient Tebtunis, in the Fayûm. These papyri fall naturally into three divisions: those from the Ptolemaic necropolis of the third and second centuries B. C., those from mummies of crocodiles, dating from the second and first centuries B. C., and those found in the houses of the town, which date almost exclusively from the first three centuries after Christ. The papyri derived from the mummies of crocodiles were published in 1902 (*The Tebtunis Papyri*, Part I). The present volume contains the papyri from the ruins of the town.

The first volume contained documents of various kinds and only four literary papyri: two fragments of an anthology, one from a collection of Alexandrian epigrams, and one from the second book of the *Iliad*. Of 160 papyri published in the present volume, only fourteen are literary, and only four of these are likely to interest many readers of *Classical Philology*. The first, of the second century after Christ, contains parts of 109 lines between l. 342 and l. 652 of the second book of the *Iliad*. In l. 342 ἐριδαίνετον is found for ἐριδαίνομεν of the MSS; l. 558, which brings Ajax and his Salaminians into connection with the Athenians, is omitted; and l. 579 has the vulgate reading ὅτι πᾶσι. The omission of l. 532 is doubtless due to mere carelessness, as are many other unimportant variants. The second fragment, of the late second century, contains *Iliad* xi. 556–613. Here l. 564 reads (with the MSS) τηλεκλητοί, l. 565 has ξίφ]εσίν τε (MSS ξυστοῖσι), and l. 601, ιω κ]α[τ]αδακρυό[εσσ]αν (MSS ἰῶκά τε δακρυόεσσαν). At the beginning of ll. 603, 604, and 610, twenty-two letters are lost, but what remains (εκινησεν το, 603; λιπτανε, 604; and λετον ὅσσε ἄνακτος, 610) suffices to show that these lines represent a tradition different from that of other MSS. The third fragment, containing §§ 293–95 of Demosthenes' oration *De falsa legatione*, offers no important variants. By far the most interesting among the literary papyri is the fourth, which dates from the first half of the third century, for this contains nothing less than a fragment of the Greek original of the *Ephemeris Belli Troiani* of Dictys Cretensis, thus confirming the conclusion reached by Noack (*Philologus*, VI Supplementband, 1893, pp. 402–500) that the Latin version is really a translation. The relations of Malalas, Cedrenus, and the anonymous writer in Cramer's *Anecdota Parisiana*, II, pp. 166 ff.,

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to the Greek original and to one another, may perhaps also be determined with the aid of this fragment, which corresponds to Book iv, chaps. 9–14, with about half of 15, of the Latin text. The remaining literary papyri contain fragments of medical, astronomical and astrological works, a magical charm, and two acrostics.

Since the papyri contained in this volume are of comparatively late date, the documents published represent for the most part types already made familiar through previous publications, such as official documents, contracts, receipts, and private letters. Some of these are interesting, but most of them add little to our knowledge. Two series of documents are, however, of considerable importance. The first relates to the priests of Soknebtunis and the second to taxation. These documents contain much information concerning the relations of the priests to the state and the details of the system by which the state derived its revenue.

In addition to the papyri which are published in full, with introductions and notes, 265 less important fragments are described with more or less complete publication of their text, and twenty ostraca are published. A first appendix contains the text, with introduction and notes, of a papyrus in the British Museum (P. 372), which dates from the second century of our era and gives directions for the calculation of various taxes. A second appendix, "The Topography of the Arsinoite Nome," supplements and corrects in some particulars Wessely's *Topographie des Faijûm* (Vienna, 1904). The volume is supplied with full indices, chiefly the work of Professor Goodspeed. The editors have performed their task with the greatest industry, learning, and acumen. The texts are most carefully published, and in the introductions, translations, and notes the reader finds the information necessary to an immediate understanding of the text and also such references to other material and to the work of other scholars as may assist him in further investigation. The volume contains even more than can reasonably be demanded in a first publication of new material.

HAROLD N. FOWLER

The Greatness and Decline of Rome. By GUGLIELMO FERRERO; translated by ALFRED E. ZIMMERN. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907. Vols. I. and II. Pp. vi+328; vi+389. $5.25 net.

The thesis of Sig. Ferrero's *Grandezza e Decadenza di Roma*, the first two volumes of which have been translated by Mr. Zimmern, is that the Roman world-conquest was the effect of an internal transformation which is continually being re-enacted in the history of societies on a larger or a smaller scale, namely the growth of a national and mercantile democracy on the ruins of a federation of agricultural aristocracies. In accordance with this, the first volume, "The Empire Builders" ("La

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Conquista dell' Impero"), begins with the death of Sulla, when "in place of a number of small federal republics, there was a single Italian nation, with an agriculture, a commerce, an army, a civilization of its own." Rome was ready to begin the conquest of the world.

The new policy was initiated by Lucullus, "the Napoleon of the last century of the Republic," whose brilliant and sensational conquests have appealed strongly to the imagination of Sig. Ferrero. He has realized, as perhaps no one before him, the significance of Lucullus' eastern campaigns, and the importance of his policy of personal initiative, which led him to embark on a career of external conquest, hitherto undreamed of by the conservative and short-sighted commanders of Roman armies. The author, too, has been the first to appreciate fully the influence of economic conditions on the politics of this period, for he rightly attributes the recall of Lucullus to a general movement induced by hard times, and skilfully used by an unscrupulous rival. For it was Pompey who was at once the underhand opponent of Lucullus and his aptest pupil. Lacking in real originality, he was quick to use the ideas of men of genius, and realizing the significance of Lucullus' conquests, he determined to oust their originator and complete them himself.

During Pompey's absence in the East Crassus and Caesar became the leaders of the democratic party. Sig. Ferrero is inclined to believe, with Mommsen, that these two men took part in the conspiracy of Sulla and Autronius, hoping to secure the consuls of 65 as allies in their plans. He holds, however, that they took no part in the communistic plans of Catiline. This conspiracy is shown to have thus been doomed to failure, but the effect of its suppression on Roman politics is represented as far-reaching. Respectable citizens rallied around the small band of conservatives, and democracy under Caesar's leadership became a party of social discontent.

This was the party which used the Bona Dea scandal to increase its own power; for Clodius was acquitted by means of the money of Crassus, distributed to the jurors at Caesar's request. But this future henchman of the democratic leaders could not have been the moral degenerate (*pazzo morale*) that Sig. Ferrero's knowledge of the criminally insane has caused him to portray. Such a man would not have been active and clever enough to be worth the money and trouble spent in securing him for the party.

Similarly, the author has failed to see the real cause of Clodius' persecution of Cicero. Taking as his foundation a bit of gossip recorded by Plutarch (*Cic.* 29), he seeks to prove that the orator, urged on by his wife, advocated the bill directed against Clodius and thereby incurred the latter's enmity. But for this there is no authority. Cicero's participation in the case was confined to his testimony, which broke down the defendant's plea of alibi and in spite of which he was acquitted. Clodius

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attack on Cicero had, then, a deeper root. A general campaign against the conservatives was to be undertaken, and an important part of it would consist in discrediting and banishing the already unpopular consul who had superintended the execution of the Catilinarians.

This attack upon the conservatives was to be made by a new democratic party, modeled, according to Sig. Ferrero, after the moderate democracy of 70, but transformed by Caesar, after the success of his land bill of 59, into a pure democracy, in which the senate was to play no part. The policy of the triumvirs was to be carried out by means of organized voters in the popular assembly. This organization, managed by Clodius, has been strikingly called by Sig. Ferrero the Tammany Hall of Rome. Political clubs were founded, and an electoral army recruited from the poorer voters, which, thanks to Clodius' corn law, was maintained by the government, and was entirely at the service of the democratic leaders. The refined and the educated retired from public life to the quieter and more congenial pursuits of agriculture and literature, and "Roman politics became a world-wide market for laws and appointments, kingdoms and provinces, privileges and disreputable deals: full of intrigue and swindling, treachery and violence."

The second volume, which bears the title "Julius Caesar," begins with the war in Gaul—Caesar's attempt to carry out the policy of imperialism. The author rightly emphasizes the fact that Caesar, eager to follow in the footsteps of Lucullus and Pompey, must win a conspicuous victory if he was to hold the political superiority which he had gained, and shows that it was for this reason that the attack was made upon the Helvetians. He also points out the absurdity of the rumors about this tribe, which were current at Rome, and which had led the Romans to believe that Italy was in danger of a new invasion by northern barbarians, and shows clearly that this movement was merely a great *trek* on the part of this mountain people into the fertile plains of Gaul. Caesar's unprovoked attack on them was therefore a great blunder.

The subsequent career of Caesar in Gaul is described with clearness and vividness. Sig. Ferrero, while appreciating the brilliance of the proconsul, points out his mistakes—the premature annexation of the country in 57, which is shown to have been merely a political maneuver, the attempted alliance with the Gallic nationalist party, which alienated his old friends and failed to gain him new ones, and especially his policy of bloody extermination, which resulted in the general rebellion led by Vercingetorix.

Meanwhile at Rome a reaction had set in against the imperialistic policy of the leaders of the democrats, particularly among the new middle class of land-owners, who had risen to moderate wealth by success in agriculture and industrial occupations. Especially after the disaster at Carrhae men were inclined to make Caesar the scapegoat both for

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defeat abroad and anarchy at home. In 51 he was entirely discredited, "the man best hated and most despised by the upper classes" (Italian version, II, p. 250). This attitude was shared, in part at least, by Pompey, whose estrangement from Caesar Sig. Ferrero attributes to a difference between the temperaments, rather than the ambitions, of the two men. It was impossible for conservative and radical to continue to work together.

In his account of the Civil War Sig. Ferrero is perhaps at his best. He has used his powers of description to give a vivid account of the panic which broke out in the capital when the news was brought that Caesar had invaded Italy, and of the financial crisis which followed the departure of Pompey and the conservatives. His portrayal of the characters of the two leaders is a natural reaction against Mommsen's. Pompey is indeed arrogant, and hesitating and obstinate by turns, yet "not a fool, as several modern historians in their enthusiasm for Caesar have been pleased to call him, but a typical and intelligent aristocrat, with all the faults and all the virtues of the old nobility, a man upon whom the times had imposed a task which was far beyond his powers." On the other hand, while he depicts the marvelous keenness, the boundless energy, and the extraordinary daring of Caesar, he is not blind to his many acts of foolhardiness, and does not spare his criticisms when the victorious leader lingered for months at Alexandria, greatly to the damage of his cause and the discouragement of his followers. The author also appreciates the difficulty of Caesar's position in Rome after his return from Africa in 46, and the futility of his magnificent plans, none of which could set the dictatorship upon a firm basis and establish a new order of things. For Caesar, says Sig. Ferrero, though a great general, a great writer, a great character, was not a great statesman. He was the greatest demagogue of history, in whom were embodied all the revolutionary forces, magnificent and awful, of a mercantile age in conflict with the traditions of an old-time agricultural society.

To those who read in this history of the world-power first made possible by the establishment of a mercantile democracy, of the enormous influence of financiers and financial situations upon politicians and politics, of selfish ends converted into party issues, the resemblance between Rome and our own times will recur with redoubled force. There is danger, to be sure, that the historian, on account of his intimate acquaintance with the politics of modern Europe, will read our present-day conditions into times when they did not in reality exist, yet surely he is justified in drawing many parallels between the selfishness of Rome and the commercialism of our own day, and the result has proved to be a work unexcelled in vividness and interest by any history of Rome.

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Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung, mit Ausschluss der Attischen. Untersucht von MARTIN P. NILSSON. Leipzig: Teubner, 1906. Pp. 490. 12 M.

Leges Graecorum sacrae e titulis collectae. Ediderunt et explanaverunt IOANNES DE PROTT ET LUDOVICUS ZIEHEN. Pars altera; fasciculus I: Leges Graeciae et Insularum. Edidit LUDOVICUS ZIEHEN. Leipzig: Teubner, 1906. Pp. 372. 12 M.

Although these two books serve different purposes they may appropriately be considered together.

Students of Greek religion have long felt the need of a comprehensive treatment of the religious festivals outside of Athens. The Athenian cycle is well provided for by Mommsen's *Feste der Stadt Athen* (1898), the revision of the *Heortologie* published thirty-four years before — and this in spite of the author's somewhat antiquated views; but for the non-Athenian festivals we have had no satisfactory book, since the second edition of Hermann's *Lehrbuch* is a half-century old and Stengel in his well-known *Kultusaltertümer* was prevented by the plan of the series from giving more than a brief outline of these festivals; nor could the reviser of the fourth edition of Schoemann's *Altertümer* treat the subject adequately; and Gruppe's gigantic Sammelwerk likewise fails to supply our needs. Nilsson's book, therefore, is most welcome, both because it fills a gap and for its own high merits. The festivals are wisely arranged according to the god in whose honor they were held — a topographical classification would have caused confusion — but the topographical point of view is kept constantly in mind, and cross-references as well as the excellent topographical index at the end enable the reader to consider together at pleasure the festivals of any locality. First are treated the festivals connected with the greater gods: Zeus, Cronos, and Dia; Hera, Poseidon, Athena, Apollo, Artemis, Dionysus, Demeter, Core-Persephone, Aphrodite, Ariadne and Adonis, Hermes, Hecate; then a chapter is devoted to the various lesser divinities; the festivals of Heracles form the transition to those of the dead and the heroes; and a chapter on the festivals of unknown gods, with four indices, closes the book. Each chapter given to the greater gods opens with a brief, but often illuminating, sketch of the divinity, which naturally is confined to the characteristics most closely connected with the subject of the book; the festivals are then treated in order.

The material on which our knowledge depends is so fragmentary and presents so many gaps which must be filled by hypotheses that one who attempts to give a comprehensive and connected treatment of the festivals runs a grave danger of erecting a structure on insufficient foundation. This danger Nilsson has for the most part avoided; he is at home in the festival practices of many peoples and has known how to employ this

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knowledge to advantage in almost every chapter without indulging in those extravagances to which some devotees of the "comparative" method are prone. Indeed, in his wise use of illustrative material found in the rites of varied peoples lies one of Nilsson's conspicuous services, and in this he has set a standard for all workers in this and allied fields. The reader will be surprised, as the author confesses that he was himself, by the preponderance of agrarian festivals—an important result of the investigation, which shows clearly the stage of civilization in which most of these rites, performed in conjunction with certain agricultural acts, received their permanent character; after the establishment of a calendar based on the moon's phases, these festivals naturally received more or less fixed places in the annual cycle.

All who have occasion to use Nilsson's book will join in the hope that he will soon give us the second work on the festivals of a non-religious character, for which he says that he has already collected the material.

In 1896 von Prott issued the first fascicle, *Fasti Sacri*, of the *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, which he with L. Ziehen proposed to edit with commentary. According to the original plan von Prott was to undertake the inscriptions relating to Alexander and his successors while Ziehen was to deal with the rest. Unfortunately the former died before he brought his material to a point where it could readily be prepared for publication, which fact, together with the appearance of Dittenberger's *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, determined the surviving editor to continue with his part of the work as first arranged. The present fascicle contains one hundred and fifty-three inscriptions, of which forty-nine come from Attica, fourteen from the Peloponnesus, twenty-six from northern Greece, while the remaining sixty-four have their origin in the islands, of which Cos naturally has furnished more than any other. The editing has been done with a conservative independence and respect for the stones that is welcome, while the commentary exhibits a sanity of judgment in the use of abundant knowledge which deserves the gratitude of every student of Greek religious institutions. Especially valuable are the commentaries on such important inscriptions as that of the Hecatompedon (1), for which unfortunately Ziehen could not use Hill's valuable contribution (*AJA.* X, 1906, p. 82); or those relating to the Eleusinian (2–4; 6–7; 28) and the Andanian (58) mysteries. Equally important are the elucidations of the lex of the Iobacchi (46), the leges of the Labyadae (74), the lex of the Delphic Amphictiones (75), the decree concerning the oracle of Apollo Coropaeus (80), the Cean laws relating to funerals (93) and to feasts and games (94), and the "will" of Epicteta (129), to select some of the more significant numbers. When the second fascicle appears with indices—as we hope—the use of the present part will be easier; now ready reference is difficult.

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Prophetarum Vitae Fabulosae Indices Apostolorum Discipulorumque Domini Dorotheo, Epiphanio, Hippolyto Aliisque Vindicata. Edidit THEODORUS SCHERMANN. Leipzig: Teubner, 1907. Pp. lxxi+255. M. 5.60.

The two parts of this work, the lives of the prophets and the catalogues of the apostles and disciples, though otherwise unconnected, are published together here only because they are either handed down under the names of the same authors, or are found together in the same manuscripts. Both, moreover, had their home in Syria.

Schermann thinks that the source of the fabulous lives of the prophets was a Greek document—a translation perhaps of a Hebrew original—written by a Jew some time between 150 B. C. and 150 A. D. and containing only biographical and legendary statements. Afterward Christian authors added Messianic prophecies similar to the Christian interpolations in the *Lives of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Of the six recensions of the Greek text which he distinguishes, the oldest is an anonymous work derived ultimately from Origen. Next comes the text of Dorotheus, presbyter of Antioch (290 A. D.), not the bishop of Tyre, in which the Messianic prophecies being put first as prefaces in the case of the minor prophets leave the lives that follow free from Christian additions, and so in this text alone is preserved "the pure biographical form of the original." It remains to mention two closely related recensions of the pseudo-Epiphanius of the sixth century, then the so-called scholia-recension of the same age, and finally one preserved in the Greek menologies and synaxaria, not published here because it is a mixture of the others.

The second part of the book contains (1) the legendary catalogues of the apostles, showing where they preached, how they died and where they lie buried, and (2) the lists of the seventy disciples. They are handed down to us in two groups of texts, Syriac and Greek, from a common Syriac source. The Greek recensions date from the sixth to the twelfth century, the oldest having been discovered by Schermann in the Vatican. Others are falsely ascribed to Epiphanius, Dorotheus, Hippolytus, and Symeon Logothetes. The whole subject is fully and satisfactorily discussed by our author in his recent work *Propheten- und Apostellegenden* in volume 31 of Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen*.

CHARLES W. PEPPLER

EMORY COLLEGE

T. LUCRETI CARI. *De rerum natura.* Edited by WILLIAM AUGUSTUS MERRILL. American Book Company. Pp. 806.

Editors and teachers of Lucretius will always emphasize that aspect of the *De rerum natura*, philological, literary, or philosophical, that inter-

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ests them most. A glance at Professor Merrill's edition shows that he is more interested in the accumulation of philological detail than in illuminating literary criticism or the study of the relation of the poet's thought to his sources. This once noted, it is the part of fair criticism to judge the book by what it does rather than by what it does not offer. While serviceable in the class-room, it will be especially useful for consultation by the more advanced students of the seminar of which it is evidently a product. It is very full and conscientious in the citation of the "literature" and presents an enormous amount of statistical observation of Lucretian usage from papers published and unpublished. The structure of the hexameter in particular has been closely studied, and many interesting details are noted. There is, perhaps, a tendency to schoolmaster the poet, and some noble if rugged lines are censured because they do not conform to Virgilian or Ovidian norms. Questions of text criticism are not relegated to an appendix, but abundantly treated in the exegetical notes. There are some misprints: notably Enoanda for Oenoanda *passim*. The 56 pages of introduction discuss the usual topics with copious footnotes and references to the literature.

It is impossible to enter upon this detail here, and the mere expression of occasional dissent would be useless. Even when we cannot accept Professor Merrill's interpretations he usually spreads before us the material for a dissenting opinion. The essential references to the Greek philosophic sources as indicated by Munro, Woltjer, and Giussani are generally given, if sometimes in a somewhat perfunctory fashion. But in a work of so much labor we might perhaps look for more illustration from the Greek than we find. To take a few instances at random: the use of *fundere* (1. 351, etc.) recalls Empedocles' χεῖτ' ἔθνεα μυρία θνητῶν; *quo referentes* (1. 424, etc.) is Epicurus' ἐφ' ὃ ἀνάξομεν (D. L. x. 38) or his ἀναφέροντα (x. 63); *adhibere* (1. 828, etc.) is προσφέρεσθαι (D. L. x. 54); *latrare* (2. 17) is βοᾶν; *nil agere tot corpora materiai* (2. 1057) suggests ἀργὴν ὕλην; *limus* and *faex* (5. 496, 497) attempt to reproduce the Greek ἰλὺς and ὑποστάθμη; *quasi conspurcare* (6. 22) is probably ῥυπαίνειν; the unique use of *penetrabat eos* (5. 1262) may be "vulgar Latin," but it looks like an attempt to render εἰσῄει or εἰσῆλθεν αὐτούς or an equivalent; *stilicidi casus lapidem cavat* (1. 313) suggests Choerilus fr. 9 πέτρην κοιλαίνει and other Greek parallels; the point in 1. 465 *cum dicunt esse* would be made more clear by citation of Plato *Tim.* 38 A–B and Plutarch *Moral.* 1116 B; at 1. 830 it should be noted that Plato *Protag.* 329 D nearly if not quite proves that ὁμοιομερής and all its paronyms are later than Plato; 1. 446, 447 should be glossed by οὐτ' αἰσθητὸν οὔτε νοητόν; *montivagae ferai* 1. 404 may be illustrated by θῆρ' ὀρειβάτην (Soph. *Phil.* 955) and similar expressions; *dias in luminis oras* when used of birth recalls Pindar's θαητὰν ἐς αἴγλαν in a like connection (*Nem.* 1. 35); the use of *corpora deponunt* for *se* 1. 258 is paralleled by Pindar's use of δέμας (*O.* 1. 20).

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Fortuna gubernans (5. 107) has many Greek parallels from Menander to *Anth. Pal.* x. 65.

These suggestions are offered with no captious intention. Professor Merrill has packed his 800 pages with information, and it only remains to thank him for what he has given us.

PAUL SHOREY

L. Annaei Senecae opera quae supersunt. Volumen II. L. Annaei Senecae Naturalium Quaestionum libros viii edidit ALFRED GERCKE. Lipsiae: in aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1907. Pp. xlvi+278. M. 3.60.

While a new critical edition of all the prose writings of the philosopher Seneca was greatly needed, this was conspicuously true of the *Naturales Quaestiones* on account of the extreme corruption of the text. The edition by Gercke should be welcomed as a valuable aid in the study of one of the interesting chapters in the history of science. The chief value of this edition lies in the information which the preface and the critical apparatus give concerning the manuscripts.

After treating briefly of the time of composition and the division of the work, the editor discusses the order of the eight books. Definite references of Seneca to the order in which different parts of the subject are presented make it probable that Book iii was written before iv *a*, iv *b* before ii, v before vi, vii before i. The attempt, however, to show that the order of the whole was iii, iv *a*; iv *b*, ii, v, vi; vii, i, is far from convincing. It is maintained as certain—and this is the corner-stone of the argument—that the preface of Book iii was the introduction to the whole work. And yet the words of Seneca, if properly interpreted, are just as appropriate an introduction to the third book as to the first. The *fundamenta* of which he speaks refer to his whole work and not to the first part of it. This preface has also been misinterpreted by being put in part into the mouth of Lucilius. The view that 6, 8, 3 and 2, 59, 5 were written after iv *a*, and that 1, 2, 3 was written after 2, 26, 9, and i praef. 13 after 2, 45, 3, rests upon a strained interpretation of the passages compared. In 2, 1, 4, Seneca is speaking of the parts of physical science in general, not of the parts of his own work. The editor, however, is so certain of the correctness of his views that he is not satisfied with presenting them in the preface but renumbers the books in the text. The order of the books is again discussed in the section on their subscriptions and publication, the change from the original order to the present one being ascribed to Seneca himself. But if this is the order in which the author wished the books published, what propriety is there in renumbering them in their published form?

The remainder of the preface is devoted to the history of the work

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and to the description and classification of the manuscripts. The discussion of these matters is full and clear. In his zeal to demonstrate that Haase and others attached too much importance to E, the editor is inclined to go to the opposite extreme.

The text is accompanied by references to the ancient authors who made use of the *Naturales Quaestiones* and by a critical apparatus, which shows good judgment in what it gives and omits. An *Index Nominum* and an *Index Testimoniorum* close the volume.

Increased knowledge of the manuscripts and the labors of scholars since Haase have made it possible to improve upon his text in many details. On the other hand, in numerous changes, especially in many of the emendations proposed by the editor himself, there is no improvement over the recension of Haase, which is not yet by any means made superfluous. A large amount of work still remains to be done on the *Naturales Quaestiones*.

FRANK IVAN MERCHANT

IOWA STATE NORMAL SCHOOL

Roman Economic Conditions to the Close of the Republic. By EDMUND HENRY OLIVER. University of Toronto Library, 1907. Pp. xv+200. $1.50.

This study forms an extra volume in the "University of Toronto Studies in History and Economics." It is a welcome addition to the comparatively few English works on Roman economy and finance. The main division, pp. 41–192, treats of the period from Rome's first Mediterranean expansion to the close of the republic, under four heads: general economic conditions, agriculture, etc., industries, trade and commerce, administration and finance.

In general, the author seems to overrate Roman agriculture and finance and to underestimate the importance of Roman commerce and manufactures. He occasionally combines in one description the statements, e.g., of Cato and Pliny the elder. This seems to be a somewhat questionable mode of procedure. He would have increased the usefulness of the book if he had given modern equivalents for all ancient coins, weights, and measures. He follows the quite common usage of rating the sesterce at about four cents (cf. pp. 159, 160, 165). The Latinists who now make use of the obsolete ratio of 16:1 might be considered belated populists in disguise. So far as the reviewer can see, it is necessary to adopt either the ancient ratio of *ca.* 12:1 or the present market ratio. The former is to be preferred.

A few matters of detail may be noted. On p. 43 the author follows Plutarch's version of the anecdote about the *chlamydes* of Lucullus in preference to that of Horace. On p. 45, 12,000,000 sesterces should be

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changed to 12,000, and 40,000,000 to 4,000,000. The MS reading *duo milia* might be preferred to the old reading, *sex milia*. At this point and elsewhere several words are omitted within the quotation marks, and the fact is not indicated. Farther down "Peacocks" should be changed to "eggs," and "easily" should modify the next statement. On p. 49, 133,000 lbs., the reading of Weissenborn-Müller, may be substituted for the old reading of 123,000 pounds. P. 52: "which you even remove": "which" is not found in Horace and should be outside the quotation marks; *usque* probably does not signify "even," and "household goods" a little farther down is a misprint for "household gods." "No colony was founded after 157 B. C.," is quite incorrect. "Borian" is presumably a misprint for "Thorian." The language on p. 70: "The diminution in Rome's population is contemporaneous with the expansion of Roman power," is a somewhat misleading assertion and should be modified. Pp. 74, 75: the reference to Plautus should be *Merc.* 396–98; master (Demipho) should take the place of mistress, and "crush grain" (*pensum faciat*) ought to be corrected to "spin," "perform a spinner's task," or the like. P. 81: *quadrantes* appears here and elsewhere. The author seems to have misunderstood the abbreviation Q, which stands for *quadrantal*, a measure of about 5.77 imperial gallons. "*Telam*" is probably not a web, but a loom. P. 82: "eight hundred jars with a capacity of five sacks of grapes." *Culleus* here and below is apparently a measure of capacity = *ca.* 119 gallons. The passage may be rendered: "jars with a (total) capacity of 800 *cullei* (*ca.* 95,200 gals.) in which five vintages can be (stored)."

Quid multa? Mistakes are easy to find in most books. A word may be added concerning the bibliography, which is apparently an afterthought. Some commissions and omissions are *etwas entfremdend.* Adams *Roman Antiquities*, 1792, Hüllmann *Römische Grundverfassung*, 1832, Preston and Dodge *The Private Life of the Romans*, 1894, and various magazine articles are included, the histories of Niebuhr, Schwegler, Ranke, Mommsen's *Geschichte des römischen Münzwesens*, Iwan von Müller's *Handbuch*, etc., and all the works of Herzog, Madvig, and Willems are excluded. As a rule, the number of the edition and of the volumes of a work is not stated. The dates of publication are in several instances incorrect or misleading. For example, the *Handbuch*, etc., of Marquardt and Mommsen is said to have been published in 1876. The third edition of Vols. I and II appeared in 1887, and the first edition of Vol. III in 1887–88, etc. Pauly-Wissowa *Real-encyclopädie*, etc., is said to have been issued in 1894.

Apart from the bibliography, the study is a careful and fairly accurate piece of work, and, as a first effort, it is very promising.

J. E. GRANRUD

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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The Loeb Collection of Arretine Pottery. Catalogue with Introduction and Descriptive Notes by GEORGE H. CHASE. New York, 1908 (privately printed). Pp. 168 and 23 plates.

The red ware of Arretium is one of the humblest but at the same time one of the most attractive products of what we are accustomed to call "Roman" art. Being made in moulds, in which the designs had been impressed by means of separate stamps, it exhibits no great merits in the way of dramatic composition; but its human figures, as well as its leaves, sprays, and festoons, are often of great beauty. Although this pottery has received a good deal of attention in recent years from specialists, it is little known to amateurs, and information about it, especially in English, has been scanty. Hence this sumptuous and altogether admirable volume is peculiarly welcome.

Mr. James Loeb's collection, at present deposited in the Fogg Museum of Harvard University, numbers five hundred and eighty-nine pieces, of which one hundred and fifty have been thought worthy of illustration. Professor Chase's Introduction summarizes skilfully the results reached by Dragendorff and other investigators. The technical processes employed by the Arretine potters are explained, the finest products are shown to belong to the Augustan Age, and the signatures of the proprietors of factories and of the slaves in their employ, so far as these signatures are represented in the Loeb collection, are discussed. In connection with the last point I should have liked to see the fact brought out that the workmen often have Greek names, so that we are led to believe that most if not all of the men to whom the artistic part of the work was intrusted were of Greek blood. The detailed descriptions of individual pieces are models of careful statement.

F. B. TARBELL

Aristophanis Pax. Cum prolegomenis et commentariis edidit J. VAN LEEUWEN, J.F. Lugduni Batavorum: apud A. W. Sijthoff, 1906. Pp. xi+201.

The general features of van Leeuwen's edition of Aristophanes have already been indicated in this *Journal* in connection with the review of his *Ecclesiazusae* (Vol. I, pp. 418 f.). I shall confine myself therefore in the present instance to his treatment of the special problems of the *Pax*.

As regards the scenic arrangements of the play van Leeuwen insists upon a greater degree of realism than Merry and Mazon have found necessary. Not only will he place the house of Zeus on a higher level than that of Trygaeus, but he assumes a change of scene after vss. 176 and 728, in order that the two houses may not be visible at the same time.

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The cavern he places in the orchestra, where the work of rescue is performed by the chorus alone under the direction of Hermes and Trygaeus. The troublesome Boeotians, Argives, etc., as well as Lamachus, were presumably left to the imagination of the audience. By means of the anapiesma the statue of Peace was raised, with Opora and Theoria in her arms, until her head towered aloft close beside Hermes.

We are startled for a moment at the apparition of Σωσίας and Ξανθίας in the place of our old friends Οἰκέτης A and Οἰκέτης B; but are relieved upon discovering a preliminary note to the effect that this innovation is made solely in order to avoid confusion. It is Xanthias who addresses the audience in the prologue, and who reappears later.

The space at my disposal will not permit of any extended notice of the changes introduced into the text by van Leeuwen. The most serious are the rejection of vss. 417, 831, 1002; the insertion of an entire verse after 1243; the transformation of vss. 299, 300 into trimeters (*νῦν γὰρ σπάσαι* in the latter); and a series of emendations in vss. 503–7, where we find successively *τοῖσι Θηβαίοισι* (not rather *Βοιωτοῖσι*?), *διστάζετε*, and *τὴν θεόν ποτε | ἰδεῖν παροῦσαν*. Two changes which have much in their favor are *κάρδοπον* for *ἀντλίαν* in vs. 18, and *ὑμεῖς Ἀττικοί* in place of the unparalleled *Ἀττικωνικοί* of vs. 215; in support of the former might be cited the scholium on *Nub.* 669, where the phraseology is very similar to the note on this passage. Happily van Leeuwen has not always found it necessary to resort to such heroic measures in removing serious difficulties; particularly attractive are the following emendations: 180 *με* omitted, 479 *ἔχονται ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ* (suggested by Richard's *ἐνέχονται τῷ ξύλῳ*), 628 *μου* for *μοι*, 760–63 substitution of third person for first, 1154 *ἐξ παρ' Αἰσχίνου* for *ἐξ Αἰσχινάδου*. In two or three instances a simple mark of punctuation helps not a little; thus in 197 (after *γάρ*), and in 329 (after *ἄλλο*). It must not be thought, however, that the critical ability of this brilliant editor is directed solely in the direction of emendation; it is a pleasure to emphasize the fact that in a large number of instances he defends the traditional text against the attacks of various critics, occasionally against his own earlier suspicions (so notably in vss. 48 and 458). By a singular oversight the reading of RV in vs. 455 is reported as *ἰὴ* instead of *ἰὴ ἰὴ μόνον*; in vs. 103 the entry for V should be *διανοεῖ* (as R), not *διανοεῖς*.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY EARNEST CARY

Die Überlieferungsgeschichte der vergleichenden Lebensbeschreibungen Plutarchs. Von KONRAT ZIEGLER. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. Pp. viii+208 and 1 plate.

Indications are not lacking that, were conditions more favorable, many scholars would consider Plutarch an attractive field for their investiga-

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tions. Any tendencies in this direction, however, are almost inevitably nipped in the bud by the wretched condition of the text. Notwithstanding the advance which Bernardakis' edition of the *Moralia* made over its predecessors, Wilamowitz' verdict still remains substantially true, "unum iam nunc constat fundamentum recensionis non esse iactum." And for the *Vitae*, despite several excellent editions of single pairs, the situation is still worse. Yet Plutarch's writings are so voluminous, the manuscripts so numerous and scattered, and their interrelationships so complicated and obscure as to deter even the most hardy from attempting to solve the puzzle and publish a satisfactory text. Such an undertaking demands a lifetime, leisure, means for travel, and unremitting industry. Amid all this confusion Ziegler's book affords much encouragement. By means of printed material, correspondence, and travel he has attempted no less a task than the classification of practically every known manuscript of Plutarch's *Lives*.

It is highly significant that so fundamental and seemingly simple a matter as the order of the *Lives* in the extant manuscripts has been almost entirely neglected and never adequately determined. And it is to this that Ziegler first devotes himself. Two arrangements recur with enough frequency to prove that they are not due to chance or to the individual caprice of some copyist—a three-book edition and a two-book edition. In the former the *Lives* are (for the most part) arranged on the basis of Greek nationality (Athenians, Corinthians, etc.) and chronologically within these subdivisions (Theseus, Solon, Themistocles, etc.). In three pairs—Coriolanus-Alcibiades, Aemilius Paulus-Timoleon, and Sertorius-Eumenes—the Romans precede. The other arrangement ignores national lines and is (for the most part) founded on the chronological sequence of the Greek worthies, and Ziegler has made it seem plausible that this arrangement was derived from the first. Curiously enough, the extant family of MSS (X) which preserves this later edition contains only its first book, while the order of citations from Plutarch in Photius' *Bibliotheca* shows that he was acquainted with the second book—in fact, this two-book recension had probably been made only shortly before his time.

The practical bearing of all this on several Plutarch questions is, of course, manifest, and Ziegler himself in the rest of his book proceeds to make one very useful application. In brief, the arrangement of *Lives* becomes a criterion by which can be determined at a glance and almost infallibly to which family (X or Y) any MS belongs. Of course, the matter is sometimes complicated, e. g., by several MSS of different origin having been used jointly to produce a new copy, but such exceptions do not invalidate the general value of the test.

In the second chapter Ziegler makes a detailed study of the MS tradition for each pair of *Lives* in turn, and in the third chapter deals

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with Plutarch citations in various Greek and Byzantine authors. A supplement contains the results obtained by a special trip of research in Italy.

Doubtless there are scores of statements in this book which need correction, but it will no longer be necessary for a scholar interested in the text of the *Lives* to undertake to edit them all or to examine every Plutarch MS in Christendom. Knowing in advance the MSS that contain any *Life* or group of *Lives* and at least the general relationship between them (however the details may be modified), anyone can now intelligently choose some task great or small according to his time and inclination. The division of labor thus made possible ought to produce a thoroughgoing edition before many decades. In my opinion, the present work has hastened that result by a quarter-century.

It is regrettable that the results given in the supplement could not have been distributed in their proper places throughout the body of the paper. The arrangement of material is somewhat cumbersome and repetitious also in other respects, though doubtless that was not entirely avoidable. The Prussian Akademie der Wissenschaften did itself the honor of awarding Dr. Ziegler a "Nebenpreis."

ROY C. FLICKINGER

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

De inventione Iuvenalis capita tria. . . . . Dissertatio quam . . . . scripsit ALFREDUS HARTMANN . . . . Basileae: F. Reinhardt, 1908. Pp. 93.

Stimulated by Richard Heinze's appeal for more attention to the historical development of style and technique, the author of this dissertation attempts to discover the nature and the limitations of Juvenal's originality. The results, based on a study of the first, third, and fifth satires (the earlier work of the poet), are summarized as follows: Juvenal shares with earlier satirists an interest in everything that is at variance with the laws of nature, but in his early poems as a result either of inherent taste or of personal experience selects for special criticism the phases of life that illustrate inequality and injustice in the social organism. To illustrate this aspect Juvenal attacks the rich and influential class showing the unfairness of its social eminence, and the disastrous effects upon the poor and honest; the poor are also oppressed by the conditions of life in the city. The satirist vivifies his account of injustice by abundant use of contrast, setting over against each other the different circumstances of the two classes. His zeal and intensity of purpose are manifest, but his themes are the commonplaces of satire and diatribe. His own contribution is found in the abundant use of examples and situations, in his refusal to mass and concentrate his material, and in a

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consequent tendency to digression, and digression within digression, with results fatal to unity of composition.

The author of the dissertation is concerned primarily with a comparative study of Juvenal and earlier satirists. He declines to compare the material in Juvenal with the facts of contemporary or earlier social life on the ground that a reconstruction of the facts is impossible from the prejudiced accounts of satirists and epigrammatists; we think that the efforts of Professor Dill and others in this direction have not been altogether fruitless. Moreover, except in a few cases, he shrinks from a painstaking reconstruction of possible literary sources outside of satire. The conclusions are very likely true so far as they go, but they refer rather exclusively to Juvenal's point of view, and to one or two phases of his composition. Should not a complete and convincing account of Juvenal's originality start from a careful study of a number of passages, not necessarily a large number, in which the concrete facts of the social environment described by the poet are known from reliable sources, or the literary tradition ascertainable, or both the facts and the tradition available? From such passages conclusions may safely be drawn as to Juvenal's originality, and these conclusions transferred and applied with reasonable safety to other parts of the poet's work of which the sources are not attainable. If there are no such passages, the task is hardly worth attempting. To some extent the author employs this method, but by analyzing three satires in the sequence of verses, he necessarily treats in succession passages of very different content with respect to available sources; in most cases he may only describe, or make plausible suggestions; the description and the suggestions would be more convincing if based on a preliminary study of those passages, doubtless few in number, in which the material for a study of sources is, comparatively speaking, rich and reliable. We are none the less grateful for a careful and sympathetic study of a few phases of the poet's art of composition, in the course of which the author offers many independent interpretations and continually suggests to the thoughtful reader opportunities for deeper investigation.

HENRY W. PRESCOTT

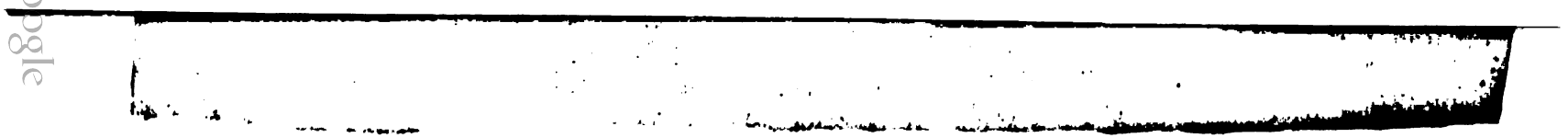
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

As we go to press we receive, too late for more than bare mention in this number, the news of the death of our colleague, Professor John H. Wright of Harvard University.—THE EDITORS.

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VALERIUS MAXIMUS.—Codex Bernensis 366 f. 38ᵛ

Classical Philology

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THE ARCHETYPE CODEX OF VALERIUS MAXIMUS

BY W. M. LINDSAY

Every "codex optimus" of a Latin author has a history behind it. An editor nowadays must try by means of all available clues[1] to track out as much of its past history as possible. The possibilities of the case may be illustrated by the discoveries of Traube, the pioneer in this new field of research, regarding the Berne MS of Valerius Maximus.

Valerius Maximus, a teacher of rhetoric, who, in the reign of Tiberius, wrote, as a manual of reference for speakers, the *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, is an author who might, with advantage, be restored to the place he formerly occupied as a school-classic. His book skims for us the cream of Roman history; his Latin is nearly Ciceronian; his morals are excellent; the twaddle, with which he strings his collection of stories is, if tedious, well meant, and is never so protracted as to become intolerable.

The "codex optimus," on which the standard edition (by Kempf, in the Teubner Series) is based, is a ninth-century MS in the Stadtbibliothek at Berne (No. 366). The Teubner editor has told us that some corrector had emended its text with the help of

[1] E. g., the abbreviations which appear in the codex itself or which can be inferred for its archetype. To make this clue effective much has still to be done. The next fifty years will see a thorough investigation of this important branch of Latin paleography. When we have full knowledge of the times and the places at which the several abbreviations were current, and have reduced to system the errors produced by the wrong expansion of unfamiliar symbols by later transcribers, then, and not till then, will paleography render its full meed of service to textual criticism.

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some MS of Julius Paris' *Epitome* of Valerius Maximus, the readings from the *Epitome* being sometimes placed in the margin, with some such prefix as "I(ulius) P(aris)" or "adbr(eviator)" or "u(etustus)" or "A(lter)," sometimes engrafted on the text itself.

So much for the outward appearance of the MS, as it presented itself to an editor before Traube made it reveal its secrets. Here is its history, as elicited by Traube.[1] Servatus Lupus, the learned abbot of Ferrières, gave, in the year 860, a course of instruction in the "artes liberales" to his monks, one of whom, afterward famous as poet and savant, Heirich of Auxerre, published in a single volume some of the lectures both of Lupus and of his other teachers. For instruction in Roman history, Lupus dictated to his pupils extracts, culled by himself, from Valerius Maximus; and these extracts were included in Heirich's subsequent publication. The Codex Bernensis, we now learn, was the actual copy of Valerius Maximus used by Lupus in dictating; the corrections in its margin and in its text were made by his own hand. At one touch of Traube's magic wand, this Berne MS has become one of the most precious monuments of mediaeval learning.

But that is not all its history. Lupus' corrections belong to two periods. The readings inserted from the *Epitome* codex are much later than the others. Since they are not found in Heirich's transcript of the passages dictated by Lupus, they must have been entered by Lupus subsequent to the dictation. It is only the older series of corrections which were prior to the lectures heard by Heirich in the year 860. Before taking the Ferrières (now the Berne) MS to the lecture-room, Lupus must have gone carefully through its text and emended it, partly by his own unaided conjecture, partly (for some of the emendations are clearly beyond the powers of a mediaeval scholar) with the help of a second MS of Valerius Maximus, to which he gained access. What this MS was, it is the purpose of this article to ascertain. The later series of corrections was made at some subsequent period, when Lupus got knowledge of an ancient MS of Julius Paris' *Epitome* in the

[1] For the details of proof and for a full account of this interesting discovery, the reader is referred to the pamphlet by Traube's pupil, who brought his master's researches to their ultimate conclusion: I. Schnetz *Ein Kritiker des Valerius Maximus im 9. Jahrhundert*, Neuburg a. D., 1901.

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neighboring library of Fleury. It was no less than the copy[1] corrected in the fifth century by a scholar of the Sidonius circle, called Helpidius Domnulus. This relic of the ancient world Lupus terms his "vetustus codex," as opposed to the "novus" (the second MS of Valerius Maximus); and as is natural, gives to its readings a marked preference, which sometimes leads him into error.

We have therefore in Lupus' later series of corrections a new help for the text, directly of Julius Paris and indirectly of Valerius himself, namely the readings of a valuable fifth-century MS of the *Epitome*. What is it that the earlier series of corrections affords us? Kempf thought that a MS of a different family from A (the Bernensis) must have been used by the corrector (i. e., Lupus), because in one passage he supplies a line omitted both by A and by L, a ninth-century Florence MS, which is the twin-brother of A. Here is the passage, from which it will be seen that the omission was due to the repetition of the syllable *cam* (*Puni-cam* and *cam-porum*):

III ii. 10 (p. 116 K.): Qualis deinde roboris illi milites, qui vehementi ictu remorum concitatam fuga Punicam *classem nantes lubricis quasi cam*porum firmitate pedites in litus retraxerunt.

But, not to mention other arguments, the whole history of Lupus' connection with Bernensis points to his having used the original from which the Ferrières MS (now the Bernensis) was copied. What happened was, I take it, this. With a view to his lectures, Lupus obtained from some neighboring library, Fleury or possibly Orléans, a MS of Valerius Maximus. He got some of his monks to transcribe it and then, with his own hand, corrected the transcription, consulting the original MS whenever he found himself at a loss. The line in question had been omitted in the Ferrières transcript and was found by Lupus in the Fleury (Orléans?) original. Now the Laurentianus (L), which comes from a library of the same district, Orléans or Fleury, and which was transcribed from the same original, also omits the line. How are we to escape this difficulty?

[1] The arguments of Traube for its being the actual MS with Domnulus' signature and not merely a copy of Domnulus' edition, are strong, but perhaps leave a tiny loophole for doubt. However, even if the alternative theory were true, the MS would still be a MS of ancient times and exhibiting an approved text.

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Schnetz could find no way out, and forced himself to declare the line to be a conjecture of Lupus, who had anticipated the methods of modern textual criticism and had surmised that homoeoteleuton had been the cause of the scribe's error. This explanation clearly strains our belief too severely. But surely there is another explanation available. I suggest that in the common original of A and L the line, after having been omitted by the scribe, had been inserted at the foot (or top) of the page by the corrector, in much the same fashion as Lupus has inserted it in A. Presumably the words had occupied exactly a line of the original (the pro-archetype), and the scribe's eye naturally wandered from the syllable *cam* at the end of one line to the similar syllable ending the following line. If the marginal supplement were far removed on the page of the archetype from the place where the words had been omitted, it is quite natural that both the scribe of A and the scribe of L should have failed to notice it. From the accompanying photograph of the page (fol. 38*v*) of the Bernensis, it will be seen that Lupus has been careful to use symbols which call a reader's attention to the omission and to the supplement. If the same care had not been exhibited by the corrector of the archetype, how easily would the line be omitted by a transcriber! No! I cannot see that this passage offers any serious difficulty to the natural view, that Lupus' first set of corrections, where they do not emanate from his own brain, are taken from the archetype itself.

Now, this throws an interesting light on the famous interpolation from Martial at II. x. 8 (p. 107 K.), where Valerius Maximus tells the story of Cato leaving the theater at the celebration of the Ludi Florales: "quod cum ex Favonio amicissimo sibi una sedente cognosset, discessit e theatro." Between the words *cognosset* and *discessit* has been inserted Martial's epigram (I. i) on this incident: "nosses iocosae . . . . ueneras ut exires." Thus in L the last line of fol. 39*r* is "sedente cognosset. martiales nosses iocosae sacrum cum dulce," and the second line of fol. 39*v* begins "discessit et athro." In A the insertion originally occupied the last two lines of fol. 35*v*, col. i, and the first seven of fol. 35*v*, col. ii, but has been erased by Lupus. Must we then credit Lupus with sufficient command of the "higher criticism" to enable him to

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detect and delete an interpolation, without any manuscript assistance? Not if an easier explanation is to be found. And such an explanation presents itself, without requiring to be sought for. The adscript, I take it, stood on the margin of the common original of L and A, presumably having emanated from the corrector of that original. If we suppose it to have stood on the top margin of one page, and the previous page to have ended with the word *cognosset*, we shall understand how readily a careless copyist would transfer it to the text. Lupus, in reading through A (the Ferrières transcript), with a view to preparing his lectures, found a difficulty in construing this passage, turned for help to the original, and saw that the Martial quotation was written by the corrector, not by the scribe, and was not meant to form part of the text. The interpolation should not, in my opinion, be ascribed to an ancient text of Valerius Maximus. It is the work of an eighth (ninth?) century monk of Orléans (or Fleury), who had, we may suppose, been engaged with a MS of Martial, just before he undertook the revision of this MS of Valerius Maximus.

From Lupus' *Letters* (edited by Du Dézert, Paris, 1888) we see what pains this mediaeval scholar took to procure MSS for making and correcting transcripts. It will therefore be of interest and possibly of importance to detect his intervention in MSS of classical authors, wherever it is to be found. The specimen[1] of his handwriting furnished by the phototype which accompanies this article may, I hope, be serviceable in this respect.

ST. ANDREWS, SCOTLAND

[1] Other photographs from the Berne MS of Valerius Maximus will be found in Chatelain's *Pal. class. lat.* and in Steffens' *Lat. Paläographie.*

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A CHAPTER IN THE STORY OF ROMAN IMPERIALISM

By Tenney Frank

"La proclamation de l'indépendance . . . . s'explique aussi bien par un machiavélisme raffiné que par un philhellénisme sincère," says Colin[1] in discussing the end of the second Macedonian war. As a matter of fact, the present-day historians of Rome have with a monotonous unanimity employed those two terms when attempting to explain Rome's purposes in invading the East. Mommsen vigorously combats the charge—a very old one—that Rome was capable of nothing but unscrupulous cleverness. He insists that Flamininus was inspired by a sincere love for Hellas, though, true to the spirit of Bismarck's day, he adds that this blind sentiment must be considered no less criminal than the alleged lack of principle. The majority, however, well represented by Ihne, Peter, and Duruy, have reverted to the older charge of machiavelianism. It would seem as if our historians, saturated in the diplomacy of the nineteenth century, will not read the history of a simpler day simply, for fear of incurring the suspicion of being simpletons. At any rate, it is difficult to escape the conviction that they are detecting too many of the inventions of the modern political game in the tentative statesmanship of an ingenuous bourgeois senate.

The modern historian was not the first to commit this sin. The taint of contemporary theory was quick to touch even the Roman historians who treated the times of Flamininus. Rome had full possession of Greece within fifty years after perpetual freedom was so pompously proclaimed at the Isthmian games of 196. In view of that fact it would be surprising if the diplomacy of Mummius, of Sulla, of Caesar, and of Augustus had not influenced the successively contemporaneous historians to attribute their newfound cleverness to the senate of Scipio's day.

I propose in this paper to trace in outline the growth of Roman imperialism through the period of 200–180 B. C. and at

[1] *Rome et la Grèce*, p. 83.

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the same time to examine some of the historical sources of the period with a view to eliminating anachronisms of the kind that I have just indicated. Perhaps I may also be permitted now and then to question the accuracy of our historians in interpreting those sources, if by doing so I can make my own point more readily understood. As for the influence of the events that precede the year 200, I shall attempt to make the correct deductions without discussion. To be sure, if one were to give a complete treatment of the subject, one would be compelled to review the history of Rome from its very beginnings. In this paper, however, I must begin at the point where it is usually alleged that imperialism was emerging into a policy which was to be adopted or rejected with full consciousness of its meaning.

A discussion of the wars within Italy up to the limits of the natural boundaries is not absolutely essential to the question in hand. The Roman statesmen did not appeal to the history of the conquest of Italy[1] for precedent to determine Rome's foreign policy. Again, no one would seriously contend that the Carthaginian wars were in any literal sense undertaken for the sake of conquest. In that life-and-death struggle, Rome, whether through actual or imagined necessity, involved herself in the possession of foreign territory in Sicily and Spain, but her refusal to touch African soil quite clearly indicates that she had little desire for any land-holding other than was absolutely necessary for the immediate safeguarding of Italy. The continued possession of Spain does not refute this general statement, since that territory had been seized for the purpose of cutting off Punic resources during the war, and was later held through characteristic Roman inability to execute a retreat.

In seeking the first evidences of a definite Roman policy of foreign conquest for the sake of permanent possession, it is usual to begin with the invasion of the East, or, more exactly, with the

[1] There are a few significant phrases connected with the ceremonies that preceded the declaration of war and with the ancient regulation of triumphs which show how closely warfare was associated with the extension of territory. Such are the frequently occurring words prolatio finium and propagare fines (cf. Livy xxxi. 5. 7, and Cic. *De rep.* 3. 24). These phrases, however, were stereotyped by the year 200 and were apparently not taken literally as containing any requirements in extra-marine warfare.

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second Macedonian war. Rome, of course, had even before that war secured a foothold on the Greek coast, but only because of the necessity of suppressing the Illyrian pirates who had been plundering Italian seaports. Somewhat later Philip, by his treacherous move against Rome in the worst days of the Punic war, compelled her to invade Macedonia in order to form a coalition of Greeks against Philip. No new possessions, however, accrued to Rome from this invasion. She was satisfied with having diverted Philip, and, when the Aetolians withdrew from the quarrel, she signed a treaty with Philip accepting the *status quo ante*.

Coming now to the second Macedonian war, I shall take space only to point out some inaccuracies of our sources in their treatment of Rome's motives for undertaking the war, and in their statements concerning the terms of peace offered and the final settlement made. By doing so, I hope to indicate the way to a safer interpretation of the facts.

The motives of the Romans in entering upon the war were seemingly not clearly understood by the historians of a hundred years later. At any rate they found Rome's reasons inadequate, and felt the necessity of adding others more plausible in the light of contemporaneous politics. To illustrate this point, I shall contrast the account of Polybius with the accounts of later writers. From Polybius (Book xvi) we get a simple statement of the case: Philip had attacked possessions of Attalus, Rhodes, Egypt, and Athens; these powers, being "friends" of Rome appealed to her for aid; Rome declared war in response to these petitions. That is all. I find no implication in Polybius that Rome's reasons were then considered insufficient. And yet from that time to this, with the exception of Mommsen—who has his own way of justifying success—writers have found it difficult to pardon Rome's behavior. This is not surprising. If we are to rely upon Polybius, we must conclude that Rome entered the war for the defense of nations with whom she had treaties of "friendship" (*amicitia*) only, and not of defensive alliance. Since Rome was not in the habit of acting in this way during the late Republic, historians naturally sought more adequate explanations. In the first place,

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Livy revises the list of appealing nations. He gives the position of importance to Aetolia,[1] feeling, doubtless, that the other powers mentioned were not so closely bound to Rome as to justify her in undertaking a war in their defense. Aetolia had at least been an ally in one war. Livy furthermore adds the alleged fact that Philip had recently offered aid to Hannibal against Rome (Livy xxxi. 1. 10 and 11. 10), a story which has, of course, no respectable foundation. Pompeius Trogus has the same fiction and produces it as the predominant cause of the war. At the ingenuous motivation of Polybius he can only sneer: Titulo ferendi sociis auxilii bellum aduersus Philippum decernitur (Just. xxx. 3. 6; cf. Livy xxxi. 14. 6, haudquaquam digna causa). Cassius Dio writes in the same spirit: *χρώμενοι μὲν τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιβασίᾳ λαβῇ*,—Fr. lvii. 1. It is evident then that these historians had some difficulty in finding a justification for Rome's declaration of war. Their skepticism as to the sincerity of Rome's profession is regularly assumed to be well founded. It is my conviction that all these doubts rest upon a misunderstanding of the obligation which a treaty of *amicitia* entailed in the earlier days of Rome.

We know that in the last century of the Republic, when Rome was supreme, all treaties, whatever their polite wording, were in their execution favorable to Rome. Not only were the *socii* obliged to send their contingent to Rome at call, but the *amici*, too, knew that they did not possess the privilege of neutrality if Rome was at war. On the other hand, Rome was under no obligation to reciprocate when the *amici* were in distress. Her "friends" might come to the senate and humbly petition for aid, but they usually returned *infecta re* (cf. the case of the Aedui, Caes. *B. G.* 6. 12 and 1. 33). In view of this consideration, we forget—as the Romans themselves soon forgot—that the term *amicitia* must have involved *mutual* obligations in the early days of Rome's foreign administration. We know, of course, that a treaty of "friendship" did not, strictly speaking, impose the necessities of a defensive alliance. All that it distinctly guaran-

[1] Livy xxxi. 1. 9: uacuos deinde pace Punica iam Romanos et infensos Philippo cum ob infidam aduersus Aetolos aliosque regionis eiusdem socios pacem tum ob auxilia cum pecunia nuper in Africam missa Hannibali, etc.

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teed was peace between the contracting parties.[1] It is evident, however, that in practice it contemplated mutual aid of a practical sort unless the friend was otherwise engaged and could not render aid without offense to other allies. Certainly Rome's *amici*, even in the days when she was not so powerful as to be awe-inspiring, felt that treaties of this kind placed them under some such obligation. The behavior of the Achaean league in 192 (see Livy xxxv. 50), the tone of Ptolemy's message to Rome in 200 (Livy xxxi. 9) and his offer in 190 (Livy xxxvi. 4) as well as that of Masinissa in the same year (*ibid.*) will illustrate the spirit in which the other signatories of such treaties viewed the obligations which they involved.

I believe that Rome's action in declaring war in 200 on the appeal of four of her *amici* is proof that Rome then assumed that in signing treaties of friendship she was accepting the same obligations toward her friends as they toward her. Why should she not? Rome had then a very sincere respect for Philip, Antiochus, Rhodes, and Attalus. Doubtless she would not have suggested in 200, weakened as she was at that time, that she was *facile princeps* among these *amici*. She considered her friends as her peers then, and seeing things in that light, she was ready to interpret the written and implied obligations of her treaties as liberally as did her friends. Her behavior during the war favors this interpretation. It is evident from Polybius (Books xvi–xviii) that Attalus is considered the head of the war at first; Rome is merely sending aid to equals as a friend. It is not till the Roman generals and the Roman armies have proved their ability to secure results that they become the recognized leaders; and it is not till Philip, disgusted with the unending parleyings of the Greek legates, asks permission to treat with Flamininus alone that the pre-eminence of the Romans is acknowledged. If Philip had defeated the coalition at the end of the three years' struggle, history would not have spoken of this as a Roman war.

There is another act of Rome's at this time which reveals the fact that the Romans then accepted a treaty of *amicitia* as involving practical obligations. In the year 200, having signed a treaty

[1] ὅπλα μὴ φέρειν ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους, App. *B. C.* 4. 66.

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of "friendship" with Masinissa, Rome sent envoys to him who were ordered "polliceri si quid sibi ad firmandum augendumque regnum opus esse indicasset, enixe id populum Rom. merito eius praestaturum" (Livy. xxxi. 11. 12). My conclusion then is that in the days (and they were not many) when Rome still considered the eastern powers as her equals, she in all good faith undertook to interpret the various treaties in as generous a spirit as they did; that under certain conditions of proximity and need, it was at that time customary to render mutual aid in warfare on the basis of a mere treaty of *amicitia;* that therefore the reasons which Rome put forth for attacking Philip in 200 need not be questioned as inadequate in spite of the skepticism of later writers. To be sure, Rome did not need more than ten years' experience in the East to learn that her friends were not absolutely necessary to her existence and that their aid was by no means worth full payment in kind. When she had made this discovery, the word *amicitia* lost some of its importance to her. Rome still permitted her "friends" to help her at times, but she soon ceased to return the favor. By the time that Rome had so far outgrown her friends as to become their virtual master, the historians had no way of understanding Rome's earlier professions. Hence it is that we have heard so much of "pretexts," "hyprocrisy," "political calculation," "commercialism,"[1] and all the rest, in the later accounts of the second Macedonian war.

[1] I have little room for controversy, but I may be allowed an occasional note on the excellent work of Colin, quoted above, since it is the most recent discussion that deals with our subject. Colin, pp. 90 ff., expanding a hint of Mommsen's, tries to show that Rome was strongly influenced by her commercial interest in undertaking this war. Surely those interests had an exceedingly weak voice in the governmental policies of the time. We hear of no strong financial society until 215, and that was apparently formed upon request to raise money when the state was in great distress (Livy xxiii. 48). The civilization that brought forth the Porcian legislation and the laws forbidding senators to engage in commerce could hardly require many of the products of the East. Colin's view that the *publicani* had learned through their business in Sicily to desire increase in domain is not plausible. We know that Sicily had hitherto been a burden, not a source of wealth. If commercial interests were powerful enough to exert an influence, they doubtless used it in protesting against the war as did the heavily taxed farmers, for a part of the old loans of 215 were still unpaid and overdue. In fact the senate had to mortgage public lands as security for the instalment due in 200 (Livy xxxi. 13). The day came when commercial interests could force the state to extend her conquests, but it was not in the year 200 nor for many a year then to come. I may add that Colin's skepticism about Rome's sincerity often prevents his acceptance of the

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In the accounts of the peace conference at Tempe there are also a few slight misconceptions due to anachronistic interpretation of facts. Polybius[1] shows clearly in the terms offered at Nicaea that Rome had no intention of holding any part of Greek territory surrendered by Philip (Pol. xviii. 1–8), but even he is writing long enough after events to permit a phrase of latter-day color to slip into his narration. The error is a mere trifle, only the insertion of the adverb εὐθέως, but it is enough to show how soon Rome's earlier policy began to be misunderstood. In the speech attributed to Flamininus (xviii. 37. 2) the general is explaining why he refuses to dethrone Philip; he is represented as saying: "You do not understand the policy of Rome; οὔτε γὰρ Ῥωμαίους οὐδέσι τὸ πρῶτον πολεμήσαντας εὐθέως ἀναστάτους ποιεῖν τούτους. πίστιν δ'ἔχειν . . . . ἐκ τῶν κατ' Ἀννίβαν; i. e., "You may judge from our treatment of Carthage that Rome is not in the custom of destroying her enemies *at once!*" Is Flamininus capable of implying that Rome will *ultimately* destroy Carthage and Macedonia? The words are so inconsistent with his entire behavior that I think we must decide that they misreport him. Polybius wrote this part of his history after the capture of Perseus, probably even after the fall of Carthage and Corinth. The implication of

simplest interpretation of facts. For instance, he repeatedly points out that the Greeks of 200 B. C. suspected the altruistic professions of the Romans and he adduces their attitude as ground for his skepticism. Now, anyone who reads Pol. x. 25, App. *Mac.* 9. 3, Paus. vii. 8. 1, Just. xxix. 2, Livy xxx. 25. 14, will be convinced that there was much of this suspicion, even if he attributes half of the language he there finds to *vaticinia ex eventu*. Nevertheless, Greek suspicion does not prove the Romans hypocrites. The petty Greek states had learned in a hundred years of struggle with ambitious despots like Philip and Antiochus to suspect the professions of the strong. These despots had inherited the policies of Alexander, the first successful imperialist. He and his successors had created the atmosphere of suspicion and fear in which the Greeks now lived. It would be strange, therefore, if the Greeks had not feared that the Romans in coming east would use the methods they had seen in operation at home. I admit that there was much fear and suspicion, but the presence of this does not seem to have been based upon any accurate knowledge of Roman methods.

[1] It seems clear to me. Colin, however, assumes that Flamininus was the author of the movement to liberate Greece, and that he was compelled to struggle with the senate for years to accomplish his purpose (p. 89). Yet the very first message sent to Philip in 200, when Flamininus was still a nonentity in the senate, was strongly philhellenic; μήτε τῶν Ἑλλήνων μηδενὶ πολεμεῖν (Pol. xvi. 34), and the wording of the first offer of peace made by the senate strongly implies that the senate had no intention of retaining any Greek territory. Note the contrast in ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἁπάσης ἐκχωρεῖν . . . τοὺς δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα τόπους παραδοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις (Pol. xviii. 1. 13).

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his report must be explained as an anachronism. Appian (*Mac.* 9. 2) falls into the same error by following Polybius. His words are: *οἳ οὐδένα πω τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὐθὺς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνέτρεψαν.* Livy is clear-headed enough this once to emend his Polybius, for he writes: "illos prioribus omnibus conciliis conloquiisque de condicionibus pacis semper ⟨non⟩ ut ad internecionem bellaretur disseruisse, etc." (xxxiii. 12. 6). In a nearby passage, however, he betrays a temporary misunderstanding of Rome's purposes in Greece. Mistranslating a sentence of Polybius (xviii. 36) he falls into the error of reporting a quarrel between Flamininus and the Aetolians regarding the possession of Thebes: disceptatio inter imperatorem Romanum et Aetolos orta est de Thebis; nam *eas populi Romani jure belli factas esse* Quinctius dicebat (xxxiii. 13. 7). In the original account of Polybius there is no implication that Rome is asserting her own claims to any part of the captured territory.

The important items in the treaty of peace were, according to Polybius, the immediate liberation of the Greek cities in Asia Minor and Thrace, the transference to the Romans of the surrendered cities in Greece before the Isthmian games, the surrender of the Macedonian army, and the payment of a war indemnity in ten annual instalments. Later historians could easily have consulted the original documents, but apparently they did not. Instead they added items consonant with the spirit of aggrandizement which held sway in their own day. Thus, for instance, Quadrigarius (see Livy xxxiii. 30. 8) includes among the terms an agreement to pay a "vectigal" for thirty years, a requirement which would imply a condition of dependence not contemplated by the Romans. Livy, probably drawing upon the annalists, adds as further items of the treaty: bellum extra Macedoniae fines ne iniussu senatus gereret (Philippus), and, ne plus quinque milia armatorum[1] haberet. Such requirements would necessarily make Macedonia a Roman dependency, whereas the treaty as given by Polybius merely provides for the liberation of the Greek states without adding restrictions that would necessitate constant interference from Rome. Even here, then, it is evident that the

[1] Nissen *Krit. U.*, p. 146, proves on external grounds that these items cannot have been part of the treaty.

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ascendant imperialism of a later day is coloring the accounts of Rome's earlier foreign policy.

The Greek and Roman historians betray few inconsistencies or disagreements in treating of the final settlement of affairs in 194–92 and of the final evacuation. It is all the stranger, therefore, that the majority of the modern discussions of the subject should be full of cynicism regarding Rome's purpose. Our historians suspect that the senate did not intend to leave Greece entirely (cf. Colin), or that the settlement of Flamininus virtually consisted in establishing pro-Roman oligarchies which would eventually bring Roman influence back to Greece (cf. Niese), or that the liberation, in so far as it was not an act entirely contrary to political calculation, was, after all, the product of an unreasoning philhellenism (cf. Mommsen).

As for the first point, the suspicion is based upon no definite proof. Since there happens likewise to be no definite refutation, we must rely upon the logic of related facts for a decision, and this militates against the suspicion. Whenever we can find any indication of the senate's purposes in the early stages of the war, they all point quite distinctly in one direction. The senate's first envoy to Philip demanded that he cease attacking Greek cities. The first terms offered by the senate required the evacuation of Greece but the restoration to Rome of the Illyrian territory—a contrast of treatment that implies the intention of liberating the former. The senate's provision that Philip must withdraw his garrisons before the Isthmian games reveals the fact that the senate itself had planned the spectacular proclamation of freedom and intended to make it comprehensive. The apparent permission granted to the decemviri to hold the "three fetters of Greece" until the immediate danger from Antiochus should pass over does not reveal any desire on the senate's part to retain them permanently. Had the senate desired them it would have given some slight hint of that desire, whereas apparently the commissioners hardly knew whether or no the matter had been discussed. Furthermore, the settlement of Greek affairs was intrusted to Flamininus: assurance enough that the senate had no desire to pursue a selfish course. In fact, for ten years to come, Rome by

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sending Flamininus to Greece whenever trouble arose there showed unmistakably her adherence to a policy especially represented by him. That policy demanded complete and perfect liberty for all Greeks and was well set forth in the unequivocal message to Antiochus: *οὐδένα γὰρ ἔτι τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὔτε πολεμεῖσθαι νῦν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς οὔτε δουλεύειν οὐδενί* (Pol. xviii. 47). The Roman senate would not have stood sponsor for that ultimatum with its five negatives if it had coveted any part of Greek soil.

For the second point there is absolutely no proof. Flamininus was, to be sure, occupied for a large part of the year 194 in a journey of readjustment through the Greek cities. The best indication of what there was to do and the excellent way in which he did it is to be found in the famous inscription of the Kyretiae, Ditt. 278: *ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσιν φανερὰν πεποήκαμεν τήν τε ἰδίαν καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων προαίρεσιν ἣν ἔχομεν εἰς ὑμᾶς ὁλοσχερῶς, ... ὅσαι γάρ ποτε ἀπολείπονται κτήσεις ἔγγειοι καὶ οἰκίαι . . . . πάσας δίδομεν τῆι ὑμετέραι πόλει*, etc. The historian has lived too long in the atmosphere of continental diplomacy, who, after reading that declaration, has no comment but: "es geschah alles um die römische Hegemonie sicher zu begründen" (see Niese, p. 666). I have failed to find any proof that there was as yet, in fact or in contemplation, a Roman "Hegemonie" over Greece. Nor is there any reasonable ground for Colin's charge (p. 167) that Flamininus' readjustment of Thessaly was governed by political calculation on the principle of *divide ut imperes*. Thessaly had not revealed a homogeneity that would justify Rome in establishing it as a single, autonomous state.

Lastly the assumption that a foolish sentiment of philhellenism, originating with Flamininus and finally extending through the senate, saved Greece from a treatment that Rome, it is alleged, was accustomed to mete out to all she subdued seems to me to go farther than the facts allow. Rome's withdrawal from Greece is better explained on the ground that Rome had as yet no desire to follow a policy of aggrandizement. I find no reason to suppose that Rome then intended to apply the *mores majorum* to the enemies she subdued beyond Italy. Even the Romans spoke glibly of natural boundaries. Flamininus once illustrated the

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theory very effectively (Livy xxxvi. 32) by telling of the tortoise that got into mischief by protruding its limbs beyond the protection of its shell (quodcumque nudauit, obnoxium). There is no proof that the Roman *testudo* contemplated extending its claws over the Aegean. Even if philhellenism could explain her abstention from free Greek cities, it cannot explain her moderation toward Macedonia, in her eyes a non-Greek state and an oppressor of Greeks. Rome had razed Capua in Italy for joining Hannibal after Cannae. Her hatred toward Philip for the same offense could have been no less exacting. Yet in spite of this, and of the fact that she could, without show of injustice or offense to Greeks, have extended her domain eastward from Illyria over Macedonia, she refused to entertain the thought when the allies suggested it. In truth, it is not a question whether or no the accessible territory is a part of Hellas. In the spirit in which the senate later refused to accept the gifts of domain when offered by Bocchus and Ptolemy, in that spirit the senate now, regardless of the dictates of philhellenism, kept its hands off eastern territory.

If then we re-read the sources of the second Macedonian war, pruning out the various anachronisms from the ancient and modern narratives, I think we shall be convinced that the war was not inspired to any appreciable degree by a policy of expansion, be it political or commercial, and that, in the treaty of peace and in the final settlement, Rome shows no intention of exacting terms or establishing conditions which shall involve her in future arbitrament of Greek affairs.

We now come to the war with Antiochus. The ancient accounts of it are not only remarkably uniform but are also consistent with a favorable interpretation of Rome's purposes. Apparently they go back to a reliable source (cf. Mommsen *R. F.* II, 511). At times, however, especially in later apocryphal speeches, a discordant note is apparent. Livy, for example, attributes to the speakers who plead in the famous suits against the Scipios such misplaced phrases as *civitatem dominam orbis terrarum* (xxxviii. 51. 4), and *L. Scipionem qui . . . . imperium populi Romani propagaverit in ultimos terrarum fines* (xxxviii. 60. 5). We may doubt whether Romans of 185 B. C. spoke of their city as the

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"mistress of the world," especially when we discover that Livy borrows these words from the imaginative Antias. The speech of the *legati* in Livy xxxviii. 48, comes from the same source and is equally full of anachronisms in characterizing the ideas of an earlier day. I cannot on the unreliable authority of Antias believe that in the year 187 any Roman uttered words like *hoc tempus quo finem imperii Romani Taurum montem statuistis.* The most serious error of this kind occurs in Livy's misreport of the speech delivered by the Rhodian envoys in behalf of the Greek cities of Asia (xxxvii. 54), and the error is here clearly due to Livy's inability to understand Rome's unambitious methods as reflected in the original speech. The oration as it is reported by Polybius is so entirely consistent with Rhodian character and policy that we may accept it as a fairly accurate account of the actual speech. The main theme of it is Rome's duty of granting autonomy to the liberated cities of Asia. Livy follows Polybius (xxii. 5) literally until he reaches the explicit expression of these obligations: *καὶ μάλιστα πρέπον Ῥωμαίοις τὸ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἕλληνας ἐλευθερωθῆναι καὶ τυχεῖν τῆς αὐτονομίας τῆς ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις προσφιλεστάτης.* That unpleasant sentence Livy omits. The historian of Augustus' day was not in a position to emphasize very strongly Rome's broken obligations to grant "freedom and autonomy, a possession to all men the dearest." After this brief omission Livy resumes his copying of Polybius through a flattering list of Rome's altruistic wars; but when the speech again reverts to the necessity of establishing freedom, Livy grows impatient with the unpractical Rhodians, rolls up his Polybius and writes a peroration of his own in the grand Roman manner of his day, adorning it with the more fashionable phrases, *patrocinium, imperium, clientela:* Hoc patrocinium receptae in fidem et clientelam uestram uniuersae gentis perpetuum uos praestare decet (xxxvii. 54. 17) . . . . nunc imperium ubi est ibi ut sit perpetuum optant, libertatem uestris tueri armis satis habent, quoniam suis non possunt (*ibid.* 25). This is enough to illustrate how dangerous is the guidance of Livy when he attempts to explain the simpler administrative policies of an earlier epoch. Nevertheless these very passages are constantly quoted as authori-

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tative by the historians who question Rome's sincerity in proclaiming liberty to the Greeks of the East.

Freed from these misconceptions the accounts of the war become fairly consistent. The senate, finding that Antiochus was taking possession of cities whose freedom Rome had guaranteed by the treaty of Tempe, demanded that he evacuate them and desist from invading Europe. The very size of his equipment in Europe they claimed was proof positive that his preparation had the Romans in view. The fact that the Romans did not declare war for over three years after their demands were refused is the best indication of the hesitation with which they entered upon it. The terms of the treaty by which Rome safe-guarded the liberty of the free cities, gave autonomy to others that were fitted for it, and divided between Eumenes and Rhodes the rest of the captured territory speak clearly of how unswervingly she held to her policy of domesticity. There is, however, one point at which Rome's foreign policy now admitted a new practice—a temporary one perhaps, adopted for the exigencies of this war, but by precedent leaving its effects upon all that followed. I refer to the strong-handed interference of the Roman envoy, Flamininus, in Greek affairs during the war. In the year 192 Flamininus was sent to travel through Greece with a commission to gain friends for the Roman coalition against Antiochus and Aetolia. In Athens he took a hand in municipal politics (Livy xxxv. 31). In Chalcis and Demetrias he attempted to secure the ascendancy of Romanizing factions. These strongholds would obviously become a great menace to Rome if they fell into the hands of the invader. He even asked the Achaeans to postpone their quarrel with Sparta till the Roman army should arrive (Livy xxxv. 25).[1] Finally when Achaea had appropriated Zacynthus which, by right of victory must have belonged to Rome, if to anyone, he compelled the league to disgorge. Apparently he was as angry over the attempt to act without his advice as at the nature of the act.[2]

[1] To be sure they did not heed his request. They did not even consult him regarding the disposal of Sparta when they secured it, although the last settlement of Sparta had been made by Roman treaty.

[2] See Livy xxxvi. 31: castigatum leniter quod tantam rem sine auctoritate sua conatus esset, demittere exercitum iussit.

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The point to bear in mind, however, is that this interference was undertaken while directing a troublesome coalition and was absolutely necessary for the management of a uniform campaign against a diverse enemy. Flamininus had before him the very difficult task of keeping the friendship of the newly liberated cities, of retaining the help of Philip without allowing his victories to ignite his volatile conceit, of saving the Aetolians from the consequences of their own imprudence by resisting their attack without reducing them to a dependency, and of preventing the ambitious Achaeans from bringing new enemies upon the coalition by their bellicose proselyting. Flamininus' interference was therefore a necessity by the very nature of the war, and there is nothing in the character of his acts which would lead to the implication that Rome intended to continue her supervision in purely Greek affairs after the danger was over. In fact when the war was concluded she adopted a policy of *laissez faire* and adhered to it for some time in spite of acts committed in Achaea which were contrary not only to her wishes but also to the terms of her settlement in 194.

In attempting to estimate the effects of the war with Antiochus upon Rome's foreign policy I think we must reach the following conclusions: There is no proof that Rome was moved by the purpose of aggrandizement or of permanently extending her sphere of influence. The nature of her demands and the character of the final terms interpreted at face value testify against such an assumption. The exigencies of the war, however, induced Rome to interfere temporarily in Greek affairs to such a degree that a decided precedent was established for the future. Rome thus discovered a short-cut path to the attainment of ends that might some day appear desirable. Finally in her effort to suppress a crying nuisance, Rome was compelled to make Aetolia an "ally," i. e., to reduce her to a state of dependency. The importance of this step does not lie in any material advantages to Rome, for there were none, but in the very fact that now for the first time a Greek state was in a position where it might have to accept orders from Rome. This situation could easily necessitate Roman interference in Greece from time to time, though, as a matter of fact, Aetolia

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was left very largely to her own devices during the ensuing years of peace.

As we have seen it is not apparent that Rome had at the end of the war with Antiochus adopted a permanent programme with reference to her future relations with Greece. The events of the following ten years, however, so shaped Rome's course that by the year 180, whether or no her future policy was then consciously adopted, she had at least taken certain momentous steps which revealed what the end must be. To gain a consistent view of the trend of these events we shall again find it necessary to remove some misconceptions that have come from biased sources. Polybius, in spite of his remarkable impartiality is here at no little fault; and, just because of his excellent reputation he has been the cause of some serious errors in later writers. A close scrutiny will reveal some of his inconsistencies.

It will be remembered that at the end of the war with Antiochus Polybius was a young man of about twenty years. As the son of Lycortas, the Achaean praetor of 184, he was early introduced into the political discussions of the Achaean league. Now when we remember that Lycortas was during these very years the mainstay of Philopoemen in his opposition to the Romanizing faction we can understand how difficult it must have been for Polybius to preserve absolute fairness in narrating the story of Rome's encroachment upon Achaean sovereignty. His prejudice appears unmistakably in the famous speech which he attributes to his father (see Livy xxxix. 36, apparently a direct translation from Polybius). The speech minimizes the atrocities of Philopoemen's treatment of Sparta, it incorrectly implies that Rome's intervention in Achaean affairs was uninvited, and, what is palpably false, it claims that the Achaean generals were not responsible for the massacre of the eighty Spartan envoys at Compasium.[1] Thus Polybius with commendable devotion to the cause writes a persua-

[1] Philopoemen's responsibility in the massacre may be established by a careful examination of Polybius' own account of the affair (as it appears in Livy xxxviii. 33) careful though he is not to mention his hero's name. Note the impersonal way in which it is described: cum auersis auribus pauca locuti essent, damnati omnes et traditi sunt ad supplicium. Polybius may also be suppressing facts in placing the number of the slain at eighty. At any rate Plutarch who has access to unprejudiced sources gives the number as three hundred and fifty (*Phil.* 16).

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sive apology for his father Lycortas and his favorite hero Philopoemen without directly attacking Rome. It is time, however, that we recognize the true nature of this speech and cease referring to it for historical data.

There is indeed one charge made in this speech of Lycortas that deserves fuller discussion not only because Polybius implicitly makes it again but also because it has so often been repeated since his time. In the words: Cur ego quid Capua capta feceritis Romani non quaero, uos rationem reposcitis quid Achaei Lacedaemoniis bello uictis fecerimus (Livy xxxix. 37, from Pol.) the charge is perfectly apparent that Rome is officiously interfering without invitation. Now a close examination of Polybius shows that he is prone to suppress information regarding Achaea's appeals to Rome for arbitration. Lycortas' charge would obviously have no point if it was found that Rome intervened only when requested. Note for instance the suspicious method which Polybius adopts in reporting the embroglio of 187 (Pol. xxii. 3). He tells of how a Spartan embassy went to Rome to report the despotic acts of Philopoemen, and, then how, after some time (τέλος), the Roman consul wrote to Achaea regarding the matter. Finally he adds, as though it had little to do with the preceding, that simultaneously with the Spartan embassy an Achaean envoy had also gone to Rome: ὧν πρεσβευόντων, εὐθέως (xxii. 3. 4). In other words, though Polybius is apparently not willing to suppress the fact that Achaea was appealing to Rome, he nevertheless would like very much to have the report spread abroad that Rome's decisions regarding Achaea were rendered on *ex parte* testimony previous to any appeal from the league. The impression left by Polybius has crystallized into definite statement in later writers and forms the judgment found in most of our histories (cf., e. g., Colin, p. 218).

Having given this illustration of the prejudices which must be avoided, I shall, without discussing controverted points, enumerate the main events in the story of the Roman-Achaean diplomacy of the years 190–180 with a view to showing how and why the foreign policy of the senate changed throughout this period. When Philopoemen had annexed Sparta to the Achaean league—note

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that Rome did not interfere—he took every possible measure to diminish its power, for he hated the city (Livy xxxviii. 31). Sparta thereupon threw off its alliance with the league and appealed to Rome, asking to be received as a dependent. At the same time Achaea also sent envoys to the senate in order to support her interests, but the envoys did not act in harmony and accordingly accomplished nothing. Rome, just on the point of withdrawing from Greece, refused to become further involved in the controversy. Philopoemen then marched upon Sparta, ordered the city's walls torn down, had some eighty Spartan envoys massacred after a summary trial—in spite of a promise of safe-conduct—and committed other atrocities which amply proved how unfit the Achaeans were to govern (Livy xxxviii. 33). At this juncture both the Spartans and the Achaeans sent envoys to the senate to learn its opinion of the matter. All realized that this was a case for intervention if the senate had any intention of seeing the spirit of its Peloponnesian settlement heeded or any expression of its wishes regarded. Again the senate refused to interfere, merely expressing its disapproval of the murder at Compasium and the destruction of the Spartan walls (Pol. xxii. 3 and 10). This was the only "intervention" that could be gotten from the senate for four years.

In the year 185, however, there was a change. Reports reached Rome that Philip was breaking the terms of his treaty and preparing for war. The senate then saw that its work in the East was not yet finished, that Philip must be reckoned with some day, and that it would be well to have all other quarrels in Greece settled against that day.[1] Therefore Caecilius, who was being sent as envoy to Philip, was also[2] commissioned to investigate the

[1] I must admit that the motivation I here offer of Rome's behavior cannot be demonstrated absolutely. It seems, however, to explain the facts more satisfactorily than any other suggestions that I have seen.

[2] Polybius, to be sure, does not say that Caecilius had a commission; in fact he implies the contrary. Colin therefore infers that Caecilius is acting upon his own responsibility and that his behavior furnishes a good illustration of the impudent manner which Roman officials had learned to assume toward free Greek states. Nevertheless I think the evidence of other passages indicates that Caecilius actually carried an explicit order from the senate. The evidence is as follows: 1. Caecilius, on his return, included a statement concerning Achaean affairs in his official report. He would hardly have done this had he not been ordered to investigate them (see

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still unsettled Achaeo-Spartan quarrel. When he arrived the Achaeans questioned his authority to represent the senate (Pol. xxii. 13). This so angered him that he forthwith left for Rome, and in his official report to the senate included a severe arraignment of the Achaean league. Now the Achaeans, seeing the blunder they had committed, hastened to inform the senate that their recent action was necessitated by their laws. Meanwhile, Spartan envoys were again presenting their old petition for consideration. The senate thereupon commissioned its new envoy to Philip, one Appius Claudius, to review the whole matter with the Achaean league upon his return from Macedonia (Pol. xxii. 16; Livy xxxix. 33). When Claudius arrived, Lycortas in the presence of the league defended the course of Achaea toward Sparta with arguments that gained much applause, but were far from convincing to the Roman.

Claudius' answer was brief and brutal: dum liceret uoluntate sua facere gratiam inirent ne mox inuiti et coacti facerent (Livy xxxix. 37). These words are consistent with Rome's method of treating Achaea from this time on, and may well be accepted as giving the spirit, at least, of the reply. The reasons for this new tone are easily discernible. The Achaeans had just committed a second blunder by condemning to death two Spartans for carrying a petition to Rome. In case of a new war with Philip, a state capable of such intemperance would be dangerous if left entirely to its own devices. From this time on, the senate was determined that as long as there was any fear of trouble from Macedonia—and trouble was apparently very near at hand—it would issue its rescripts to the Greek states rather as orders than as suggestions, and that, when Rome's interests were in jeopardy, it would issue such orders on its own initiative. It is significant, however, that

Pol. xxii. 15). 2. The senate, with special reference to Caecilius' experience, asked the Achaeans to give respectful consideration to Roman envoys *sent to them* (Pol. xxii. 16), thereby implying that Caecilius had orders to include Achaea in his investigation. 3. Finally, Caecilius is mentioned in Pol. xxiii. 4. 7 as one of those who had before served as envoy to the Peloponnese: *καὶ πρότερον ἤδη πεπρεσβευκότας περὶ τούτων εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον.* These passages seem to me conclusive. The suspicious reticence of Polybius as to Caecilius' commission in xxii. 13, is doubtless due to a feeling that the Achaeans had blundered badly in making their hot-headed challenge, and that their mistake must not be too evident.

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Claudius did not undertake to review the entire question. The firm attitude of Achaea as represented by Lycortas evidently convinced him that the senate must henceforth adopt and adhere to a fixed policy with reference to Greece. Therefore, leaving the main question untouched, he simply revoked the league's recent order condemning the two Spartan envoys and referred the dispute back to the senate.

But now affairs assumed a somewhat quieter aspect in the north through the agency of Demetrius, the son of Philip, and Rome again showed an inclination to disregard Greece. In fact, nothing further was done until 183 (Pol. xxiii. 4) when another appeal came from Sparta and another embassy arrived from Achaea to oppose it. Then the senate delegated a commission of three men who best knew the status of the whole case to arrange a final settlement. This they did in a session held at Rome, completely disregarding Achaea's claims of being a sovereign power. In fact the Achaean envoys present were asked to sign an agreement which openly involved their breaking the laws and treaties of the league. And they signed it. (Cf. Pol. xxiii. 4 and Paus. vii. 9.) By this decision Achaea was to restore the exiles and to rebuild Sparta's walls. Quintus Marcius was sent to deliver the senate's decision to Achaea. The Achaeans, however, voted not to obey Rome's command, on the plea that if the case were properly presented at Rome the senate would retract its order.[1] Some time later, Achaea, disregarding the senate, made her own agreement with Sparta, accepting her as a member of the league on the signed promise that the exiles were *not* to be recalled (Pol. xxiii. 18 and xxiv. 11). The senate must have resented this act, yet it saw no good ground upon which to force the issue. Meanwhile, the situation in Macedonia was growing more serious. Demetrius, whom the Romans had hoped to see as Philip's successor, was poisoned. Rome no longer had any way of checkmating her enemies in Macedonia. Accordingly, in the year 180, she once more sent a note reminding Achaea of the decision of the triumviri. This brought on the crisis. Lycortas, taught in

[1] It was at this time, too, that they refused to submit their dispute with Messene to the senate, when advised to do so by Marcius. The senate, however, showed no resentment at this refusal.

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the Fabian school of Philopoemen, proposed trying persuasion with the Romans again. His motion carried, but, unfortunately for his plan, his enemy Callicrates secured the first place on the new embassy. This man, reckoned by later Greeks as one of the most infamous of traitors (Paus. vii. 10), did not carry out the instructions of Lycortas and the league, but, describing the division of parties in the Greek cities, advised Rome that if she would but encourage and aid the aristocratic factions in the various cities and reward those who favored her wishes, her influence would soon predominate and her rescripts would be heeded regardless of domestic legislation (Pol. xxiv. 11). The result of this speech was decisive. The senate determined to use its influence directly in the establishment of pro-Roman parties throughout Greece, and that determination begins a new chapter in the story of Roman imperialism.

If then we try to grasp the true relation of the events of 190–180, we find a trend in Rome's foreign administration that flows consistently from the purposes and achievements of the years immediately preceding. To explain the direction of that trend we need assume no policies of cunning, of pretense, or of aggrandizement, nor, on the other hand, of peculiarly un-Roman sentimentality. We need only remove the obvious inaccuracies from the sources—obvious because they are so easily proved to be of late invention, or, at worst, prejudiced and inconsistent with well-founded data—and then the facts emerge which may be accepted at face value. According to these facts, Rome entered the war of 200 in response to certain treaty obligations. During the war she made the discovery that she was the real power of the new coalition, and she then practically assumed direction of affairs. When Philip was defeated, Rome accepted none of the surrendered territory, partly because she had entered the war in defense of her allied friends, mainly, however, because she had no desire for foreign territory. The war with Antiochus resulted directly from his disregard of the terms of the Macedonian settlement. In this war Rome was the acknowledged leader and as such assumed the direction of the campaign as well as the arbitrament of disputes between the states which she then directed. After the war

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she again withdrew as far as possible from foreign affairs until, when her former settlement in the East seemed endangered by Philip (about 185), she perceived the necessity of securing tranquillity throughout Greece. She then asked for a settlement of the disputes in southern Greece. When this request was disregarded, and the dangers that induced her to make the request increased (about 180), she decided to establish a group of Romanizing parties which would secure the execution of her orders. There is no ground for believing that even then Rome looked forward to the ultimate possession of Greece or even to permanent intervention. Yet this act, in completely ignoring the sovereign rights of the Greek states, inaugurated a new policy which resulted after thirty years of turmoil in the fall of Corinth and the subjugation of Greece.

BRYN MAWR

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THE IAMBIC TRIMETER IN MENANDER

By John Williams White

Pure trimeters, that consist solely of iambs, are comparatively rare in Menander. Only 18 of the 728 trimeters now taken into account[1] are pure (1 in 40), but the number is relatively larger than in Aristophanes (1 in 69).[2] The plays of Aristophanes, however, vary in this particular: the *Nubes* contains the greatest number of pure iambic lines, 18 in 758 non-lyrical trimeters (1 in 42), the *Equites* the fewest, 6 in 688 (1 in 115).[3]

Irrational and trisyllabic feet, in place of the normal iamb, are extremely common in both poets, and verses occur in which no

[1] The tables and other numerical statements relating to the trimeters of Menander that are included in this treatise are based upon those trimeters in the recently discovered Cairo MS which have metrical form that is assured, although they are not all complete in the MS. The four plays are designated as I (Ἥρως), II (Ἐπιτρέποντες), III (Περικειρομένη), IV (Σαμία). The numbering of verses is that of the princeps. The trimeters under consideration are the following: I. 20–26, 36–56, 58–61; II. 1–9, 11–21, 23–51, 54–84, 86–91, 93–97, 99–108, 105, 107, 109–17, 119–20, 123–28, 130–38, 141–49, 151–52, 159–72, 183–84, 186–87, 189, 191, 194–210, 212–14, 216–22, 224, 227–38, 240–43, 247–48, 250–57, 259, 262, 264–78, 280, 283–92, 294–96, 298–300, 302–3, 305–16, 318–32, 334–39, 341–49, 351–53, 355–56, 358–59, 370, 372–76, 378–81, 383, 385–86, 392–404, 406–17, 419–23, 446–50, 452–54, 456–59, 461–77, 482–506, 509–13; III. 7–22, 24–27, 29–30, 32, 36, 39–43, 45, 47–49, 51–70, 72, 76–80, 84–93, 95–101, 103–7, 110, 113–14, 116–18, 120–22, 124–30, 132–38, 140–41, 146, 165–67; IV. 4–9, 11–13, 16–17, 19–32, 37–51, 53–64, 74–80, 85–88, 90–92, 98, 107–14, 116, 120–22, 132–35, 137–59, 161–63, 168, 170–76, 179–82, 184–91, 193–201, 271–72, 277–87, 290–93, 296–302, 304–6, 313–17, 319, 321, 342–45, 435–39, 442–45, 447, 450, 453, 470–71. These 728 verses furnish the facts for the tables and for all general statements. In determining the laws that govern the use of trisyllabic feet, I have adduced facts from the incomplete lines also, when this was necessary. Occasionally these lines are cited for other purposes. The numbers referring to such trimeters are starred.

[2] In Aeschylus 1 in 14, in Sophocles 1 in 17, in Euripides 1 in 22.5. See J. Rumpel "Der Trimeter des Aristophanes," in *Philologus* XXVIII (1869), p. 601. For the poets of the Middle and New Comedy, see F. Perschinka, "De mediae et novae quae vocatur comoediae Atticae trimetro iambico," in *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses* III (1881), p. 329. Citations of evidence from the fragments of Menander in the present article are drawn from Perschinka's dissertation, except those that relate to anapaests. The facts about anapaests have been independently collected.

[3] The numerical statements and tables relating to the trimeter of Aristophanes that are included in this treatise, in order to furnish means of comparison, are not derived from the article of Rumpel just named, nor from other treatises on this subject, but are the result of an independent investigation of the older comic poet's 8,835 spoken trimeters. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Arthur A. Bryant for friendly and efficient aid in collecting and tabulating the facts in both Aristophanes and Menander.

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foot has iambic form except the last. There are five non-iambic trimeters in Menander (1 in 145),[1] 187 in Aristophanes (1 in 47).[2]

Irrational arses preponderate. In the 728 trimeters of Menander now under consideration, 199 trimeters (131 with at least one trisyllabic foot somewhere in the verse and 68 that consist solely of dissyllabic feet) have one long arsis (1 in 3.66); 327 (211 + 116) have two (1 in 2.23); 149 (89 + 60) have three (1 in 4.89). The total number of trimeters in which one or more arses are irrational is 675.[3]

The total number of irrational feet in the 728 verses of Menander is 1,300, and these are distributed as follows:

	i*	%	iii	%	v	%
Spondaic feet	358	49.2	400	54.9	376	51.6+
'Dactylic' feet	67	9.2	64	8.8	35	4.8+
Total irrational feet	425	58.4	464	63.7	411	56.45

*Feet are indicated by the lower case numerals: i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi.

In the *Acharnians*, in 811 non-lyrical trimeters, 212 (147 + 65) have one long arsis (1 in 3.83); 325 (202 + 123) have two (1 in 2.5); 220 (131 + 89) have three (1 in 3.69). The total number of trimeters in this play with one or more irrational arses is 757.

The total number of irrational feet in the 811 trimeters in the *Acharnians* is 1,523, distributed as follows:

	i	%	iii	%	v	%
Spondaic feet	461	56.9	477	58.8	478	58.9+
'Dactylic' feet	31	3.8	65	8	11	1.35
Total irrational feet	492	60.7	542	66.8	489	60.3

[1] II. 80, 241, 298; III. 106; IV. 170.

[2] Such trimeters do not occur in Aeschylus or Sophocles and only rarely in the later plays of Euripides (Rumpel, *op. cit.*, p. 602).

[3] The irrational arsis is allowed, of course, only in the first half of each meter. The spondee appears, however, through haste or oversight, in the second half of the first two meters in several attempted restorations of the broken lines of Menander.

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Resolved feet (tribrach and 'dactyl') occur on the average in every other trimeter, but the resolutions in Menander (1 in 1.88 trimeters) exceed those in Aristophanes (1 in 2.14).[1]

The distribution of the various forms of the foot that are found in the trimeters of Menander is as follows:

	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi
Iamb	175	586	216	606	279	728
Tribrach	35	77	28	71	11	0
Spondee	358	...	400	...	376	0
Dactyl	67	...	64	...	35	0
Anapaest	93	65	20	51	27	0
	728	728	728	728	728	728

By resolution of the theses of iambs in the trimeter, the tribrach may occur in any of the first five feet. The following table exhibits the facts in Menander and Aristophanes:

	TRIM.	⏑⏑⏑	i	ii	iii	iv	v	TOTAL
Men.	728	222	35= 18+17	77= 27+50	28= 8+20	71= 12+59	11= 0+11	222= 65+157
Ar.	8,835	2,654	208= 117+91	960= 384+576	308= 32+276	1,107= 304+803	71= 20+51	2,654= 857+1,797
Lys.	711	212	13= 8+5	80= 41+39	25= 4+21	90= 23+67	4= 3+1	212= 79+133

There are, namely, 222 tribrachs in the 728 trimeters of Menander: 35 in i (18 contained in a single word, 17 in two or more words or parts of words), 77 in ii, 28 in iii, 71 in iv, and 11 in v. The proportion of tribrachs contained in a single word is slightly greater in Aristophanes (32.3 per cent.) than in Menander (29.3 per cent.). The *Nubes* is the play of Aristophanes in which the total number of tribrachs is smallest relatively to the number of trimeters (207 in 758); the *Aves* contains relatively the most (331 in 925); the *Lysistrata* is sixth in order.

[1] In Sophocles 1 in 16; in Aeschylus 1 in 13, in Euripides 1 in 4.65 (Rumpel, *op. cit.*, p. 603). In the *Aves*, the comedy of Aristophanes that contains the most verses of this sort, 1 in 1.84; in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, which has the fewest, 1 in 2.47.

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The tribrachs in Menander (1 in 3.28 trimeters) slightly outnumber proportionally those in Aristophanes (1 in 3.33). The difference in distribution is marked in i and iv. In Menander the tribrachs in i outnumber those in Aristophanes (the divisor[1] is 12) in the ratio of 2 to 1, but in iv, the number in Menander is relatively smaller (about 7 to 9). The tendency in Menander to increase in the number of trisyllabic feet in i relatively to those in Aristophanes holds for the dactyl and anapaest as well as for the tribrach. The following tables exhibit the facts for the tribrach in Menander in detail:

TRIBRACHS CONTAINED IN ONE WORD

	i	ii	iii	iv	v	TOTAL
Trisyllable	11	3	0	2	0	16
Overlaps forward	7	14	8	3	0	32
Overlaps back	..	9	0	4	0	13
Overlaps both ways	..	1	0	3	0	4
Total in one word	18	27	8	12	0	65

TRIBRACHS CONTAINED IN TWO OR MORE WORDS OR PARTS OF WORDS

	i	ii	iii	iv	v	TOTAL
In three words	0	4	5	10	2	21
In two, divided ⏑ | ⏑⏑	12	43	15	49	9	128
In two, divided ⏑⏑ | ⏑	5	3	0	0	0	8
Total divided tribrachs	17	50	20	59	11	157

In order to facilitate comparison, I add the corresponding tables of the tribrach in Aristophanes:

TRIBRACHS CONTAINED IN ONE WORD

	i	ii	iii	iv	v	TOTAL
Trisyllable	50	69	8	97	5	229
Overlaps forward	67	190	19	79	5	360
Overlaps back	..	104	3	110	10	227
Overlaps both ways	..	21	2	18	0	41
Total in one word	117	384	32	304	20	857

[1] Determined by the ratio of tribrachs in Aristophanes to those in Menander.

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TRIBRACHS CONTAINED IN TWO OR MORE WORDS OR PARTS OF WORDS

	i	ii	iii	iv	v	TOTAL
In three words	15	81	55	98	4	253
In two, divided ⏑|⏑⏑	56	462	219	676	46	1459
In two, divided ⏑⏑|⏑	20	33	2	29	1	85
Total divided tribrachs	91	576	276	803	51	1797

Menander excludes the trisyllabic tribrach (|⏑⏑⏑|) from iii and v and the instances of its occurrence in these feet are very rare in Aristophanes. In IV. 308* the Cairo Manuscript of Menander reads: *οὐδέ[ν. τί οὖ]ν ἔφυγες οὕτως, ἀβέλτερε*; The verse is unmetrical. It has been emended by transposition of feet in the second meter (*οὕτως ἔφυγες*), but Menander has the trisyllabic tribrach in iv only twice in the newly discovered plays. He may have written *ἔφυγες σύ γ' ὦδ'* (CYΓΩΔ corrupted to OYTΩC). The trisyllabic anapaest is in order in iii (p. 150). The same question is raised by II 367*: ΛЄΓЄΜΟΙΓΟΛЄΓЄΙC ΠЄΡΥCΙΝ . . . ЄCΘ . . ЄΜ . Ι[1] with trisyllabic tribrach apparently in iii. This may be a genuine instance of its occurrence in this position.[2]

At best, however, there is but slight support in Menander's usage for the trisyllabic tribrach in iii, and the following restorations are therefore doubtful: "*αἰ· δύσμορ', εἰ τρόφιμος ὅδ' ὄντως ἐστί σου*" II. 251; "*τιμᾶν σ'.—ἔχω δ' ἄγαμος ἄρισθ'.—οὕτως ἔχεις*" III. 149*; "*σάρκ', ἀλλ' ἅπαγ' ἐς κόρακας, ὅπως εἴσειμ' ἐγώ*" IV. 477*.

Menander uses the trisyllabic tribrach twice in iv (IV. 75, 435).[3] Some scholars apparently find warrant in this and in its free use by Aristophanes for employing it in the emendation of Menander, but it certainly should not be allowed to supplant an unobjectionable reading established by the MS. Cf. "*ἔτ' οὖσ', ἃ τότ' ἐκείνῃ*

[1] See A. Körte in *Berichte d. Kön. Säch. Gesell. d. Wiss.* LX (1908), III, p. 132.

[2] The trimeter has been thus restored by Robert and Croiset. Von Arnim converts the tribrach into an anapaest (*πέρυσιν παρῆσθα μετὰ κόρης*), but there are only three trimeters in all Greek comedy (some 16,000 verses) that begin with three anapaests: Aristoph. *Ach.* 536; Antiph. 20. 5; Sosipat. 1. 33.—For another doubtful example of the trisyllabic tribrach in iii in Menander, see frag. 481, 5.

[3] Cf. also frag. 398, 4; 482, 7; 663, 2.

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γέγονεν, ἅπαντ' ἐμὰ" II. 301*. Here the MS reads: ἔτ' οὖσα, τά τ' ἐκείνῃ[1] γενόμενα πάντ' ἐμὰ.

Menander uses the trisyllabic tribrach four times in ii (II. 425*; IV. 76, 79, 150). To these examples, which are supported by the practice of Aristophanes, IV. 118* should probably be added: ἐμοί τ' ἐπέθετ' ἂν ἄσμενος; νυνὶ δέ μοι.[2]

Forty-nine of the 222 tribrachs found in unbroken trimeters in Menander are contained in words of four or more syllables, which therefore overlap the neighboring feet. Thirty-two begin with the word, which therefore overlaps the following foot (⏑⏑⏑+); 13 end with the word, which therefore begins in the preceding foot (+⏑⏑⏑); 4 are contained in words which begin in the preceding and end in the following foot (+⏑⏑⏑+). No 'overlapping' tribrach is found in v,[3] and its use in an emended line is dubious. Cf. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἡ βουλόμενος ἢ κατεχόμενος" IV. 115; "κακοδαίμον' οὕτω· διέφυγ', οὐδ' ἐνύπνιον ἦν" IV. 440*.

Menander uses the tribrach contained in a word that overlaps forward (⏑⏑⏑+) freely in iv. Cf. II. 147, 198, 501; II. 301*, 436*; III. 3*, 162*; IV. 169*. He allows it freely also in iii and is here in striking divergence from Aristophanes, who preserves the penthemimeral caesura. Cf. II. 64, 80, 194; III. 25, 48, 80; IV. 272, 277. In all these cases in iii the word with which the tribrach begins is a quadrisyllable, so that there is division after the arsis of the fourth foot.

Tribrachs contained in a word that overlaps both ways (+⏑⏑⏑+) are found in ii in II. 37, 368*, 518+frag. T_1, 1*, and in iv in II. 8, 288, 300. All these verses have penthemimeral caesura. This tribrach is not found in iii,[4] and the following emendation therefore is doubtful: "ἔθυον ἐκλελυμένος· ἀλλὰ μὴν ποεῖν" IV. 529+519*. The alternative proposal, ἐκλελησμένος, is equally objectionable on another account (see p. 154), and the true reading probably remains to be found. The MS according to Körte[5] has τὸν ὑὸν ἐκ . . . . μενος.

[1] Körte, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

[2] Körte, *op. cit.*, p. 117. This tribrach is not found in the fragments of Menander.

[3] It occurs only twice in the fragments: 123, 2; 325, 15.

[4] It occurs in no fragment.

[5] Körte, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

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Finally, to regard the facts in sum (see the tables), Menander in i uses relatively twice the number of tribrachs contained in one word that are found in Aristophanes; in iv this relation is reversed.

Both poets show predilection for tribrachs contained in two or more words or parts of words. The parts of a divided tribrach may be connected with one another within the tribrach by elision, as *ἵν' ἀποδῶ* II. 148; *λέγ' ὃ λέγεις* II. 298; *ἔνδον ἵν' ἀναπηδήσας* IV. 438, and either the first or last part may be an enclitic, as *εἰ μή τι καταπέπωκε* II. 151; *ἀνάβασίς ἐστι διὰ* IV. 20; *καλόν, ὅ τι* II. 414; *μέχρι τινός* IV. 321.

The form of divided tribrach least affected is that in which the tribrach consists of two words with the division after the first syllable of the thesis (⏑ ⏑ | ⏑). Menander excludes this tribrach from iii, iv, v.[1] Aristophanes employs it only twice in iii and once in v, but 29 times in iv. Therefore, trimeters that are restored with this tribrach in iv are in the style of Aristophanes rather than in that of Menander. In iii: "*αὐτῆς ὁ παῖς ἔλεγ', ὅτι πρὸς γυναῖκά ποι*" IV. 481*. In iv: "*φαυλῶς ἔπραττες.—νῦν δ' ἔτι σὺ—μή μοι λάλει*" IV. 165*; "*πράγματά σέ γ' ἐλέου τ' ἄξια κακά τε διέπειν*" IV. 464*. In v: "*ἐνδύμαθ' οἵ' ἐφαίνεθ' ἡνίκα Γλυκέρα*" III. 110. Menander uses this tribrach 10 times (twice in broken lines) in the first meter. Its first two syllables consist of an unelided dissyllabic word in common use. Cf. II. 8, 305, 341, and 523*; IV. 316, 321 (the prepositions *περί, ἐπί, κατά, μέχρι, παρά*); II. 330 (*τίνος ἕνεκεν*), 369* (*πόθεν ἔχεις*); IV. 271 (*τότε μέν*), 313 (*ἄφες ἄ*).

The normal division of the tribrach that consists of two words or parts of words follows the arsis (⏑ | ⏑ ⏑), as in tragedy, and both comic poets use this form in all five feet (128 instances in Menander, 1,459 in Aristophanes). The order determined by frequency of use is iv, ii, iii, i, v in both poets. Except in i, the arsis of the tribrach is, with few exceptions, the final syllable of a word of two or more syllables (elided or unelided), a monosyllabic enclitic, or *δέ, γάρ*. This is the reverse of the law that prevails in anapaests divided after the first short syllable (p. 155). Punctuation frequently follows the arsis of this tribrach.

[1] It is not found in these feet in the fragments.

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Menander uses a tribrach composed of three words only once in i: *ἐφ' ὅ τι μαχαίρας περιφέρεις· ἱκανὸς γάρ εἰ* IV. 69*.[1] He has it in v in II. 46, 396; III. 1*.[2] Aristophanes evidently regarded this tribrach with disfavor in v, since he has it there only four times. It has been used in v in restoring the following lines: "*τί γάρ τις ἂν νομίσειεν ἄλλο τὸ γεγονός*" II. 387*; "*πρὶν ἄν μ' ἴδῃ πρὸς ταῖς θύραις ἔτ' ἐπ' ἐμὲ δὲ*" II. 525 + T_1, 8*; "*πράγματά σέ γ' ἐλέου τ' ἄξια κακά τε διέπειν*" IV. 464*.

In 26 of the 30 instances (excluding one in the first foot) of the use of this tribrach in Menander (10 in broken lines) the arsis is the final syllable of a word of two or more syllables. This law is reversed in case of the anapaest that is divided after the first short syllable. (Cf. the statement made above.) In three of the four remaining cases (II. 46, 291, 298) the tribrach consists of two monosyllables and the first syllable of the following word (⏑|⏑|⏑ +). In only one instance, in iv (I. 30*), does it consist of three monosyllables.[3]

By resolution of the thesis of irrational feet in a trimeter a 'dactyl' (resolved irrational iamb) may occur in any of the odd feet.[4] The following table exhibits the facts in Menander and Aristophanes:

	Trim.	– ⏑ ⏑	i	iii	v	TOTAL
Men.....	728	166	67= 23+44	64= 7+57	35= 2+33	166= 32+134
Ar.....	8,835	1,470	459= 91+368	849= 82+767	162= 10+152	1,470= 183+1,287
Lys.....	711	112	39= 5+34	64= 2+62	9= 0+9	112= 7+105

[1] But it occurs 7 times in the fragments. Perschinka, *op. cit.*, p. 333. In only one of these cases, however (540, 6), does it consist of three monosyllables.

[2] It does not occur in v in the fragments.

[3] The tribrach consisting of three monosyllables is not found in iii, iv, or v in the fragments, and only once in ii (frag. 838).

[4] By inadvertence of editors, the dactyl has slipped also into ii and iv in some attempted restorations of broken lines in Menander.

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The dactyls in Menander (1 in 4.39 trimeters) in the aggregate heavily outnumber those in Aristophanes (1 in 6.01 trimeters). They outnumber those in Aristophanes (the divisor is 9) relatively also in i (67 to 51) and in v (35 to 18), but not in iii (64 to 94). Dactyls contained in a single word are relatively much more numerous in Menander than in Aristophanes.

The following tables exhibit the facts for the dactyl in Menander in detail:

DACTYLS CONTAINED IN ONE WORD

	i	iii	v	TOTAL
Trisyllable	11	0	2	13
Overlap forward	12	6	0	18
Overlap back	..	0	0	0
Overlap both ways	..	1	0	1
Total in one word	23	7	2	32

DACTYLS CONTAINED IN TWO OR MORE WORDS OR PARTS OF WORDS

	i	iii	v	TOTAL
In three words	5	14	5	24
In two, divided $-\mid\smile\smile$	28	42	28	98
In two, divided $-\smile\mid\smile$	11	1	0	12
Total divided dactyls	44	57	33	134

The corresponding table in Aristophanes is as follows:

DACTYLS CONTAINED IN ONE WORD

	i	iii	v	TOTAL
Trisyllable	33	8	3	44
Overlap forward	58	66	4	128
Overlap back	..	1*	1†	2
Overlap both ways	..	7	2	9
Total in one word	91	82	10	183

* *Ecc.* 460. † *Vesp.* 1250.

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DACTYLS CONTAINED IN TWO OR MORE WORDS OR PARTS OF WORDS

	i	iii	v	TOTAL
In three words.....	56	156	18	230
In two, divided –|⏑⏑	264	606	134	1,004
In two, divided –⏑|⏑	48	5	0	53
Total divided dactyls	368	767	152	1,287

Menander's concentration of dactyls contained in one word in i (23 in 32) is noteworthy. He has here relatively more than twice as many as are found in Aristophanes. His admission of two trisyllabic dactyls in v (II. 164; IV. 91)[1] is singular, in view of his exclusion of this dactyl elsewhere from the fifth foot.

The dactyl that overlaps the following foot (–⏑⏑+) is generally contained in a quadrisyllabic word of which the accent corresponds with the ictus, such as *παμμέγεθες*, *κερμάτιον*, *παιδάριον*, *εὐχόμενος*, and the like. All the 22 instances of this dactyl that occur (four in broken lines) are thus formed, except I. 38; II. 234 (a proper name), 235, 255 (a proper name); IV. 297.

Both Menander and Aristophanes avoid the overlapping dactyl in v.[2] This dactyl is therefore to be avoided in emendation. Cf. "*ἐπέτριψεν, ἂν αὐτῷ κακῶς χρησάμενος ᾖ*" II. 481*; "*τελεῶς ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ παρωξυμμένος ἄρα*" IV. 276*. The single example of the dactyl overlapping both the adjacent feet is found in iii (I. 55), with strong hephthemimeral caesura.[3]

Both poets employ the dactyl composed of two or more words or parts of words much oftener than that contained in a single word. Aristophanes especially inclines to its use. The parts of the dactyl may be connected with one another within the dactyl by elision, as *ταῦτ' ἐπιτιθῆναι* II. 88; *οἶδ' ὅτι* II. 503; *οὐχ ἵν' ἀδικήσω* II. 373; *κατέβαιν' ἀφ' ὑπερῴου* IV. 17; and either the first or last part may be an enclitic, as *πρότερόν μοι μεταμέλει* II. 205; *εἴ ποτε* III. 18; *εἰ δέ γε* II. 117.

[1] This dactyl is not found in v in the fragments.

[2] It is not found in the fragments of Menander.

[3] Also in the fragments in iii. Cf. 540, 3; 1089, 1; 1102, 1.

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The prevailing form is the dactyl composed of two words with the division between arsis and thesis (– | ⏑⏑). The order, determined by frequency of use, is here practically the same in both poets, iii, i, v, but Aristophanes prefers this dactyl in iii, thereby again favoring penthemimeral cæsura. Except in i, the arsis of the dactyl is generally the final syllable of a word of two or more syllables (cf. the tribrach, p. 145), and arsis and thesis are often separated by strong punctuation. In v this dactyl (– | ⏑⏑) is frequently so composed that the trimeter ends in a tetrasyllabic word (⏑⏑⏑×). Cf. I. 54; II. 42, 56, 88, 135, 165, 205, 241, 286, 318, 465, 488; III. 10, 52, 100; IV. 9, 60, 437 (18 instances in 28; in Aristophanes, 93 in 134).

Menander uses the dactyl composed of 3 words freely, even in i.[1] This is at variance with his use of the corresponding forms of the tribrach (p. 142) and anapaest (p. 151) in the same place. In 15 of the 20 instances (excluding those in i) of Menander's use of this dactyl (2 in broken lines), the arsis is the final syllable of a word of two or more syllables. Cf. the corresponding use of the tribrach (p. 145). The dactyl consisting of three monosyllables is rare and is found only in II. 92*, 359, 503, all in iii.[2]

Both poets deviate from tragic usage in allowing a division of the dactyl composed of two words after the first short syllable of the thesis (–⏑ | ⏑), and Menander uses this dactyl in i with great freedom. Both poets exclude it from v,[3] and it should not there be employed in restoring broken lines. Cf. "*ἄρρεν τεκοῦσα πάρθενος θῆλύ τι θ' ἅμα*" I. 2*; "*ἕτερόν τι πρὸς τούτοις κυκᾶν οὐκέτ' ἂν ἔχοι*" II. 211*; "*τοπαστικὸν τὸ γύναιον, ὡς ἐρπέθ'; ὅτι γὰρ*" II. 340*; ". . . . *ἄλλο γέγονεν*" II. 387*. Menander has it once in iii, 11 times in i. This dactyl (–⏑ | ⏑), in both Menander and Aristophanes (53 occurrences), is always followed by an iamb, never by a trisyllabic foot (tribrach or anapaest).

The anapaest, although it is an irregular form, is freely used in comedy in the first five places of the trimeter.[4] It is the char-

[1] It occurs in i twenty-five times in the fragments.

[2] It occurs twice in the fragments: 257, 3 (i), 740 (ii).

[3] It is not found in v in the fragments of Menander.

[4] Neither the anapaest nor the tribrach ever occurs in vi, of which the dissyllabic form is absolutely fixed. It is a grave mistake thus to restore any verse in Menander,

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acteristic feature of the comic non-melic trimeter, and both in Aristophanes and in Menander anapaests outnumber both tribrachs and dactyls. The use of this form of foot is so natural that in 353 instances in Aristophanes and 32 in Menander anapaestic scansion is secured by position, the original form being a tribrach. Cf. I. 38 (*ἄκακον*), 44 (*μειράκιον*), 59 (*ἐλευθέριος*); II. 4 (*ἱκανός*), 42 (*πρότερον*), etc.

The following table is a summary statement of the use of the anapaest in Menander and Aristophanes:

	Trim.	⏑⏑–	i	ii	iii	iv	v	TOTAL
Men. ..	728	256	93= 65+28	65= 47+18	20= 13+7	51= 40+11	27= 24+3	256= 189+67
Ar.	8,835	3,840	1,158= 495+663	1,209= 928+281	261= 180+81	865= 699+166	348= 260+88	3840= 2,562+1,278
Vesp...	752	324	108= 44+64	107= 86+21	21= 18+3	68= 59+9	20= 17+3	324= 224+100

The anapaests in Menander (1 in 2.84 trimeters) are not quite so numerous proportionally as those in Aristophanes (1 in 2.30), but in i they outnumber those in Aristophanes (the divisor is 15) in the ratio of 93 to 77; in ii this relation is reversed (65 to 81); in the remaining feet the order is the same in both poets (iv, v, iii).

The following tables exhibit the facts for the anapaest in Menander in detail:

ANAPAESTS CONTAINED IN ONE WORD

	i	ii	iii	iv	v	TOTAL
Trisyllable	36	14	5	18	9	82
Overlaps forward	29	23	3	12	14	81
Overlaps back	..	9	2	7	1	19
Overlaps both ways	..	1	3	3	0	7
Total in one word	65	47	13	40	24	189

as "*αὐτὸς πάρεστιν οὑτοσί· τὸ παιδάριον*" II. 85*; "*υἱοῦ δέ· ἡ δὲ καὶ τὸ παιδάριον, ἔλαβεν*" II. 433*. Aristoph. *Ran.* 1203, an intentional vagary, sounds the note of the impending *metrical* jest.

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ANAPAESTS CONTAINED IN TWO OR MORE WORDS OR PARTS OF WORDS

	i	ii	iii	iv	v	TOTAL
In three words	1	0	0	2	1	4
In two, divided ⏑⏑|–	17	7	2	2	2	30
In two, divided ⏑|⏑–	10	11	5	7	0	33
Total divided anapaests	28	18	7	11	3	67

The corresponding table in Aristophanes is as follows:

ANAPAESTS CONTAINED IN ONE WORD

	i	ii	iii	iv	v	TOTAL
Trisyllable	279	276	46	270	48	919
Overlaps forward	216	419	91	156	145	1,027
Overlaps back	...	164	27	230	44	465
Overlaps both ways	...	69	16	42	24	151
Total in one word	495	928	180	698	261	2,562

ANAPAESTS CONTAINED IN TWO OR MORE WORDS OR PARTS OF WORDS

	i	ii	iii	iv	v	TOTAL
In three words	114	31	7	23	7	182
In two, divided ⏑⏑|–	447	162	50	84	56	799
In two, divided ⏑|⏑–	102	87	24	59	25	297
Total divided anapaests	663	280	81	166	88	1,278

The three examples in Menander of an anapaest contained in one word that begins with iii and overlaps iv (II. 163, 308; IV. 284) are supported by two in broken lines (III. 34*, 74*).[1] Aristophanes has this anapaest 91 times. The two examples in iii of the anapaest contained in one word that begins in ii (II. 513; IV. 140) are not supported by other examples in broken lines,[2] and

[1] It occurs also in frag. 8, 2; 74, 7; 402, 15; 501, 2; 542, 4; 585, 1.

[2] It has the support of four verses in frag. 272, 1; 360, 1; 393, 2; 403, 5.

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it is doubtful whether this form should be introduced, by substitution, into a line that is in itself metrically unobjectionable: "*βλέψας ἐλεύθεριόν τι τολμήσει ποεῖν*" II. 106*. Here the MS has *ἐλευθερόν*. Aristophanes uses this anapaest (+ ⏑ ⏑ –) only 27 times in iii, but it is used freely by both poets in iv. It occurs in iv in I. 44; II. 114, 170, 242; IV. 22, 57, 76, and II. 177*, 246*; IV. 177*.[1] This fact casts doubt upon the commonly accepted emendation of IV. 177*, "*αἱ κατὰ σ' ἑταῖραι, Χρυσί, πραττόμεναι δέκα*," by which the anapaest in *πραττόμεναι* is shifted from iv in the MS to v, where it occurs but once in Menander (II. 341), supported by IV. 36* and (in a proper name) III. 5*.[2] Should a trimeter which is metrically free from objection be rewritten, especially if this involves the substitution of a less common for a more common form? Examples of the doubly overlapping anapaest (+⏑⏑–+) are found in Menander in II. 454 (ii), II. 95; IV. 146, 306 (iii), and II. 328, 466; III. 59 (iv).[3]

Anapaests contained in two or more words or parts of words are in a ratio of less than 1 to 2 to those composed of one word, in both Menander and Aristophanes. This relation is reversed in tribrachs (p. 142) and notably in dactyls (p. 147). The parts of the divided anapaest may be connected with one another within the anapaest by elision, as *κατ' ἐμαυτόν* I. 38; *ἔτυχ' ἑσπέρας* III. 33*; *γιγνόμεν', ἐκπέπομφε* III. 58; *πρὸς ἔμ' ἦλθες* IV. 162.

In Aristophanes the prevailing form is the anapaest composed of two words with division between arsis and thesis (⏑ ⏑ | –). But this is not the normal form of the divided anapaest in the trimeters of Menander, in which the anapaests thus divided (⏑ ⏑ | –) do not equal in number those in which the division falls between the two short syllables of the arsis (⏑ | ⏑ –). See the tables.

In both poets, the anapaest with the division between arsis and thesis (⏑ ⏑ | –) occurs oftener in i than in the four following feet taken together. It is found in iii in Menander in II. 77; IV. 92 and 455*, and in iv in III. 58; IV. 97*, 159. It occurs in v

[1] It occurs twelve times also in the fragments.

[2] It is found also in frag. 201, 3; 252, 2; 428, 2; 518, 15.

[3] It occurs 14 times in the fragments.

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in I. 41; II. 69, and III. 33*, 34*, 123*; IV. 89*.[1] It has been very freely used by scholars in iv in restoring the text of Menander.

The dissyllabic word which begins this anapaest (⏑ ⏑|–) may be (1) a preposition (28 instances, including broken lines); (2) Δία in oaths in ii (3 cases); (3) any other dissyllabic word (except enclitics and ἄρα) in common use (ἐμέ, ἐμός, ἵνα, ὅτι, τότε, ἔτι, ὅπερ, νεός, ὁδός, τρόπον, σαφές, τυχόν, βλέπε—20 instances). In 14 of the 20 cases in the last category the anapaest begins the verse. In 3 of those remaining, it is immediately preceded by a pause, marked by punctuation by the editors (cf. II. 69, 239*; IV. 97*); in the other three it is not (I. 41; II. 118*; IV. 455*). In IV. 455* arsis and thesis are separated by punctuation.[2]

In none of the 728 trimeters now under consideration does Menander begin an anapaest with the last two syllables of an *unelided* word of three or more syllables, or with a dissyllabic enclitic or ἄρα.[3] The examples of this usage in Aristophanes have been the subject of vigorous discussion.[4] They are not numerous[5] in comparison with the total number (352, excluding those in i) of anapaests thus divided (⏑ ⏑|–) in Aristophanes, and are confined, with one exception in v,[6] to ii and iv. The verses in which they occur, with a few exceptions, have penthemimeral caesura and the parts of the anapaest are closely connected. Not much support is found for restored trimeters in Menander such as the following: "πρᾶγμ' οὐ μεμήνυκεν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνον βούλεται" III. 28*; "ἐμοὶ δὲ σύλλαβε, νὴ Δί' εὖ γ' ὦ Μυρρίνη" frag. O_2, 4*; "ὡς ὤλετο

[1] It occurs in the fragments, 5 times in iii, 11 times in iv, 3 times in v.

[2] For the restriction which C. Bernhardi would impose on Aristophanic usage, see *Acta Soc. Philol. Lips.* II (1872), pp. 281, 282 f.

[3] Such an anapaest occurs twice in the fragments, once in ii, in a combination of proper names, ὁ Καλύμνιος, Εὐφράνωρ (348, 8), and once in iv, οἷον τὰ νησωτικὰ ταυτὶ ξυνόδρια (462, 3). Neither of these examples has penthemimeral caesura.

[4] For Aristophanes, see the orderly statement in Bernhardi, *op. cit.*, pp. 269–76 and 280. (See pp. 269 f. for a historical summary of the discussion.) G. Hermann condemned this anapaest. Bentley and Elmsley had previously banned many of the instances of its occurrence in the vulgate text of Aristophanes and subsequent editors have emended freely.

[5] Cf. (in ii) *Vesp.* 947; *Av.* 1022, 1228, 1363; *Lys.* 124, 746; *Ran.* 170; *Eccl.* 1027; *Plut.* 476; and (in iv) *Ach.* 107, 1078; *Pax* 233; *Av.* 1226; *Thesm.* 637; *Ran.* 754.

[6] *Plut.* 942, which has been emended.

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τἀργύριον.—σύ, μὰ Δί', οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτι" I. 30*; "τὸ παιδίον, οὐκ ἀλλότριον.—εἰ γὰρ ὤφελεν" II. 441*; "θηὐρημένον ἐστίν;—καὶ σὸν ὁμοίως.—Παμφίλης"[1] II. 444*; "ὅτι βρέφος ἴδιον ἔνθαδε νῦν αὕτη τρέφει" IV. 103*; "ἔθυον ἐκλελησμένος. ἀλλὰ μὴν ποεῖν"[2] IV. 529 + 519*.

Menander uses the anapaest composed of two words with division between the short syllables of the arsis (⏑|⏑ –) freely in the first four feet but excludes it from v.[3]

He is not inclined to use the anapaest contained in 3 words (⏑|⏑|–), and has it only in III. 39; IV. 323*, 563*(?) in i; in IV. 162, 193 in iv; in II. 82 in v.[4]

When the anapaest is divided in either of the ways mentioned (⏑|⏑ – or ⏑|⏑|–) the monosyllable with which it begins may be (1) the monosyllabic forms of the article ὁ, τόν, τό, τά; (2) short monosyllabic prepositions; (3) elided dissyllables (commonly prepositions); (4) the interrogatives τίς, τί; (5) the forms ὅς, ὅν, ὅ, ἅ of the relative pronoun. The two short syllables of the arsis must not be separated by a pause, but a pause is almost invariable before the anapaest that begins with τίς, τί, ὅς, ὅν, ὅ, ἅ.

The second word, whether monosyllable or dissyllable, is not an enclitic in any of the trimeters (complete or broken) now under consideration. This limitation holds also in Aristophanes, who has ⏑|⏑|– 182 times and ⏑|⏑– 297. The only exceptions in Aristophanes have the form ⏑|⏑|– and they are rare. The combination τί ποτ' (τί ποθ') occurs six times, as τί ποτ, ἐς in *Nub.* 187; τί ποθ' ἡμᾶς in *Eq.* 97; the form ὅ τι occurs twice, namely ὅ τι φῄς in *Pl.* 349, ὅ τι βούλει in *Eccl.* 998; and finally (in dialect) we have ἐγὼ δέ τυ ἐστεφάνιξα in *Eq.* 1,225.[5]

Menander's sparing use of ⏑|⏑|– has been remarked. Yet editors have used the anapaest contained in 3 words in restoring his text, even in ii and v, where it has but meagre support in the

[1] If the enclitic is regarded as inherent part of a combination, we have an instance of an anapaest in ii overlapping both ways.

[2] See p. 144. [3] It occurs in v in frag. 540, 4.

[4] It occurs 10 times in the fragments, in 1,470 trimeters. Five of these cases are in i, one in ii, three in iii, and one in v.

[5] An enclitic is found as second word in the fragments of Menander in 223, 3, ὅ τι ἂν; in 355, 2, τί ποτ' ἐστὶν; and in 587, 2, ὅ τε πλοῦτος.

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poet's own practice. Cf. "*παίζειν; τίς ὁ λῆρος; κατὰ κράτος τὸ δυστυχὲς*" IV. 469*; "*παιδός, τί τοῦτον δεῖ λαθεῖν τό γε σὸν μέρος*" II. 279*; "*ἀφήκατ' ἔξω τῆς θυρᾶς ὁ δὲ Σωσίας*" IV. 448*; "*ἕως ἔοικας παραμενεῖν.—τί δὲ Σωσία*" IV. 478*.

Editors of Aristophanes now generally accept the law, that, in the trimeter, an anapaest may not begin either with the final syllable of an *unelided* word of two or more syllables, or with a monosyllabic enclitic, or with *δέ, ἄν, γάρ, μέν*, except in ii and iv, and some scholars impose the additional limitation that the verse must have penthemimeral caesura and the parts of the anapaest must be closely connected.[1]

Examples of this anapaest in iii and v in Aristophanes are extremely rare.[2] But its occurrence in ii and iv is not infrequent,[3] if we take into account the total number of anapaests divided after the first short syllable (⏑ | ⏑ – – and ⏑ | ⏑ | –) that occur in these positions in Aristophanes, 118 in ii and 82 in iv, including those now under special consideration. Many editors, however, stimulated by Elmsley's fervor, have been at much pains to emend the lines in which this form of anapaest occurs. The exceptions to the limitations of penthemimeral caesura and close connection of parts are not uncommon. Nevertheless the trimeters in which this anapaest occurs in ii and iv rest upon an excellent manuscript tradition and are not objectionable on any other account. If rejected, they are condemned by subjective modern criticism on grounds of rhythm.

Six instances of this anapaest occur in the Cairo MS of Menander.[4] One in iii was at once corrected on the publication of the princeps: *οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο δ' ἂν ἐξελεῖν νεοττίαν* (III. 119*) by

[1] See Bernhardi, *op. cit.*, pp. 246–61 and 262–68. See also Reisig in *Jen. allg. Lit. Zeit.* (1817), pp. 393 f.; Hermann *Epitome*[5], pp. viii ff.; Elmsley on *Ach.* 178 (*Auctarium*); Enger in his edition of the *Lysistrata*, pp. xviii ff.

[2] Cf. *Eq.* 26; *Av.* 23, 93; *Ecc.* 219.

[3] Cf. (in ii) *Ach.* 6, 178; *Nub.* 684, 876, 1221; *Vesp.* 25; *Pax* 48; *Av.* 79, 114, 144, 843, 847, 1024; *Thesm.* 469, 946, 1184; *Ran.* 107, 1393, 1462; *Plut.* 664, 1173; and (in iv) *Ach.* 748, 912; *Nub.* 62, 214; *Vesp.* 1369; *Pax* 187; *Av.* 442, 1495, 1614; *Lys.* 638, 760, 768; *Thesm.* 173; *Ran.* 77, 138, 652, 658, 1220; *Ecc.* 167, 998.

[4] Cf. also frag. 710, 2 (iv), ... *πρῶτον ἐπισκέπτου κακά*, where Meineke would read *πρῶτ'*; 531, 6 (ii), *ἁτοπόν τε πεποιηκ'*(?); 549, 3 (ii), *ὅταν γὰρ ἄλυπος*, where Bentley proposed *ὅτην δ'*.

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removing the the intrusive second ἄν (Crönert). Croiset's reading of II. 239* has been generally accepted: *τοῦτον, σαφὲς ἄν τι δεικνύοι τεκμήριον.* Here the MS has *τοῦτον σαφὲς ἂν* ΔЄIKNY . . ANTITЄKMHPION. This is unmetrical, but it apparently furnishes an instance of the occurrence of this anapaest in v.[1] In III. 111* the MS has: *λάβῃ τι τούτων · οὐ γὰρ ἑώρακεν . . . .*, where doubtless, quite apart from considerations of meter, we should read *ἑόρακεν*, a reading proposed independently by different scholars. In the other three cases correction is not so obviously needed. In the first the anapaest occurs in iv: *ἀλλ' ἀπόδος εἰ μὴ—φησίν—ἀρέσκει · τοῦτο γὰρ* (II. 129*), in which the reading *φησ'* has been proposed (Leo). But *φησίν* is parenthetical and is intentionally misplaced, in imitation of the disjointed language of excited persons in the street. Rhythm cannot be predicated of such a verse. There are two occurrences of the anapaest in ii. Both the verses in which it is found have penthemimeral caesura and the words constituting the anapaest are closely connected. In II. 131 the MS has *οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιον, εἴ τι τῶν τούτου σε δεῖ.* Here Leo proposes *ἐς τὸ δίκαιον.* In III. 77 we read: *οὐδέν τι τοιοῦτ' ἦν, ὦ Πολέμων, οἷόν φατε.* Here it would be possible to delete *ὦ.* In Menander *τοιοῦτος* is either an amphibrach or an antibacchius (for the latter cf. II. 153*; IV. 160*, 282) and, as is well known, Menander inclines to diaeresis of the trimeter (cf. I. 24, 38, 53, 60; II. 9, 21, 26, 43, 50, 55, 62, etc.). But the change does not commend itself as necessary.

Some editors have employed the anapaest now under consideration in emending and completing the trimeters of Menander, but this is not justified in v and iii, by either his own practice or that of Aristophanes. Cf. in v: "*ἦν κοινὸς Ἑρμῆς, τὸ μὲν ἂν οὗτος ἐλάμβανεν*" II. 67; "*οὐκ ἦλθον ἄλλως. προσμένειν τι δοκεῖς σύ μοι*" II. 364*; "*ἰδιῶτ'.—ἐγώ;—δοκεῖς γε · μάτην δὲ λέγω λόγους*" (iv, v) IV. 71*. In iii: "*πᾶς ἄν τις ἕτερα συνῆκε.—πάνδεινον λέγεις*" II. 515*; "*ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ ταῦτα συνῆκε. πάνδεινον λέγεις*" (+ ⏑⏑ | – also in ii) II. 515*; "*ἄριστον ἄριστον.—ἀεὶ μενῶ τρισάθλιος* (ii, iii) T_2, 2 + II. 527*; "*ἀφίκεθ' οὗτος· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤγγον οὐ φύσει*" III. 44*.

[1] The reading of II. 363 is extremely uncertain. See the princeps and Körte *op. cit.*, p. 132.

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Whether it should be allowed in iv and ii, *in restored lines* in Menander, is doubtful. Cf. "*τούτῳ φυλάξεις αὐτὸς ἅπερ συλᾷς γ' ἐμέ*" II. 157*; "*ὑμῖν ἕτερον μέν, μή με καλεῖτ'· εἰς μακαρίας*" II. 531*; "*τοὐμοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μητρός, ἐβουλόμην ἔχειν*" III. 143*. In ii: "*βλέψον δέ, πάτερ, κἀκεῖσ'· ἴσως ἐστ' οὐτοσί*" II. 103; "*τίς, ἄγ', ἄν τι βοηθήσειεν; ἀλλ' ὃ γέγον' ἐρῶ*" II. 387*; "*ἔτ' οὖσα τιθηνήσω . . . .* " IV. 34*; "*τίς δ' ἐστίν;*[1]—*ἔφην δὲ πάντα τἄλλα λανθάνειν*" IV. 105*.

This anapaest when composed of three words ($+\smile|\smile|-$) is practically barred. It will be remembered that Menander is in general disinclined to use the anapaest consisting of three words (p. 154). The following proposed restorations have little support in Menander's own practice: "*ποιμὴν δέ τις ἐξήγγειλέ μοι, πρὸς ὃν οὑτοσὶ*" II. 82; "*ὡς ἐστι σόν, οὐκ ἀλλότριον. εἰ γὰρ ὤφελεν*" II. 441*; "*ἐδόθη δὲ τόθ' οὕτως· γενομένων δ' ἐτῶν τινων*" III. 4*; "*τούτων σε μὲν οὐδέν, ὡς ἐγᾦμαι, λανθάνει*" IV. 83*; "*οὐκ ὄντα τ' ἐν αὑτοῦ· πολλὰ δὲ συνεργάζεται*" IV. 125*; "*κἀνταῦθα σὺ μὴ μένων τὸ γεγονὸς κρύφθ' ὅσον*" IV. 136*; "*πονηρὸς ἦσθα—σέ γ' ὦ πονήρ'· ὅπως σὺ νῦν*" II. 156*; "*ἐγὼ κατὰ πολλά γε· νῦν μὲν οὖν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως*" T_2, 3 + II. 528*; "*ζητοῦμεν ἴσον ὄντ', εἰ δέ σε μηδὲν κωλύει*" II. 10*; "*τὰ χρυσί' ἢ ταῦθ' ἅττα ποτ' ἐστί, πότερα δεῖ*" II. 92*; "*ἅπιτ'. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἥκοιμ' αὖθις—ἀλλὰ τί φῄς; τίνος*" (ii, v) II. 532*; "*ὅτι τοῦτ' ἀνειλόμην, διὰ τοῦτο με λακτίσαι*" IV. 159.

The occurrence of two or three trisyllabic feet in a single trimeter is a characteristic feature of comedy. One hundred and seventeen of 222 tribrachs, 88 of 166 dactyls, 129 of 256 anapaests, occur in trimeters that contain at least one other trisyllabic foot. In Aristophanes 1,265 of 2,654 tribrachs, 719 of 1,470 dactyls, 1,957 of 3,840 anapaests, occur in such trimeters.

The combinations of trisyllabic feet in the 728 trimeters in Menander now under consideration are given in the following table. The figure after the colon indicates the number of times the combination occurs in Menander with the number of occurrences in the 8,835 trimeters of Aristophanes added in parenthesis; then a statement of positions is given in a descending

[1] Cf. Arist. *Ach.* 178, *Av.* 144, *Thesm.* 146.

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COMBINATIONS OF TRISYLLABIC FEET

⏑⏑⏓ ⏑⏑⏓ :	16 (142)	2, 4 (8)	3, 4 (3)	1, 5 (2)	2, 5 (2)	1, 4 (1)						
–⏑⏑ –⏑⏑ :	6 (59)	1, 3 (3)	1, 5 (3)									
⏑⏑– ⏑⏑– :	18 (405)	1, 4 (5)	2, 4 (5)	2, 5 (3)	1, 2 (2)	1, 3 (1)	1, 5 (1)	4, 5 (1)				
⏑⏑– ⏑⏑⏓ :	34 (549)	1, 2 (7)	4, 1 (6)	1, 4 (5)	2, 4 (4)	2, 3 (3)	4, 2 (3)	1, 3 (2)	2, 5 (1)	3, 4 (1)	5, 1 (1)	5, 2 (1)
–⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏓ :	26 (225)	1, 3 (4)	1, 4 (4)	3, 1 (3)	3, 2 (3)	5, 2 (3)	1, 2 (2)	3, 4 (2)	3, 5 (2)	1, 5 (1)	5, 1 (1)	5, 3 (1)
⏑⏑– –⏑⏑ :	23 (245)	1, 3 (6)	2, 3 (3)	2, 5 (3)	4, 1 (3)	1, 5 (2)	3, 1 (2)	5, 3 (2)	4, 5 (1)	5, 1 (1)		
⏑⏑⏓ ⏑⏑⏓ ⏑⏑⏓ :	0 (6)											
–⏑⏑ –⏑⏑ –⏑⏑ :	1 (1)	1, 3, 5 (1)										
⏑⏑– ⏑⏑– ⏑⏑– :	1 (54)	1, 2, 4 (1)										
⏑⏑– ⏑⏑– –⏑⏑ :	7 (32)	1, 2, 3 (1)	1, 2, 5 (1)	1, 4, 5 (1)	1, 5, 3 (1)	2, 3, 5 (1)	2, 4, 5 (1)	3, 4, 1 (1)				
⏑⏑– ⏑⏑– ⏑⏑⏓ :	4 (46)	1, 3, 4 (2)	1, 2, 3 (1)	1, 5, 2 (1)								
⏑⏑– ⏑⏑⏓ ⏑⏑⏓ :	4 (26)	1, 2, 4 (2)	1, 3, 4 (1)	2, 3, 4 (1)								
–⏑⏑ –⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏓ :	4 (10)	1, 3, 4 (1)	1, 5, 2 (1)	1, 5, 4 (1)	3, 5, 2 (1)							
⏑⏑– ⏑⏑⏓ –⏑⏑ :	4 (40)	1, 2, 3 (1)	1, 4, 5 (1)	2, 5, 3 (1)	5, 2, 1 (1)							
–⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏓ ⏑⏑⏓ :	2 (16)	5, 1, 2 (1)	5, 2, 4 (1)									
⏑⏑– –⏑⏑ –⏑⏑ :	1 (7)	1, 3, 5 (1)										
⏑⏑– ⏑⏑– –⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏓ :	1 (5)	1, 2, 3, 4 (1)*										

*The combination –⏑⏑ –⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏓ ⏑⏑⏓ (i, iii, iv, v) is found in fragment 129, 4. This is the only instance in the fragments of four trisyllabic feet in one line.

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scale, with the number of times each combination occurs in Menander added in parenthesis.[1]

Three tribrachs do not occur, within a trimeter, anywhere in Menander, and only six times in non-lyrical trimeters in Aristophanes. Restored trimeters that involve this combination are therefore doubtful: "*τί μιαρὸς ἀποδημεῖ; τριταῖος ἐπί τινα*" I. 64*; "*γέγονε τὸ δεινόν; ἀνοσίως σύ γ' ὑπέλαβε*" III. 177*.

While the combination of two and of three trisyllabic feet is characteristic of Greek comedy, the combination of four such feet within a trimeter is relatively very rare. There are but two examples in the whole of Menander, only eight examples (one in Menander) in eight different combinations in the 6,583 trimeters of the middle and late comedy analyzed by Perschinka, and only twelve examples in 9 different combinations in Aristophanes. It may be gravely questioned whether four trisyllabic feet should be employed in any *restored* trimeter. Cf. "*ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου δ' ὀφθεῖσ' ὑπὸ τούτου θρασυτέρου*" III. 31*; "*πράγματά σέ γ' ἐλέου τ' ἄξια κακά τε διέπειν*" IV. 464*; "*νομίσασ' ἀνέκραγε καὶ θεραπαινιδίῳ τινὶ*" IV. 36*. Only the first of the particular combinations used in these three restored trimeters is found anywhere in Greek comedy, but in this case (III. 31*) the correction of *υποτου*, the reading of the MS, is obviously not *ὑπὸ τούτου*, but, as Van Leeuwen has seen, *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ*.

The famous forbidden combinations, – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – and ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –, which have been the subject of long-continued discussion,[2] are found in the Cairo MS of Menander, but in trimeters that arouse suspicion because they are objectionable on other accounts. The first combination thus occurs three times. In II. 451* the MS has *ἀλλὰ* ΠΕΡΙΜΕΝΩ *καταφαγεῖν τὴν προῖκα μου*. The verse not only begins with a meter of the tabooed form, but is also unmetrical in the last two meters. Here *περιμείνω* (Crönert, Headlam,

[1] Three combinations that do not occur in the table are found in broken lines: ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – in iii, v (III. 34*); – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – in iii, v (IV. 130*); ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – in v, i, iii (IV. 69*). These are all found in Aristophanes also.

[2] See Dawes *Miscellanea Crit.*, p. 253: "I. Dactylo anapaestus subjici nequit. II. Neque tribrachyn sequi potest anapaestus." Hermann *Elem. Doctrinae Met.* 126–39. Reisig *Coni.* 11–86; Dobree *Addenda* to Porson's *Aristophanica*, pp. 111–15 (ed. Wagner, *Observationes*, pp. 22–27); Rossbach and Westphal *Metrik*[3] 227–30; Christ *Metrik*[2] 328.

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Van Herwerden) restores a perfect trimeter. In II. 508* the MS has ΑΠΑΝΤΑΤΑΓΑΘΑ—*τί φησιν, ἱερόσυλε γραῦ*; with the objectionable combination in iv, v (a *dactyl* in the fourth foot!). Here *ἅπαντ' ἀγαθά* (von Wilamowitz) restores the verse. In II. 192* the MS is reported to read ΗΜΟΙΔ . C . . . ΩΙ . . ΠΑΡΕΧΩCΩΝ: *βούλομαι*, where Körte[1] would restore *ἤ μοι δός, αὐτῷ ἵνα παρέχω σῶν*. This gives a prolepsis of *αὐτῷ* for which there is no reasonable explanation, and either hiatus and the forbidden combination or an intolerable synizesis. Lefebvre had previously proposed *ἤ μοι δὸς αὐτὸν ἵνα παρέχω σῶν—βούλομαι*, which gives the second objectionable combination. Various restorations have been proposed. Granted that the order of the words has been disturbed, as the position of *αὐτῷ* would indicate, it is possible that Menander wrote *ἤ μοι δὸς ἵνα σῶν αὐτὸν παρέχω.—βούλομαι*. Some trimeters have been restored with the objectionable combination: "*χρόνον, διακνπτων ἐνίοτε, πανταχοῖ σκοπῶν*" II. 389*; "*ἤρεσκες αὐτῇ τάχα πρότερος νῦν δ' οὐκέτι*" III. 82*; *παιδίον ἐκείνου γέγονε, τίς ἄλλη καὶ τόδε*" IV. 33*.

The other combination (⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –) is found in the second meter of IV. 192*: *ἄλλη· τί ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ γεγονός;—ἐκβέβληκέ με*, with an anapaest of doubtful form in iv (p. 153). By omission of *ἐστὶ* (Leo) the trimeter is restored to proper form, *ἄλλη. τί ποτε τό γεγονός*;[2] This combination is found also in some restored trimeters: "*τὸ γένος ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, καὶ τραφεὶς ἐν ἐργάταις*" II. 104*; "*πᾶς ἄν τις ἕτερα συνῆκε.—πάνδεινον λέγεις*" II. 515*; "*ὅτι θυγατριδοῦς σοι γέγονε; πῶς; νὴ τοὺς θεούς*" IV. 528*.

My purpose in publishing the preceding statement of facts is entirely practical. A happy fortune has recently given us considerable parts of four comedies of Menander. These plays are simple and charming and are likely to be widely read. It is certain that many editions of them will appear. These comedies should go hand in hand with those of Terence and should serve as an introduction to the plays of Aristophanes.

[1] Körte, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

[2] Cf. frag. 248, 5, *σύμβουλος· ὁ διαφέρων λογισμῷ πάντ' ἔχει*, where Porson proposed *ὁ λογισμῷ διαφέρων*; 384, *μακάριος ἐκεῖνος*, where Kock proposes *μάκαρ γ' ἐκεῖνος*; and 563. 3, *τὰ σκώμματ' οἷα τὰ σοφά τε καὶ στρατηγικά*, where Meineke reads *τὰ σκωμμάτια τὰ σοφά τε καὶ, κτέ.*

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Unfortunately, however, many of the verses in the Cairo MS are mutilated. There are some 350 broken or mutilated trimeters. It is highly desirable that as many of these 'halt and maimed' verses as possible should be recovered. Many scholars in many lands leaped to this task with alacrity on the appearance of the princeps, so many, indeed, that it is at times now difficult to settle priorities. Monographs and even editions have multiplied. They have appeared so rapidly that many of the goodly company of eager and inventive emenders and restorers have lost the pace. "*Pereant qui ante nos nostra dixerunt!*"

It is not difficult to knock off Greek trimeters in one's own style; it is a different matter to write them in the manner of Menander. His lightness of touch, felicity of expression, and delicate and subtle humor may well plunge into black despair the scholar who essays to restore the broken verses; but he can at least endeavor not to violate the laws of metrical form established by Menander's usage. Not even this is easy. *Quot versus, tot schemata!* The choice of this or that particular form of verse, each unimpeachably correct in itself, must often have been a question of rhythm, unconsciously but unerringly answered by the famous poet, but the modern ear,—it need hardly be said,—cannot be trusted to distinguish these delicate shadings of quantitative rhythm. All the restored verses quoted in this discussion for purposes of illustration are trimeters. They can be scanned—but it is doubtful whether they conform to Menander's general usage, and the poet's general usage is all that the restorer should allow himself as model. Menander himself may nod, his restorer must not. In a word, our object should be the same as that which Jebb so happily accomplishes in his edition of Bacchylides—to restore the mutilated verses of the poet, whenever this can be done, in order that as much as possible of the original language and action of these charming plays may be preserved for the reader; but restoration should be effected in such fashion as nowhere to distract attention from the poet's own manner. The restorer should be content to be commonplace, and should impose upon himself the severest limitations of form.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
January 15, 1909

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LUCIAN THE SOPHIST

By Emily James Putnam

In the second century of our era the Hellenic spirit, which had been eclipsed for a time by the practical genius of Rome, reasserted itself in the field of letters under the curious form of what is known as the New or Second Sophistic. This movement, chiefly futile in its literary results, monopolized, nevertheless, the whole field of literary activity and conditioned the training of all the writers of the time. Among these was one man of extraordinary talent, who rose above the frivolous pedantry of his contemporaries and took a place in the literature of the world. Knowing Lucian well, and knowing hardly by name the other sophists of the day, readers in general, and even many scholars, have allowed themselves to dissociate him from the system that produced him, and to think of him as an isolated phenomenon, independent of the conditions prevailing around him, and properly to be classified with writers of other times, other training, and other ideals. His connection with the Sophistic is usually disposed of by the statement that although he was educated in it and began his career as a sophist, he abandoned the profession and all its works when his powers matured, and emerged upon the plane of great literature, where education, environment and special conditions of all kinds are of no further consequence. In the light of literary history such a view of any writer is on the face of it suspicious. In the light of a thorough study of Lucian's works, difficulties arise which make the acceptance of estimates based on this view impossible. It can be shown, on the contrary, that Lucian was a sophist not only by training but by temperament, not only in youth but at all times, not only in technique but in sentiment. And this idea, if rightly held, should not lead us to a disparaging view of Lucian's talent, but to a more favorable conception of the Sophistic itself. The known quantity in the problem is the substantial body of Lucian's work. We cannot alter its quality in any way by conjecture as to the conditions of its production, but

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we can use it to evaluate the more obscure matter of the nature of the sophistic training.

Like other sophists, Lucian composed in obedience to a set of strict and minute rules. Not only was a sophist subject to technical laws which determined his vocabulary and style, but his choice of subject and treatment was limited as well. The spirit of the Sophistic discountenanced originality in favor of ingenuity. Not a new idea but a new combination was the desired fruit of effort. Under these conditions it would be fantastic to find in all Lucian's writings characteristics that prove them indisputably his. On the other hand, it is absurd to suspect the authenticity of a work merely on the ground that it is in the sophistic manner.[1] The chief sophistic form was the μελέτη—the exercise—which, either extemporized or prepared, constituted the main part of the rhetor's performance. *Meletae* might be of two kinds according as they dealt with a definite question of fact or with an abstract proposition.[2] We have in all six of Lucian's *meletae*, five of the former class and one of the latter. They are full of the traits of the school, antithesis, anaphora, apostrophe, enumerations, exclamations, and the rest. Our only example of Lucian's *quaestiones*, *Against Lightly Believing Ill Report*, is a work of the same literary character as his *controversiae*, but Croiset in commenting on it exemplifies the difficulty of trying to explain Lucian without due reference to the Sophistic. He separates this *melete* from the author's sophistic works because of *le caractère générale et philosophique du sujet traité*. In point of fact, every sophist dealt with a general, philosophical subject when he handled an ὑπόθεσις θετική.

We know that Lucian gave up the composition of *meletae* after his talent matured, substituting for them dialogues and other forms, and we have therefore in this group of his writings a collection of juvenilia. They are all careful compositions, observing in all respects the rules of their genus. We can infer from them nothing in regard to Lucian's personal ideas except

[1] As Sommerbrodt does, *Ausgewählte Schriften des Lucian* I, XX; and as Croiset is willing to do, *Essai sur la vie et les œuvres de Lucian* 44.

[2] I.e., with an ὑπόθεσις κατὰ σχῆμα or ἐσχηματισμένη (controversia), or with an ὑπόθεσις θετική (quaestio).

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the fact that he acquiesced in these rules. Croiset is reluctant to admit four of the *controversiae* to the canon because they are *purement scolaires*. In other words, although we know as a fact that Lucian was in his early years at least a sophist, and although his later writings bear the marks of his training even when they are not of the conventional sophistic form, nevertheless when we find strictly sophistic works under his name we are to doubt their authenticity on this ground alone. This is a striking instance of the optimistic fallacy bred in scholars by the general absence from classical literature of juvenilia, experiments and failures. And when all is said, this class of Lucian's works is by no means contemptible. It is no more discreditable to his general intelligence that he composed a *Tyrannicide* than it is to that of Erasmus and More that they composed a counter-argument on the same hypothesis. To take a modern parallel, the world is aware as a matter of fact that Mr. Rudyard Kipling began his professional life as a journalist. Ample corroboration can be found even in the works of his maturer powers, composed under the forms of pure literature. Shall then, a reader of two thousand years hence doubt the authenticity of such examples of Mr. Kipling's journalism as may survive, merely on the ground that they are journalism and nothing else?

The *prolaliae* are less of a stumbling-block for two reasons. In the first place, their nature admitted a freer play of whatever originality a sophist might possess: his choice of a subject was wider and the treatment less stereotyped. In the second place, Lucian probably continued to write *prolaliae* as long as he wrote anything, and we have therefore specimens of the time when maturity and success had given him self-confidence and enabled him to take the conventions less seriously. Of the *encomium*, which was a favorite form of *prolalia*, we have two specimens, *The Praise of the Fly* and *The Praise of the Fatherland*. These two works are so similar in style and treatment that one would say the two topics were of equal importance, if it were not for the superior ingenuity in the elaboration of the more paradoxical subject. We may say that while Lucian contributes nothing to the literature of patriotism, his observations on the fly have made

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that animal permanently more interesting. *The Praise of the Fly* has been correctly classed by even the most naïve criticism, but *The Praise of the Fatherland*, with its noble sentiments and moving rhetoric, carried away the German hearts of Wieland and Jacob. "Eine reife und edle Frucht seiner spätern Jahre, mehr ein Werk des Herzens als des Witzes," says Wieland.[1] "Die Innigkeit, welche darin fern von allem Redeprunke herrscht, stellt es den edelsten Herzensergiessungen alter und neuer Schriftsteller über diesen edelsten Gegenstand nicht unwürdig an die Seite,"[2] says Jacob.

The Dream was by internal evidence recited in Samosata. It gives the charming account of Lucian's apprenticeship to his uncle, the stonecutter, of his mishap in the workshop, and of the dream that came after he had cried himself to sleep. In this dream Sculpture and Culture, in the guise of women, contended for him, each telling him what her service would be and what the rewards. These women are direct descendants of those others, calling themselves Vice and Virtue, who, according to Prodicus, appeared to the youthful Heracles at the parting of the ways, and whose talk constitutes our only instance of the personification-dialogue of the old sophists. It is interesting to note that the development of the dialogue in Lucian's work reproduces its development as a type in Greek literature. We may find its every phase represented in his writings, and here, imbedded in a sophistic matrix, is a conscious imitation of the old sophistic invention, in use before Antisthenes developed the dialogue in one direction and Plato in another.

The Dream is the type of *prolalia* that constitutes a recommendation of the sophist by himself to his audience. Others of the same class are *The Scythian*, delivered in some Macedonian town; *Harmonides* and *Amber*, of the circumstances of the composition of which we know nothing; *Dipsades*, addressed to an audience that had heard him before; *The Prometheus of Style*, an interesting little discussion of the nature of Lucian's work, delivered before the recital of a dialogue and therefore outside of the sophistic period proper; and *Dionysus* and *Heracles*, both, by internal

[1] Transl., V. 379. [2] *Charakteristik*, 39.

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evidence, written in the author's old age. In several of these little works Lucian introduces a bit of dialogue,[1] or uses that tact in literary allusion which of itself would distinguish him among sophists,[2] and sometimes shows a sprightliness that formality could not stifle.[3] They are full, however, of rhetorical traits. The occasional repetition of a stock phrase, a sophistic vice noticeable throughout his work, is specially frequent here, and bald flattery of his audience is a common feature marking the *ad captandum* nature of the production. The *prolaliae* help the imagination to link the Lucian of letters with the historical Lucian. They show us how eager he was to recommend his wares to the public and to win the favor of powerful patrons. They show us his various attitudes, now boastful and now deprecatory. They show us, in a word, the position of the artist who must live by his talents, and it will help us greatly in estimating the intention of some of his most important works to remember that any of these may have been preceded by one of these professional advertisements.

By far the most interesting, from a literary point of view, of Lucian's prefaces are those that come under the head of ἔκφρασις, "description." Related closely to the *encomium* as representing the light lyric in sophistic prose, it had a broader field. The *encomium* dealt chiefly, if not exclusively, with natural phenomena and abstractions, while the description dealt also with works of art. The earliest example of the *genre* is held to be the *Statues* of Nicostratus, a contemporary of Dion Chrysostom. Its origin is to be sought, according to Rohde,[4] in the descriptions of beautiful objects found in the epics. The shield of Achilles in Homer, the shield of Heracles in Hesiod, the panoply of Memnon in the *Aethiopis* and the bowl given to Odysseus by Polyxenus in the *Telegony* are such objects. In later poetry the mantle of Jason,[5] Europa's basket[6] and the prize cup in Theocritus[7] may serve as examples. We may, it seems to me, extend our conception of the subject of a description by including, for instance, the palace of Alcinous, for we find Lucian dealing with buildings in this fashion.

[1] *Amber* 3. [2] *Dion.* 7; cf. *Praise of Fatherland*, 12. [3] *Dion.* 1 and 2.
[4] *Der griechische Roman* 335. [5] Apoll. Rhod. i. 721–68.
[6] Mosch. i. 37–62. [7] i. 27 ff.

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Lucian's formal descriptions are four in number, but we must associate with them the account of Apelles' painting in *Evil Report*, the dialogues *Portraits* and *Defense of Portraits*, and many passages in other works, notably the *Dialogues of the Gods*, in order to get a complete view of our author's use of the form. In *Zeuxis* is described a painting by that artist representing a centaur's family; in *Herodotus* is described a painting by Aetion representing the marriage of Alexander and Roxana; *Hippias*, or *The Bath*, celebrates a contemporary architect and his *chef d'œuvre; The Hall* describes a new auditorium with its fresh decorations and the pictures on the walls. The first two are also "recommedations," and the last two have the air of being advertisements of the buildings they describe. It is not impossible that such advertising was part of a sophist's remunerative work. These writings are important for archaeologists. *Zeuxis* and *Herodotus* give beyond comparison the best description we have of ancient works of art. Pausanias and Pliny have a merely scientific value. The Philostrati and Callistratus write frigidly and as by rote. Lucian, on the other hand, without evincing any special knowledge of the history or technique of art, gives us the result of a first-hand impression on keen senses. Much has been written on Lucian as a connoisseur, and it is sometimes asserted that the result of his brief youthful experience in his uncle's workshop is to be seen in his treatment of artistic questions. I can find no trace in his writings of the artist's point of view. What we have in every case is the impression of the beholder, a highly subjective and inferential impression, but always clear and sharp and evidently based on an accurate sense-perception. Blümner, in his *Archaeologische Studien zu Lucian*, making no effort to classify our author's works from a literary point of view, but taking them one with another at their face value as equally good evidence for his purpose, reaches the conclusion that both sculptors and painters of Lucian's day were altogether worthless. He argues that Lucian was an excellent judge, that he had a great deal to say about art and artists, and that therefore if he failed to mention a given painter or sculptor it is undoubtedly because the man had failed to interest him:

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Mit Alexander dem Grossen hört die Kunstgeschichte für ihn auf, und in den 5 Jahrhunderten die zwischen ihm und jener Zeit liegen, ist kein Künstler der es wagen dürfte mit jenen zu wetteifern. Von einer Nachblüthe der Kunst, die auch nur annährend an die Periode jener beiden grossen Meistern (Polygnotus and Apelles) erinnerte, kann nach Lucian nicht die Rede sein. Das sind fast alles Schlüsse e silentia aber sie haben gewiss ihre Berechtigung.[1]

The student who has familiarized himself with the conditions under which Lucian wrote is in a position to dispose summarily of this reasoning. He will notice first that all the elaborate descriptions of works of art occur in strictly sophistic writings. As he reads further he will see that casual allusions to artists and objects of art are most frequent in the sophistic works, and that where they occur in others they have a perfunctory sophistical character. The names of sculptors appear again and again in stereotyped groups of almost the same items, so that Alcamenes, for instance, is never mentioned except in conjunction with his master Phidias. In fact, Lucian's usual mode of mentioning these gentry (and this is equally true of the great actors) is one of the sophistic notes that occur in all his works. With all its charm, then, Lucian's art criticism is sophistic. Now, by the rules of the Sophistic not only the history of art but all history ceased practically with Alexander. It is a fundamental canon that the contemporary is not to be mentioned. If we were to reason from Lucian's sophistic works alone we should conclude not only that there was no good sculptor after Lysippus but that there was no general of distinction and no emperor worth mentioning after Alexander.

In several of the works we have discussed, dialogue has been used as a rhetorical ornament. Five of the sophistic works are altogether dialogue. In three of them, *Concerning the Dance*, *A Discussion with Hesiod*, and *Toxaris* we have the beginnings of three several developments of Lucian's work, one of them being also among the first fruits of a new idea in general literature. *The Dance* is a dialogue in what we may believe to be the Aristotelian manner, being in reality an essay on the history and value of the pantomime thrown into the form of a dialogue for rhetori-

[1] Pp. 45 f.

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cal purposes. There is no real contact of personality involved. Crato, a cynic, upbraids Lycinus for a backsliding from classical tradition as shown by his enthusiasm for that modern frivolity, the dance. Lycinus rejoins by proving the antiquity of the art and its classic character. He delivers his argument in one long, unbroken speech, at the end of which Crato, without an attempt at a rejoinder, professes himself a convert. As a specimen of dialogue this is naïve enough, but it is interesting as a first step in the direction of the philosophical form. While still essentially sophistic, Lucian's work has begun to show the results of those strolls with Dialogue in the Lyceum of which we hear in *The Double Accusation*. At the next step we shall see that he has begun also to walk in the grove of the Academy. *A Discussion with Hesiod* strikes the note that is perhaps most characteristic of our author's mature work, that note of irreverence, partly religious and partly literary, which has proved so perplexing to the readers of *The Dialogues of the Gods*. Lycinus compliments Hesiod on his genius but points out that only one part of the poet's twofold undertaking has been accomplished. Hesiod had said himself that he received the gift of song from the gods in order that he might sing of their deeds and tell of things to come. The first has been done satisfactorily, but where shall we look for the second? Hesiod rejoins that in the first place he is not responsible for what he sings, being verbally inspired, and that in the second place, he does foretell the future when he tells the farmer that what is planted at the proper time will yield a harvest. "I can do as much as that myself," says Lycinus. "I prefer to accept your first excuse and believe that you compose by inspiration, and an uncertain inspiration at that." The scheme is a slight one, the form is rhetorical, and the style is wordy, but we have here in Hesiod's defense something of the confiding silliness of *Zeus Refuted*, and in the logic of Lycinus a foretaste of the dialectic that was to be applied to Homer's tales.

Toxaris is an important link in the history of Greek prose forms because, with its ten short stories inclosed in the framework of a rhetorical dialogue, it shows us the way in which a rhetorical discussion could give rise to the romance.

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Lucian's so-called breach with the sophists is described by him in the famous passage of *The Double Accusation*. Disgusted by the affectations and follies of the profession and the successes of unworthy aspirants, he turned, he says, from the stereotyped forms and methods of sophistic composition to the study of the philosophic dialogue. That it was not the rhetorical dialogue of Antisthenes or the essay-dialogue of Aristotle to which he devoted himself is plain from the closing speech of the defendant:

> I know what it is that chiefly grieves him (Dialogue); it is that I do not set before him those fine-chopped questions, such as whether the soul is immortal, and how many cups of pure and unchangeable essence the god poured into the bowl when he was making the world, and whether rhetoric is the counterfeit of a part of politics, and the fourth division of flattery. He is proud of himself when he sets forth that it is not given to everyone to understand what his keen eyes perceive concerning the ideas.[1]

In other words, the dialogue that Lucian turned to at this time was represented by the *Phaedo*, the *Timaeus*, the *Gorgias*, and the *Parmenides* of Plato.[2] His immersion in the study of the greatest prose artist of antiquity was the most important event in Lucian's life. It gave him a style of the highest order and it freed his spirit from the precocious mediaevalism of the Sophistic. It was his classical renaissance. The traits of style which he borrowed from this divine source became thenceforth one of the four strands which mainly compose his work; and his Platonism had this in common with his Sophistic, that both are visible everywhere throughout his writings, while the other strands, Menippus'[3] influence and that of comedy,[4] are in general limited to productions of a certain class. He tells us that his interest in Dialogue began while he was still involved with Rhetoric, and *Anacharsis* shows

[1] 34.

[2] The dialogues chiefly studied by Lucian are the *Phaedrus*, the *Republic*, and the *Gorgias*. There is no evidence that he ever attempted to master the body of Plato's thought.

[3] A caution against finding Menippeanism everywhere is to be found in Otto Hense "Lucian und Menipp," in the *Gomperz Festschrift*, Vienna, 1902, pp. 185–96. See also Helm, *Lucian und Menipp*, 1906.

[4] The tendency to find comedy everywhere, embodied by Kock, was scotched but not killed by Boldermann *Studia Luciana*, Leyden, 1893.

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us the first encroachment of the second manner upon the earlier. In many points this dialogue is analogous to *The Dance*, a purely sophistic work. Anacharsis, a Scythian, visiting Athens, expresses to Solon his amazement at the doings of the young men in the gymnasium. They have for him the air of lunatics. Solon explains the rationale of the various exercises, but Anacharsis is unconvinced that they develop better citizens than do the warlike exercises of the Scythians. The dialogue ends somewhat inconclusively with an appointment for the morrow, when Anacharsis is to return Solon's courtesy by explaining the Scythian ideas of physicial training. The chief difference between *Anacharsis* and *The Dance* is that in the former we have a genuine dialogue. Solon and Anacharsis are not only types but persons; their views are part of themselves and their discussion is a real conflict of minds. In *The Dance* we have merely a sophist delivering an erudite essay to a man of straw. The lightning conversion wherever it occurs is a sophistic trait, a departure from truth. In general a sophist in writing a dialogue saw to it that there was nothing startling or paradoxical in his thesis, so that the deuteragonist might make no troublesome defense. Dion argues pleasantly in favor of the obvious in a dozen dialogues, and proves that treachery is to be deplored[1] or that the wise man is the happy man.[2] But the obstinacy of Anacharsis and the urbanity of Solon prove that Lucian had already been to a better school. The issue raised is one of importance, and Lucian leaves it hanging in air so that the reader's thought is stimulated. That is a phenomenon which does not occur in connection with the Sophistic.

Lucian's name occurs sometimes in histories of ancient philosophy though the grounds of his admission are not very well made out.[3] There is reason to doubt the good faith of his own statement in *The Fisherman* that he actually embraced the philosophical life at the time when he abandoned the strict sophistic programme. There is, however, a widespread belief in Lucian as a student of philosophy, based on another line of reasoning alto-

[1] *Or.* lxxiv. [2] *Or.* xxiii.

[3] For a recent discussion of this topic, see Helm "Lucian und die Philosophenschulen," *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, 1902.

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gether. The protagonist of the *Hermotimus* confesses a brief interest in philosophy, "fifteen years ago," as the result of listening to an eloquent teacher, and the *Nigrinus* contains an account of a visit paid by Lucian to a Platonic philosopher which produced a great effect on him. These two dialogues have been ingeniously coupled by Croiset,[1] who finds them autobiographical, and founds on them the theory that Lucian walked in the Academy and the Lyceum in his youth with profounder aims than the development of a new literary kind. Before considering this view, let us look at the dialogue itself and at some other opinions concerning it.

In the *Nigrinus* Lucian meets a friend who asks him the reason of a haughty reserve that has been noticeable in his manner since his return from Rome. The cause, says Lucian, is happiness. Having gone to Rome to consult an oculist, he used the opportunity to call on the Platonist Nigrinus, whom he found with a book in his hand, surrounded by portraits of the sages of antiquity. In the middle of the room stood a table covered with geometrical figures and supporting a sphere which represented the universe. In a divine voice, sweeter than that of the nightingale, Nigrinus praised the philosophical life, its freedom and its elevation. He eulogized Greece and the Athenians, reared in philosophy and poverty, and compared them, to their great advantage, with the materialized and vulgar Romans.

> When he had finished I stood a long time gazing at him as though spell-bound. Then a great dizziness seized me, I broke into a sweat, and now I strove to speak, but my voice failed me, and finally I burst into tears. I think the first draught of philosophy affected me as the first draught of wine affects the Indians. Their warmer temperaments are swept to frenzy by a strong cup, and in the same way, as you see, I am filled with the god and go my way drunken with the words I have heard.[2]

What is the intention of the *Nigrinus*? Attempts to interpret it have been so varied, and reveal so many incongruous conceptions of our author's general aims and methods that it is worth the student's while to consider them. In fact, an excellent examination paper could be constructed by setting down half a dozen

[1] Following Wetzlar, *Commentatio de Luciani aetate, vita et scriptis*, Marburg, 1834.

[2] 35.

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of the current views and requiring the candidate to criticize them. Wieland, the father of modern Lucianic appreciation, found the document primarily an attack on Roman manners and morals, and regarded the part played by Nigrinus and the passage in praise of Athens as episodic. But Wieland failed to notice that, with the exception of an undue interest in horse-racing, the Romans are not charged with a single vice or folly which is not also laid at the door of the Athenians in other of the Lucianic writings. All that he says of Rome is doubtless true, but if it was also true of Athens the point of the comparison is lost. The dialogue is interesting as proving that it was once more fashionable to speak in praise of Athens; but if it be compared with *The Ship* and *The Cock*, we must admit that Lucian had a somewhat stereotyped set of charges to bring against any conventional society when he was criticizing it, and that the repeated use of these charges is a rhetorical note.[1]

K. G. Jacob, assuming an objective existence for the philosopher, finds proof of Lucian's affinity for virtue in the sincerity of his admiration for Nigrinus, coupling it with that expressed for Demonax in the work of that name. The trouble with this view is twofold. In the first place, it leaves the actual form of the dialogue unaccounted for; why should an appreciation of Nigrinus' ethical standard involve a disingenuous picture of life at Athens, thrown into relief by a disingenuous picture of life at Rome? In the second place, the description of Lucian's emotions under the influence of Nigrinus' eloquence is written in a highly ironical style, a style which makes us at once associate his experience with that of Socrates while listening to the public orators of his day, and even more closely with that of Alcibiades while listening to Socrates.

It was left to A. Schwarz to advance the hypothesis that the work is altogether satirical and humorous in intention, being a *reductio ad absurdum* of the philosophers' claim to bring about a change of heart by one interview. Boldermann disposes

[1] Wieland also involved himself in a contradiction by regarding the tract as a serious tribute to Nigrinus and yet considering the irony of the piece as a satire on the exaggerations of other admirers. In both positions he is followed by Richards *Über die Lykinos Dialoge des Lukian*, Hamburg, 1886.

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thoroughly of this notion, and sets up in place of it the theory that Nigrinus is a character borrowed from comedy and that his utterances are cynic commonplaces in the manner of Menippus. Both these contentions may be true, and still the riddle of the dialogue would lack a solution, for they do not account either for the elaborate setting of Nigrinus' remarks, which is rhetorical in conception and Platonic in treatment, or for the Graeco-Roman antithesis, which is a pure sophistic device. Hirzel,[1] whose analysis of Lucian's dialogues is in general characterized by sounder literary judgment than any other with which I am acquainted, gives only a brief and unsatisfactory treatment of the *Nigrinus*. He maintains that "*historisch ist darin nur der wesentliche Inhalt von Nigrinus Vortrag*," but it is not clear why the destructive criticism which he applies to the historic aspect of the rest of the dialogue should not be extended to cover the whole. Croiset, as I have said, accepts the dialogue as giving us, in conjunction with the *Hermotimus* an account of a moral crisis in Lucian's life, when philosophy aroused in him an emotional excitement and almost persuaded him to throw in his lot with her. We are, according to him, to consider it literally true that Lucian at the age of twenty-five, having up to that time paid little attention to spiritual matters, heard from Nigrinus the discourse which he reports to us, and experienced a moral revolution:[2]

Il lui sembla tout-à-coup que tout ce qu'il avait espéré ou poursuivi jusque là n'était qu'illusion, et que le tranquille détachment dont Nigrinus faissait profession était la seule chose au monde qui méritât d'être estimée. Une telle pensée, tombant sur une imagination aussi excitable, devait la bouleverser entièrement. Ce fut en effet ce qui arriva.

It can be shown, I think, that it is antecedently improbable that Lucian ever had a spiritual experience of the character described by Croiset, and that, even if he had, the *Nigrinus* is not a bona fide account of any such matter.

[1] *Der Dialog*, Leipzig, 1895, II. 291 ff.

[2] For an account of recent variations of this view, see Hoffmann *Kritische Untersuchungen zu Lucian*, Nürnberg, 1894. Hoffmann thinks the *Nigrinus* contains a veracious account of Lucian's conversion, not to philosophy but to satire, pp. 45 ff. W. Schmid *Bursian's Jahresbericht*, 1902, pp. 245 and 252, still takes the *Nigrinus* as a document for Lucian's devotion to ideals.

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It may safely be said that Lucian had perhaps the least excitable imagination of his age.[1] Of the religious force of philosophy in general, though this was its chief strength in his day, he gives us hardly any account. The *Peregrinus* shows how little he was able to analyze the psychology of fanaticism, and how his nerves were exasperated by its manifestation. For his positive spirit the consolations brought to an introspective mind by the religious aspect of philosophy were so unintelligible that the attitude of the enthusiast failed even to impress itself on his dramatic imagination. In his view all philosophy, whether the contemporary that furnished him with butts or the ancient under whose aegis he took shelter when convenient, was either a rule of life or a dialectic jugglery. There was, moreover, a fatal failure in sympathy between Lucian and the Platonists of his day. The Platonic doctrine of the future state of the soul had expanded into a variety of fantastic beliefs, and it was the Platonists and Pythagoreans who were chiefly responsible for the degradation of the daemon theory. Lucian's feeling toward them is expressed with successful malice in *The Amateur of Lying*. But if we were to pass over these considerations and admit, in the first place, that Lucian was a probable subject of spiritual enthusiasm, and, in the second place, that Platonism was likely to arouse him to it, we should find scant corroboration in *Nigrinus*. If Lucian had not happened to state that the philosopher was a Platonist we should have had no clue to the fact in his remarks. The strongly Platonic flavor of the piece is a literary flavor only.

The *Nigrinus* abounds in sophistic traits. Lucian's comparison of himself with an actor is a sophistic commonplace. The facile intoxication of the Indians is a simile used by him also in the *Dionysus*, one of the *prolaliae* of his old age. The phrase Ῥωμαίων παῖδες is paralleled only in sophistic works.[2] The closing simile of the archer is wholly rhetorical. The main argument is, as we have seen, conventional; it is a compliment to Athens in the form of antithesis, a sophistic mechanism. Let us take these

[1] Renan *Marc-Aurèle*, Paris, 1885, pp. 372 ff.

[2] *Dips.* 5, ἰατρῶν παῖδες; *Imag.* 9, ποιητῶν παῖδες; *Zeux.* 5, γραφέων παῖδες; *Anach.* 19, ῥητόρων παῖδες.

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traits as a clue in seeking for the *raison d'être* of the dialogue. Let us remember that Lucian was a sophist and ask ourselves this question: for what purpose would a sophist be likely to put together a compliment to Athens, fusing it from a great number of literary ingredients? The obvious answer is, for the purpose of ingratiating himself with an Athenian audience. Let us by a further effort of the imagination reconstruct the method by which an able sophist like Lucian would have gone to work to compose an address with this object in mind. When the sophist Alexander visited Athens he dealt in praises of the city in the form of a sort of abridged panathenaic oration.[1] *κἂν οὗτος οἷός τ' εἴη Ἀθηναίους γε ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπαινῶν εὐδοκιμεῖν.* Suppose that Lucian decided to do the same, what is the first work that he would read for inspiration? Any classical scholar today who chanced to set himself such a task would naturally turn first to the funeral oration in Thucydides. That is just what Lucian did. We do not need the explicit quotation from Thucydides in the dedication to prove this, for the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters are Pericles pure and simple. Next, our scholar, especially if he had a taste for Plato and also for rhetoric, would be apt to refresh his impression of Aspasia's speech in the *Menexenus*, and, if he did so, to derive thence the mysterious note of ironical admiration which has so puzzled the readers of the *Nigrinus*. Once this note was struck, the *Symposium*, the *Phaedrus*, and the *Protagoras* would suggest themselves to our Plato-loving sophist, and he would melt his various impressions together to make an alloy with beauty of its own. It would be in harmony with this line of association that the formal speech to be delivered should appear as a quotation from another and an abler speaker. Lucian repeats what he has heard; so did Socrates in the *Menexenus* and Apollodorus in the *Symposium*. Nigrinus may have had an existence outside of Lucian's imagination or not; the purpose of his existence in this dialogue is very clear, and, we may say, is abundantly justified. Critics who are accustomed to dismiss the performances of the later sophists with wholesale condemnation, assigning to Lucian's "sophistic period" none but works of hopeless frigidity, should

[1] Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 2. 78. 13 ff., ed. Kayser.

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be saved from that blunder by the *Nigrinus*. We can hardly doubt its success with the audience for whom it was written when we see how completely it has imposed on posterity. I have thought it worth while to discuss the dialogue thus fully because it gives the best illustration of the difficulties of interpretation that arise from neglecting to keep our author rigorously in his setting and to examine his work in the light of those conditions by which we know it was governed.

Lucian's training as a sophist left its stamp on all its work. While receiving some harm from the system, as was inevitable, he was after all greatly its debtor. He chose the longer road to rhetoric, following in the footprints of Plato and Demosthenes, and the result is his amazing Attic style. He was not concerned to adhere with servility to the Attic vocabulary and syntax, but admitted some words and constructions that had come into use in his day and were necessary for the vitalization of his style.[1] On the whole he wrote with greater precision, with completer flexibility and with more convincing ease in the use of his medium than any Greek prose author since Demosthenes. After all necessary deductions are made it would be difficult to find ground for a serious charge against the sophistic training, if Lucian's works were our only evidence as to what it could do for a man. It led him to read widely, to know men, and to express himself superlatively well. Judged in this light, what system of education known to history shall we prefer to it?

[1] For Lucian's style, see an excellent brief statement in Allinson's *Selected Writings of Lucian*, 1905, following Chabert *L'Atticisme de Lucian*, Paris, 1897.

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THE LITERARY CRITICISM IN THE *BIBLIOTHECA* OF PHOTIUS

By La Rue Van Hook

Although well known as a lexicographer Photius has met with scant recognition as a critic of Greek literature, and has been comparatively neglected by students of ancient literary criticism. This neglect, doubtless, is due to the time in which he lived and to the fact that Photius is interested primarily in post-classical authors, prose writers mainly ecclesiastical and historical, and that he is not a literary critic *par excellence*. For it is the thought and content of the writers examined with which he is most concerned. His critical estimates we may consider in a manner but *obiter dicta*, and these may be short or long or entirely omitted. Yet an examination of his *Bibliotheca*[1] reveals a considerable mass of very interesting criticism and a critical faculty of no mean power and originality.[2]

Photius belongs to the latter half of the ninth century and was Patriarch of Constantinople for many years. His *Bibliotheca*, as we are informed in the Introduction, is a first-hand account or review of some 280 volumes, which was compiled for the use of his beloved brother Tarasius, ἠγαπημένῳ ἀδελφῷ Ταρασίῳ. This collection, which is encyclopedic in character, consists largely of summaries or epitomes of the writings under consideration, usually with some critical remarks on style or content. No books written in Latin and no poets are included in the collection.

It is the aim of this paper to examine all the significant literary criticism found in Photius,[3] laying special stress, however, on his criticism of classical writers and those later authors who are of most interest to the student of classical Greek literature. These authors

[1] Ed. Bekker (Berlin, 1824).

[2] Cf. Saintsbury *Hist. of Crit.*, Vol. I, pp. 175–86; Krumbacher, *Byzantinische Litteraturgeschichte*, p. 517.

[3] The criticism of Photius on the Attic orators I have already treated in a paper in the *Transactions of the A. P. A.* for 1908.

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we shall consider according to their provinces and in the following arbitrary order: I Historians, II Romancers, III Rhetoricians, IV Miscellaneous writers, mainly Ecclesiastical.

I. THE HISTORIANS

On writers of history we find considerable discussion and criticism. But we shall see that with the exception of Ctesias it is to the later historiographers that Photius largely gives his attention.

Considering these writers in chronological order we find that the account of Herodotus[1] is surprisingly short and disappointing. It runs as follows:

> Herodotus is the model (*κανών*) of the Ionic dialect, as Thucydides is of the Attic. He has made use of myths and many digressions, as a result of which, sweetness of thought[2] flows through his narratives, even if these at times obscure the comprehension of the historical account and its peculiar and appropriate style, since truth does not wish its accuracy obscured by myths nor to be led astray more than is proper by digressions.

Digressions (*παρεκβάσεις*), divagations (*παρεκτροπαί*), and parentheses (*παρενθήκαι, παρενθέσεις*) are a pet aversion of Photius. So in the criticism on Ctesias[3] there is a comment on this, the great fault of Herodotus. It may seem strange that Photius should dwell at length on this blemish[4] on good historical style and keep silent on the many virtues of the Father of History. The period at which Photius wrote, however, and his purpose must not be forgotten. The excellence of *οἱ ἀρχαῖοι*, so much read and so well known, was taken for granted by this writer and critic of

[1] Codex 60.

[2] This expression *ἡ κατὰ διάνοιαν γλυκύτης* is probably technical, corresponding to the *ἡ κατ' ἔννοιαν* of Hermogenes (Spengel II, p. 357) who in this chap. *περὶ γλυκύτητος* affirms that sweetness results most of all from the use of the mythical—*καὶ μάλιστα γλυκύτητα καὶ ἡδονὴν ἐν λόγῳ αἱ μυθικαὶ τῶν ἐννοιῶν ποιοῦσι*. Herodotus is cited as a conspicuous example. See also Aristeides (*ibid.*, p. 499), *γλυκύτης . . . . κατὰ γνώμην οὕτως, ὅταν τις ταῖς ἔξωθεν ἐπινοίαις χρῆται, οἷον ἐξ ἱστοριῶν καὶ παροιμιῶν καὶ μύθων*. Cf. Quint. x. 1. 73: *dulcis* et candidus et fusus Herodotus.

[3] Cod. 72.

[4] Dion. H. *Ep. ad Pomp.* iii in his lengthy comparison of Herodotus and Thucydides does not mention any such fault in Herodotus, and, in fact, has little but praise. He commends especially the *variety* which Herodotus gives to his history. Butcher (ed. of Arist. *Poetics*, p. 164) speaks of the history of Herodotus as having a unity of design, which is obscured but not effaced by the numerous digressions.

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the ninth century. It is to the later writers that Photius wishes to devote his attention. Further, it was his aim to review those books which had been read or discussed in his brother's absence.

So we discover that Thucydides does not receive separate treatment. We have seen that in the criticism on Herodotus he is mentioned as the canon of the Attic dialect. So also in the discussion of Dio Cassius,[1] who is said to be his imitator, Thucydides is called *ὁ κανών*. But nowhere is his history discussed at length.

Of the historian Ctesias[2] and his works there is a long account and on p. 45 a criticism of his style as follows:

This historian is both clear and extremely plain in style, whereby his narrative acquires charm (*ἡδονή*[3]) as well. He uses the Ionic dialect in some expressions but not universally as Herodotus. He does not, however, like that writer, by unseasonable digressions (*ἐκτροπαί*) divert the progress of his narrative. He is not free, however, from the myths for which Herodotus is censured. Especially are these to be found in his *Indica*. The charm of his history is due to the method of treatment of his narratives, which most of all affects the emotions, employs the unexpected and is diversified with the mythical. His style is somewhat looser than it should be, so as to approach the colloquial. But the *λόγος* of Herodotus in this particular and in other respects of the power and art of narration is the canon of the Ionic dialect.

Since the writings of Ctesias are lost, Photius' abridgment, filling some thirteen pages of our edition, and his criticism are of extraordinary interest.

Xenophon, as well as Thucydides, fails to receive special consideration. In Cod. 83 there is a short characterization of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and in Cod. 70 the following criticism of Diodorus Siculus:

His style is clear and unadorned, especially suited to historical composition, neither striving, as one may say, for an excessive imitation of the Attic dialect or the archaic, nor yielding completely to the current idiom, but preferring the *middle* type, avoiding tropes, and other ornaments which poetry employs, except that the mythical gods and heroes of the Greeks are introduced.

[1] Cod. 71. [2] Cod. 72.

[3] Dion. H. *De comp. verb.* 10 says that the style of Ctesias and Xenophon is extremely *charming*, but not as noble as it should have been. Demet. *De eloc.* 215 calls Ctesias an *artist in vividness*, *ἐναργείας δημιουργός*, in all his writings.

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This is perhaps a more favorable critique than Diodorus really deserves.

The style of Josephus[1] deservedly wins commendation, for the historian of the Jews is admitted to have many excellences, causing him to be called "the Greek Livy" by St. Jerome. Photius says that

> Josephus is pure in his style, masterly in giving the effect of dignity combined with clearness and charm, and is convincing and pleasing in his speeches . . . . fertile in enthymemes on either side and sententious if any man ever was; also most able to represent passions by his discourse and skilled at arousing and soothing the emotions.

The long eulogy of Arrian[1] may be quoted entire to illustrate Photius' command of the technical language of criticism.

> Arrian is second to none of those who have best written histories, for he is excellent at concise narration and nowhere does he mar the continuity of his history by unseasonable divagations and parentheses. He is novel or original (*καινοπρεπής*[3]) in composition rather than in diction, in such a manner that in no other way could his story be told more clearly or vividly. He uses a clear, euphonious, rounded (*στρογγύλος*) style wherein smoothness is mixed with grandeur. His novelties of diction are not violent innovations but are both very restrained and striking, so as to be figurative but not merely a substitution for the customary word. Wherefore he gains clearness not only from this but most of all from the arrangement, order, and constitution of his narrative, which is the art of clearness. For the use of ordinary periods is to be found especially in amateurs and if used to excess lowers style to the mean and commonplace, which is not characteristic of Arrian, although he is clear. Of figures he thus uses the ellipse, not of periods, but of diction, so that the ellipse is not even perceived. And if one should try to add what is lacking he would seem to add what is superfluous and not to complete the ellipse. He is excellent in that he uses a variety of figures which do not all at once deviate from natural, unaffected usage, but they are introduced gradually and woven in from the beginning so as not to annoy with satiety nor disturb by sudden excess. To sum up, in the composition of history many even of the ancients (*τῶν ἀρχαίων* = the old classic writers) would be seen on comparison, to be inferiors to Arrian.

In Cod. 58, Arrian is said to be an imitator of Xenophon, not lacking in rhetorical skill and ability. In this criticism we see

[1] Cod. 47. [2] Cod. 92.

[3] Anon. (Walz *Rhet. Graec.* VIII, 646) in a chap. *περὶ καινοπρεποῦς σχήματος*, gives an example from Arrian.

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Photius at his best. Arrian is easily the superior of his contemporaries in method and style and his virtues are clearly pointed out in well-chosen language. Further, this criticism is all the more valuable to reveal his critical acumen from the fact that it is doubtless an independent judgment, expressed in original language which is not the case with certain other criticisms, as, for example, the remarks on the Attic orators.[1] Let us note a few points here: Arrian is praised for refraining from the use of digressions, the employment of which, as we have seen is a *bête noir* to the Patriarch. Clearness, smoothness, and grandeur are features of the historian's periods, qualities which are produced and enhanced by originality of composition and a variety of appropriate figures. These distinguish the literary artist from the amateur. For τὸ ἔντεχνον τῆς σαφηνείας, the art of clearness is found ἐν τῇ διασκευῇ καὶ τάξει καὶ καταστάσει τοῦ διηγήματος.

A brief notice suffices for the plain and unaffected style of Appian[2] whose excellence as a historian of war wins approbation.

Dio Cassius[3] is praised for the dignity and nobility of his style, for the choice of his expressions, the rhythm and artistic construction of his periods and for clearness. He is called an imitator of Thucydides and even surpasses somewhat his master in clearness, although inferior to him in other respects. These commendatory remarks while not altogether undeserved, must be considered far too generous for a historian whose style is often monotonous.

The style of Herodian[4] is clear, brilliant, and charming; his diction is chaste, neither striving overmuch in the imitation of the Attic dialect and thus doing violence to the natural charm of the vernacular nor relaxed to meanness by neglect of the precepts of art. Neither does he plume himself on superfluities of language nor does he omit anything that is essential. In a word, in all the excellent qualities which make the writer of history, he is surpassed by few.

Photius' criticism aptly applies to Herodian's style in narrative which is elegant and even brilliant. But with the commendation in the last sentence we may justly take issue.

[1] These criticisms go back to Caecilius of Calacte. It is well-nigh impossible to determine the full extent of Photius' indebtedness to preceding writers. For biographical material he is more or less indebted to the Ὀνοματολόγος of Hesychius of Miletus (cf. Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 324 and 518). E. g., cf. Photius on Gregory, p. 341, with Suidas, *s. v.*

[2] Cod. 57. [3] Cod. 71. [4] Cod. 99.

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II. THE ROMANCERS

Unfortunately the poets are completely ignored and we are thus deprived of critical estimates in that most interesting field. Homer, Hesiod, and Pindar are mentioned but a few times, and then but casually in quotations.[1] But we find that Photius had an extensive acquaintance with the novelists and that he has included in his collection, in the summaries of books which he has read, outlines of plots from the romances of Antonius Diogenes, Iamblichus, Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius, and Lucian, with critical comment on style and contents. To the student of the history of the novel these articles are of great importance.

To Antonius Diogenes[2] the author of the fantastic *Marvels beyond Thule* (*οἱ τῶν ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἀπίστων λόγοι*) are given three pages. Of this patchwork of geographical adventure we have only this summary. Photius says that this work seems to be the source of Lucian's *True History* and a model for later romances. Further, his style is clear and for the most part distinct. His mythical subject-matter is pleasing and his marvelous stories give the impression of reality.

The article on Iamblichus[3] is our only source for a knowledge of the contents of the *δραματικόν* of that writer. At the beginning Photius compares from the view-point of morality the three great romancers, and states that Iamblichus makes less display of obscenity than Achilles Tatius, but is more shameless than the Phoenician Heliodorus; and while the three writers have practically the same aim in the composition of their love-dramas, Heliodorus is more dignified and discreet than Iamblichus, but Achilles Tatius has no sense of shame. As regards the style of Iamblichus, Photius says it is fluid and smooth (*ῥέουσα καὶ μαλακή*) and as much of it as is impressive in sound (*ὑπόκροτον*) gives the effect not so much of intensity as of titillation, so to speak, and enervation (*τὸ γαργαλίζον καὶ τὸ βλακῶδες*). His excellence in style is worthy of serious compositions and not of idle fictions.

[1] So e. g., Cod. 158 where Phrynicus the sophist designates Aeschylus as the most *grandiloquent* (*τὸν μεγαλοφωνότατον*) of the tragic poets, Sophocles as the *sweet* (*τὸν γλυκύν*), and Euripides as the *sage* (*τὸν πάνσοφον*).

[2] Cod. 166.

[3] Cod. 94.

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For that excellent extant Greek romance, the *Ethiopica* of Heliodorus,[1] Photius has high praise and we give his very satisfactory criticism entire:

His book is dramatic and in a style appropriate to the theme, for it has much simplicity and sweetness. His narrative is diversified by situations present, expected, or unforeseen, which stir the emotions, as well as by remarkable rescues from dangers, expressed in language both clear and pure. If at times, as is natural, he uses somewhat figurative expressions they are distinct and also present vividly the subject-matter. The periods are symmetrical and concisely arranged. His story deals with the love of a man and a woman, Theagenes and Chariclea, and he shows a desire for the careful observance of propriety.

Achilles Tatius,[2] author of the *Adventures of Leucippe and Cleitophon*, is warmly commended for his style but very severely censured for the indecency of his subject-matter. The criticism is as follows:

The book is a δραματικόν wherein some unseemly love-affairs are introduced. The diction and composition seem to be excellent. His style is clear and appropriately figurative when tropes are used. Most of his periods are sententious, clear, and agreeable and give pleasure to the ear. But his excessive shamelessness and impurity of sentiment depreciate the seriousness and thought throughout of the writer and cause his readers to despise or avoid him altogether. As compared with the fiction of Heliodorus his narratives have much similarity in method of treatment and invention except perhaps as regards the names of the characters and the disgusting obscenity.

One of the most interesting and important of the criticisms in the *Bibliotheca* is the one on Lucian,[3] that prince of romancers. Our respect for Photius as a critic is greatly increased by the keenness of perception and soundness of judgment which he shows in the following appreciation:

In nearly all of his works Lucian is writing a comedy on Greek things; on their error in god-making, their ungovernable and intemperate licentiousness, the monstrous beliefs and fictions of even the poets and their consequent mistakes in government, and the irregular course and vicissitudes of their lives throughout, the boastful nature of their very philosophers who have naught save hypocrisy and empty pretense. In a word, as we have said, his aim is to produce a comedy, in prose, of Greek life. He seems to be one of those who worship nothing seriously; he makes fun

[1] Cod. 73. [2] Cod. 87. [3] Cod. 128.

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of and ridicules the creeds of others and does not posit what he himself believes, unless one calls not having a creed, a creed. In style he is of the best (ἄριστος) employing a diction which is clear, current, and very striking (ἐμφατικός). He is a lover, if anyone is, of distinctness (εὐκρίνεια) and purity, with brilliancy and grandeur in due proportion. His composition is so arranged that the reader seems not to be reading prose but it is as if a certain delightful song without definite accompaniment of music were dropping into the ears of the listener. And in a word, as we have said, his style is of the best (ἄριστος) and not in keeping with his subjects under discussion at which he knew how to laugh.

III. RHETORICIANS, GRAMMARIANS, LEXICOGRAPHERS

Several writers relatively unimportant are considered in this group for the sake of criticisms which are of interest. First that on Phrynicus,[1] the grammarian, whose volumes of excerpts, witty sayings, criticisms, etc., are said by Photius to be serviceable for those wishing to write or speak.

He is very learned but is loquacious and redundant (λάλος καὶ περιττός). For when he might have completed his treatise without omitting any essentials in not the fifth part of his whole work, he extended it to useless bulk by unseasonable discourse, and although he has gathered together for others the material for excellent and fair discourse, his own treatment of it is not of this character.

The rhetorician Libanius,[2] that prolific writer of the fourth century, has grave faults, according to Photius, largely due to his superficiality.

This writer is more serviceable in "plasmatic" (on imaginary themes) and "gymnastic" discourses than in his other writings, for by his excessive elaboration (φιλοπονία) and overwrought style (περιεργία = *curiosity* in obsolete sense) in his other works he has injured his native and, so to speak, impromptu grace and charm, and has fallen into a lack of clearness by obscuring much with parentheses and by excluding even the necessary. But in other respects in these discourses he is a canon and standard of Attic speech.

Eunapius[3] likewise, who in many respects is elegant and urbane, mars his style by infelicities of diction.

In style he is elegant if one expurgates such expressions as τὸ ἀλεκτρυονῶδες (fowl-like), ἐλαφωδέστερον (deer-like), συωδέστερον (swine-like) and further ἱερακώδεις (hawk-like), κορακώδεις (crow-like), πιθηκώδεις (ape-like),

[1] Cod. 158. [2] Cod. 90. [3] Cod. 77.

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ποταμῶδες δάκρυον (a rivery tear) and similar offenses; for by these he both mars exceedingly and debases the nobility throughout of the language. He also uses tropes audaciously, which is a fault in a historian. The forcible impressiveness and urbanity of his style make amends in large measure for the faults which give offense.

Since Photius himself is the author of a lexicon it may be of interest to note a few comments on lexicographical works. On Helladius'[1] lexicon of words and witty sayings, he says: "The book is of use to writers and those honoring learning." On Julian's[2] lexicon to the ten orators:

It is evident that for the reading of the speeches of the orators the work should be of the highest value. We have run across a pretty good work of Philostratus of Tyre on the same subject. But Julian's work is better. Diodorus also wrote a similar work. I don't know whether he copied Julian or vice-versa.

Of Dorotheus,[3] an author of an alphabetical lexicon of foreign and unusual words, Photius says: "It is clear that the work is not without value for scholars."

IV. MISCELLANEOUS WRITERS, MAINLY ECCLESIASTICAL

In this section of our study we shall notice a number of brief criticisms on writers mainly ecclesiastical. These quotations are made to illustrate Photius' use of trenchant and striking expressions in critical characterizations.[4]

[1] Cod. 145. [2] Cod. 150. [3] Cod. 156.

[4] With reference to the critical vocabulary of Photius it may be said that, in general, it is quite adequate to his needs, but not extremely varied nor copious. His terminology is not richly imaginative nor metaphorical but he does not use overmuch the stereotyped terms of the later rhetoricians. We may note here a few terms which are striking by reason of infrequent occurrence in previous literature or because of their unusual metaphorical force:

ἀπάνουργος, 61. Of the *guileless* λόγος of Aeschines. Cf. Sext. Emp. *M.* 2. 77.

αὐτοσχημάτιστος, 92. *Of simple form.*

ἀφοριστικός, 5. *Sententious, concise,* of the ἀφ. χαρακτήρ of Sophronius. Cf. 44. For ἀφοριστικῶς, cf. Dion. H. *De Isaeo* 7. [Iamblichus.

βλακῶδες, τό, and γαργαλίζειν, 94. Of Iamblichus' diction; see above under ἰδιοτροπία, 181. *Individual or peculiar style or manner.*

λευκός, 193. *Clear, transparent.* Maximus is praised for τὸ λευκὸν εἶδος λόγου.

πεπατημένος, 80. *Vulgar, trite.*

σκοτέω, 164; ἐπισκοτέω, 60 (cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 3. 3); ἐπισκοτίζω, 90. *To obscure, darken, confuse.* Cf. Quint. 8. 2. 18.

σμικρολογία, 159. Of Isoc. *petty garrulity.* σύμφρασις, 164. *Context.*

σχοινοτενής, 164, 177. 192. *Spun-out, long, prolix, wire-drawn.*

ὑπόκροτος, 94. *Of pretentious sound.*

χυδαιολογία, 80. *Plebeian loquacity, vulgar verbosity.*

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On Gregory of Nyssa:[1] "In style he is brilliant and distils charm to the ears (*ἡδονῆς ὡσὶν ἀποστάζων*)."

Eusebius: "He is everywhere lacking in charm and does not rejoice in brilliancy (*οὔτε λαμπρότητι χαίρων*)."

Gelasius:[2] "In style is *cheap* and debased (*εὐτελὴς καὶ ταπεινός*)."

Synesius:[4] "He is lofty and has dignity (*ὄγκος*), but inclines to the over-poetical. His epistles drip with grace and charm (*χάριτος καὶ ἡδονῆς ἀποστάζουσαι*)."

Athanasius:[5] "His letters are composed in a style refined, brilliant and clear, being convincing and blooming with charm (*μετὰ τοῦ χαρίεντος ἀνθοῦσαι*)."

Philip:[6] "He is a *spouter* of words (*πολύχους*) without urbanity or grace, and is nauseating (*προσκορής*)."

Philostorgius:[7] "He drags down (*ὑποσύρεσθαι*) the hearer *εἰς τὸ ἀσαφὲς καὶ οὐκ ἀεὶ χαρίεν.*"

Philostratus:[8] "Teeming with sweetness (*βρύων γλυκύτητος*)."

Andronicianus:[9] "He makes great promises in his introduction which are not fulfilled."

John Philoponus:[10]

Μᾶλλον δὲ *ματαιόπονος*! His style resembles himself, as he manufactures and juggles his subject-matter which is on a par with his intellect and shaky judgment. He babbles like a fool and talks insolently. He divides his *farce* into four parts and therein says nothing convincing or sensible.

For the unfortunate John, Photius feels a more than theological hatred. In Cod. 75 he is again subjected to the most scathing arraignment. We are told for the second time that he is

ὅμοιος αὐτῷ and in style is altogether lacking in energy (*τόνος*) and majesty. Not only is he impious in his arguments but absolutely unsound (*σαθρός*) and weak. . . . . In all his writings he is guilty not merely of vain utterances but of puerile tastelessness (*παιδαριώδους ἀπειροκαλίας*).

Theophylactus[11] has a style of some charm but an extravagant use of tropes and figurative language ends in frigidity and childish ineptitude (*νεανικὴν ἀπειροκαλίαν*).

Sergius:[12] "His discourse blooming with native charm (*ἐμφύτῳ ὁ λόγος ἀνθῶν χάριτι*)."

[1] Cod. 6. [2] Cod. 13. [3] Cod. 15. [4] Cod. 26. [5] Cod. 32. [6] Cod. 35. [7] Cod. 40. [8] Cod. 44. [9] Cod. 45. [10] Cod. 55. [11] Cod. 65. [12] Cod. 67.

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Candidus[1] does not have a style suitable to history for he uses a poetical diction in a manner tasteless and sophomoric (*ἀπειροκάλως καὶ μειρακιωδῶς*) and his composition falls into rough and discordant dithyrambic bombast. He introduces innovations in structure so as to bore the listener and to step beyond the confines of the agreeable (*τοῦ ἡδέος ὑπερόριος*).

Olympiodorus[2] "is clear in style but listless and languid and descends to plebeian loquacity (*χυδαιολογίαν*)."

John Chrysostom:[3] "He is brilliant and clear and adorns persuasion with charm." So also in Cod. 174 this writer is accorded the highest praise:

> His style displays brilliancy and inventiveness together with a habitual clearness and purity disclosing fertility of thought and most appropriate wealth of examples. . . . . I have always marveled at that thrice-blessed man in that in all his discourses he was accomplishing his purpose, namely, giving help to his hearers.

Zosimus[4] "is impious in his religious beliefs and often snarls (*ὑλακτῶν*) at the pious, but in style is concise, clear, and distinct, nor does he dwell apart from charm (*οὐ τοῦ ἡδέος ἀπῳκισμένος*)."

Clement of Alexandria[5] in his *ὑποτυπώσεις* is scored for blasphemy and heresy—*φλυαρεῖ, βλασφημεῖ, τερατεύεται* are Photius' terms. In the *παιδαγωγός* (Cod. 110) his style is praised and his erudition (*πολυμάθεια*) is said to be impressive.

Lucius Charinus' book (called *οἱ τῶν ἀποστόλων περίοδοι*) is damned with the following strong language: "This book contains countless statements that are childish, incredible, basely invented, false, absurd, inconsistent, impious, and atheistic."[6]

Damascius[7] is censured in similar terms and his impiety is all the more inexcusable in the eyes of Photius because "at the time when the light of piety was flooding the world he was sleeping under the deep darkness of idolatry."

The impious Eunomius[8] is very severely handled: "His composition is so forced, condensed, and harsh that the reader must

[1] Cod. 79. [2] Cod. 80. [3] Cod. 86. [4] Cod. 98. [5] Cod. 109. [6] Cod. 114. [7] Cod. 130.

[8] Cod. 138. This caustic criticism is worth quoting entire because of the terminology used: *συνθήκη τε αὐτῷ ἐκβεβιασμένη καὶ συμπεπιεσμένη καὶ ἔκκροτος, ὡς ἀνάγκην εἶναι τῷ ἀναγινώσκοντι τὰ ἐκείνου τύπτειν σφοδρῶς τὸν ἀέρα τοῖς χείλεσιν, εἰ μέλλοι τρανῶς ἀπαγγέλλειν ἃ περιτραχύνων καὶ συστρέφων συνθλίβων τε καὶ παρεμβάλλων καὶ ἀκρωτηριάζων ἐκεῖνος μόλις συνέταττε.*

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violently beat the air with his lips if he is to recite clearly what the author has with difficulty composed by roughening, condensing, squeezing, interpolating, and mutilating."

Inasmuch as Basil the Great,[1] Bishop of Caesarea, was the great champion of orthodoxy in the fourth century, we may expect to find praise for him. Photius says that Basil is ἄριστος in all his discourses, possessing purity and distinctness and that he is a lover of sweetness and brilliancy, with a fluid impromptu style, as if causing a stream to gush forth (ῥέων τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίου πηγάζων τὸ ῥεῖθρον). As an orator he is to be compared to Plato and Demosthenes in civil and panegyric oratory.

Galen,[2] the great writer in medicine, is said to be pure and distinct in diction and arrangement:

> In all his works he is a deep thinker, although in many of his writings by loading (φορτίζων) his books with the diffuse and with divagations and by spun-out (σχοινοτενής) periods, he confounds and obscures (συγχεῖ καὶ σκοτοῖ) the thought. And chopping up (διακόπτων), as it were, his context he gives *ennui* to the listener because of his garrulity.

Himerius:[3] "As far as my knowledge goes, no one has made such a pleasing and charming use of tropes."

Theodorus:[4] "By his prolixities and digressions he sheds no little darkness over his writings (οὐκ ὀλίγον ζόφον κατασκεδάζει)."

Ptolemy:[5] "This writer is somewhat empty (ὑπόκενος) and excessively fond of braggadocio and is lacking in urbanity."

Sophronius:[6] "In his innovations he is like a proudly prancing colt."

We may conclude at this point our survey of the literary criticism in Photius; a body of criticism which is of importance both because of its intrinsic worth and as representing Byzantine criticism in general, although not written by a professed critic or rhetorician. It cannot be denied that there is much that is original and novel in these critiques, and we see evidenced in them a point of view, a modern tone frequently, which cannot be observed in previous writers. It is for these reasons that Photius deserves a higher position in the history of criticism than it has been his fortune to enjoy.

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[1] Cod. 141. [2] Cod. 164. [3] Cod. 165. [4] Cod. 177. [5] Cod. 190. [6] Cod. 231.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO *CIL*

By B. L. Ullman

Vaticanus-Ottobonianus 1550 is a paper MS of the fifteenth century, containing Catullus, Propertius and a poem by Panormita. On fols. 99*v* and 100*v* are copies of fourteen ancient and two mediaeval inscriptions by a sixteenth-century hand. Twelve of the fourteen ancient inscriptions are published in the *Corpus*, ten in Vol. VI and two in Vol. XI. For only four of the twelve have the editors of the *Corpus* used this MS—all four follow each other in order in the MS. Three of the four are still extant. The other eight published inscriptions are known from other sources, though none are extant. Our MS is valuable in deciding the proper readings in a number of cases. Two inscriptions have, as far as I know, never been published. It is evident that through some strange chance the *Corpus* editor who examined the Vatican MS did not copy all the inscriptions he found there, or else that some of his notes were lost.

The inscriptions are carefully written in capitals, and the place of finding is indicated in short notes. The first inscription was started on fol. 99*v*, but abandoned in the middle of the second line and rewritten on fol. 100*v*, because there was not room enough on fol. 99*v* to preserve the long second line of the inscription intact. This fact, as well as other details, shows that the verse division is meant to be that of the originals. It is apparent that an attempt was made to preserve the interpunctuation, but since there are many evident mistakes I have not recorded it. The two mediaeval inscriptions follow the abandoned inscription on fol. 99*v*. All the others are on fol. 100*v*. All the inscriptions are by the same hand, but the ink of Nos. 11 to 14 is different, and the writing is less careful. They were, no doubt, added later.

I number the inscriptions in the order in which they seem to have been written. I give in each case the place of finding, and such other facts as appear of interest. The *Corpus* used our MS for Nos. 1, 5, 6 and 7.

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1. *C.* VI. 1936. *in quodam limite antiquo quod est super portam inclaustri Sancti Alexii de urbe in monte Auentino.* The *Corpus* cites this MS but does not give its readings. The only difference from the printed text is FVIATORIBVS in line 2. The third line is made of equal length with the second. No difference in size of the letters is indicated.
2. *C.* VI. 23716. *Epitaphium ante portam Sancte Marie in quirito in Monte Auentino in quo notatur quod .i. ponitur pro .l. et .t. ut in proculus et item etc. quod uel incuria carpentarii uel difficultatis caussa.* I restore thus, following our MS, except as noted below:

D · M
PACVVIAE · SPERATAE · VXORI
M · VLPII · AVG · LIB · ARGAEI
QVAE · VIX · CVM EO · ANN · XXXVII
FECERVNT
PACVVI · DVO · HYGIA · ET · PROCVLVS
MATRI · PIENTISSIMAE · ITEM · SIBI · ET
LIBERIS · SVIS · LIBERTIS · LIBERTABVSQ
POSTERISQ · EORVM

4 XXVII.—6 DVOIIYGIA EI.—7 IIEM.

3. *C.* VI. 17830. *In ecclesia Sanctorum quatuor Coronatorum.* I restore thus, following our MS, except as noted:

D · M · S
FELICLAE · FILIAE
D V L C I S S I M A E
QVAE · VIXIT
ANNIS · DVOBVS
MENSIBVS · III · DIE · I
SYRIARCHES · ET
FELICISSIMA · PA
RENTES · BEN · MER
FELICLA · SIT · TIBI · TERRA · LEVIS

2 FELICIAE.—10 FELICIA.

The readings II in vs. 5 and D· in vs. 6, which the *Corpus* editor prints in his text, opposed as they are to the two[1] authorities cited by him as well as to the new authority now presented, are quite arbitrary. One wonders whether this volume of the

[1] Perhaps three, if Iacobonius (*C.* VI, *Add.*, p. 3521) is independent.

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Corpus is perhaps marred by more high-handed text criticism of the same sort.

4. *C.* VI. 21757. The description of the place of finding of No. 3, from the position it occupies, is meant to apply also to No. 4. Variants: 2 LIB *omissa littera* L.—5 POSTERISQ.—7 INTER IIII · INAGR · P · IIII ·

5, 6, 7. *C.* VI. 8580, 12772, 1714 respectively. *haec tria ⟨epita⟩phia sunt ⟨in⟩ ecclesia S⟨anctae⟩ Mariae ad⟨busta⟩ gallica in ⟨Regione⟩ Montium.* (I have supplied the letters in the brackets; they are not visible because of the tight binding.) The *Corpus* cites this MS for the three, all of which are extant. The following variants are not noted in the *Corpus:*

8580: 5 PHENIX.—8 FROTINVS.
1714: 4 OLYBRIVC.—11 RVFVS · S$\overline{\text{VP}}$.

8. See below.

9. *C.* VI. 20226. *In ecclesia Sancti Eusebii Regionis Montium.* The verse division is as printed in the *Corpus*, except that the last two words occupy separate lines and are indented. Variants: 2 PRIMIIIVO.—4 XIIX.

10. *C.* VI. 21703. The description of the finding-place of No. 9 is meant to apply also to No. 10. The verse division is the same as in the *Corpus*, except that the last two lines are in one. Variants: 2 LVSCIA · EZONI.

11. *C.* XI. 3336 (VI. 706*) *in oppido blede apud portam.* No difference in the size of the letters is indicated in the MS. Tall *I* is indicated in every case in lines 1–5 except the first *I* of *Germanici* and the *I* of *Ti.* The first *I* of *Culmilius* (vs. 7) is also tall. I suggest C · L · FVSCVS as the proper reading in vs. 7. Variants: 3 N *om.*—AVGS.—7 CIFVSCVLVS *et in margine litteris minusculis* al's cleusculus.—10 POLLIVS.

12. *C.* XI. 3338. *in eodem oppido.* The reading $\overline{\text{IIII}}$ VIRO which our MS has in vs. 3 seems preferable to $\overline{\text{IIII}}$ VIR of the *Corpus.*

13. See just below.

14. *C.* VI. 391. *vers. 1 om.* The inscription was started twice and left unfinished both times. The first time a rectangular frame was made for it, and the last line was written in this. But the line was too long for the frame, and so another start was made. A frame, divided horizontally into two halves, was made, and the last three lines of the inscription were placed in the lower half. This again seemed unsatisfactory, and a diagonal deleting line was drawn through the whole. A third attempt was not made. To show the unfinished character of the copy, it may be noted that the finding-place is not given.

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I now give the two unpublished inscriptions:

13. *In vinea d̄ paluzellis in monte Coelio prope S. Mariam in domnica.*

SILVANO
SACRVM
DONATVS
CAES · N̄ · SĒR
OFICINATOR
D · D ·

8. *hoc epitaphiolum inueni in nostra uinea apud colosseum in uia merulana.*

L · AVRELIO VERO ·
G · ARM · MEDIC · PART ·
MAX · COS · IIĪ
OLL SALVTARIS NOMENCLA
D ` M_

This is a mate to *C.* VI. 1013, which is thus given in the *Corpus:*

imp. caes. m. AVRELIO ANTONINO
*aug. arm*ENIACO · MEDICO
p a r t h i c o MAXIMO · COS · III a. 165–171
· · · · · · · VS · LIB · CVRATOR
collegii SALVTARIS
· · · · · · · ATORVM · S · P · D · D

The following note is appended:

Cognomen *salutaris* videtur indicare funeraticium esse collegium.

The two inscriptions help to restore each other thus:

imp. caes. m. AVRELIO ANTONINO
*aug. arm*ENIACO · MEDICO
parthico MAXIMO · COS · III
· · · · · *a*VG · LIB · CVRATOR
collegii SALVTARIS
*n o m e n c l*ATORVM · S · P · D · D

imp. caes. L · AVRELIO VERO
*au*G · ARM · MEDIC · PART
MAX · COS · IIĪ
· · · · · · *aug. l. cur. c*OLL · SALVTARIS NOMENCLA
torum s. p. D · D

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These inscriptions give us a college hitherto unknown, the *collegium salutare nomenclatorum.*[1] It is obvious that they belong together, for they are set up to coemperors by the curator of a college mentioned nowhere else. We have a right, then, to assign them to the same date. The one to Aurelius can be dated 166 or later (Pauly-Wissowa *Realencyclopädie* I, p. 2294), the other, between 167 and 169 (*ibid.* III, p. 1851). The date of both, then, is 167–69.

The place of finding of the two inscriptions also justifies us in putting them together. *C.* VI. 1013 was found in 1731 in the Villa Casali on the Caelian,[2] where the present Ospedale Militare is situated (cf., e. g., Lanciani *Forma* 36), the other, in a vineyard in the Via Merulana near the Colosseum. The old Via Merulana must be meant, as the present street of that name was not built until 1575,[3] and we shall see that the inscriptions were copied in our MS before that date. The vineyard was perhaps just west of the present Ospedale di San Giovanni, where the ancient Via Merulana ended, that is, practically on the same site as the later Villa Casali.

A still closer connection may have existed between the two inscriptions. It will be noticed that both are incomplete on the *left.* About the same amount is missing in each. One is tempted to explain this state of affairs by supposing that both inscriptions were inscribed on one base, one above the other. The one to Aurelius would naturally be the upper one. Confirmation of this supposition is found in the fact that the inscription to Verus seems compressed. Apparently the stonecutter, after writing AVG in the second line, saw that he did not have room for as many lines as he had in the first inscription, and decided to save space by abbreviating, and also, in the first paroxysm of economy,

[1] This *collegium* belongs in *Liste G, A, a* in Waltzing's classification (*Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains* IV, pp. 154 ff.), as well as in *Liste L, collegia salutaria.* It is to be compared, e. g., with the *collegium praegustatorum*, *C.* VI. 9004 (Waltzing, p. 158).

[2] *C.* VI, p. 842.

[3] Lanciani *Storia degli scavi di Roma* III, p. 169. The old street existed unti the new one was built.

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by lengthening the second line, thus destroying the aesthetic balance of the inscription. His overzealousness for economy he at once counterbalanced by extravagantly making a short third line. He may also have been averse to beginning the freedman's name on a line with the emperor's titles. As a result he again economized by making the next line as wide as the stone would allow, at the same time crowding his letters.

The arrangement suggested seems plausible, though I know of no certain case of two inscriptions on a base one below the other. Perhaps *C.* IX. 15 and 16, also set up to Aurelius and Verus, are thus arranged. The *Corpus* merely states that they are found on the same base.[1]

An interesting thought is suggested by the place of finding of the inscriptions. On the Caelian hill, where they were found, was the palace of the Annii, in which Marcus Aurelius was born and brought up. In *Ruins and Excavations* (1897, p. 344), Lanciani puts the site of this palace in the very Villa Casali where one, at least, of our inscriptions was found, though in the *Forma* (1898, Plate 36), he tentatively places it farther east, near the Lateran. Canina[2] seems to have had the same site in mind. Huelsen does not attempt to give it a definite location.[3] The suggestion has been made that the famous equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, now on the Capitoline, but formerly near the Lateran, came from this *domus Anniorum.*[4] Perhaps our inscriptions, set up to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus by a freedman of the imperial household, were placed in or near this same palace. If this supposition be accepted, the place of finding of the inscriptions may help to locate the palace.

[1] *C.* XI. 5629 and 5630 also may have been arranged in the same way. At any rate they belong together, and the beginning of 5630 should be restored accordingly. Both should be assigned to the year 164. The title pontifex maximus given to Verus in 5630, but rarely found elsewhere, may be due to the desire of giving Verus as much honor as Aurelius on the same stone. Similarly, this same title was omitted in the inscription to Aurelius, IX. 15, because it could not properly be given also to Verus in the companion inscription, 16, as Mommsen notes.

[2] *Indicazione topografica di Roma antica*, 1831, p. 48.

[3] Jordan (Huelsen) *Topographie* I. 3, p. 245.

[4] *Ibid.*

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I now give the two mediaeval inscriptions without comment:

1. *In quodam subcolumnio Sancte Mariae ad busta Gallica in Regione Montium erant hi uersus.* Anno milleno bis .c. sestoq; deno A cristo nato paulo tunc fonte renato | Papa gregorio residente sua sede nona. A populo dictus fuerat donnus Benedictus Qui fieri fecit actenus istud opus pro quo laudemus X̄ c̄uctiq;
retro istius subcolumnii erant haec. In n̄ dn̄i anno dominice incarnationis MCC VI m̄ VIIII tempore g̅g̅ p̅p̅ VIIII p̅p̅ a̅n̅ eius VIIII. hoc opus Ange|lus marmorarius de triuio fecit et composuit quo Benedictus archi. prr̄ dictus ad honorem gloriose Virginis fieri fecit.

2. *In pariete Sancti Petri in carcere iuxta forum est quedam imago Sancte Martine sub qua sunt haec.* Haec ecclesia Sc̄ti Petri in carcere est unita cum | ecclesia Sanctę Martinę quae est fundata hic prope iuxta marfeolum seu marforium μαρφόριον τό ποψολου(?).

One thing more remains, to attempt a closer dating of the anonymous copyist in our MS. Data are furnished by the notices regarding locations of the several inscriptions.[1] No. 7 is given by Jucundus (before 1489), Pierio Valeriano (before 1558), and our MS as being in the church of S. Maria ad Busta Gallica. Ligorio says it was taken from a church despoiled ("guasta") in the pontificate of Paul III (1534–49). No doubt S. Maria ad Busta Gallica is meant. That Ligorio is for once trustworthy is borne out by the fact that Girolamo Ferrucci (1588) states that this church had disappeared long before his time.[2] It seems to have continued in a semi-active state for some years after its despoliation; it is still given on Bufalini's plan (1551),[3] and in the catalogue of churches made for the purpose of a charitable tax (1561).[4] The notice in the latter is interesting: *S. Maria in Portogallo app. il colosseo: il chiericato di detta chiesa.* Apparently, the inference to be drawn from this remark is that the church was not regularly used, though it still had its clergy. Ferrucci[5] says that in the place where the church had been "vi è ancor nel muro l'imagine di santa Margarita." In a catalogue made between 1566 and 1572 appears a notice of a church of

[1] Most of the facts and dates given here are taken from the *Index auctorum* of *C.* VI.

[2] Lanciani *Storia* II, p. 212.

[3] Armellini *Le chiese di Roma*, 1891, p. 68. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 72. [5] *Loc. cit.*

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"S. Margherita—*Ruinata*," following immediately after the mention of "S. Andrea a Portogallo."[1] Armellini says that this church of S. Margherita existed till 1587, and belonged to the De Silvestris family,[2] about whom we shall have more to say presently.

Metellus (probably before 1555) and Smetius (before 1551) found the inscription in the house of Eurialus Rufinus. From Ligorio's statement we can assign the copyist of our inscriptions to a date before 1549, the last year of the pontificate of Paul III, for the copyist still found the inscriptions in the church of S. Maria.

No. 5 is placed in the same church of S. Maria ad Busta Gallica by Jucundus, Metellus and our MS. Smetius places it in the house of Eurialus Rufinus. It seems as if Metellus must have copied No. 7 before the spoliation of the church, and No. 5 afterward. This hypothesis receives support if Eurialus Rufinus is the same man as Eurialus Silvestri or Firmanus (da Cingoli) mentioned in Lanciani's *Storia* II, p. 210, and III, p. 193, for in 1547 Silvestri received from the city grants of grounds close to the church. Perhaps it was then that he gained possession of the church, and removed the inscriptions.

No. 6 was in the same church in the time of Jucundus, Valeriano (before 1521), Bembo (1536) and our MS. Smetius places it in the house of Eurialus.

No. 2 was in S. Maria on the Aventine in the time of Jucundus, Ligorio (before 1566), Sabinus (about 1520), and our MS. By the time of Achilles Statius (1560–70) it was in Trastevere. Our copyist, then, did his work before the time of Statius.

Our MS says that No. 13 was found in the vineyard of the Paluzelli. Inasmuch as this vineyard was sold to the Mattei family in 1553,[3] and has been known as the Villa Mattei ever since, it seems reasonable to assume that the copyist of our inscriptions did his work before 1553, though, of course, the old name of the villa may have persisted for some time after the change of ownership. Excavations were carried on in the vine-

[1] Armellini *op. cit.*, p. 76.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 138.
[3] Lanciani *Storia* III, p. 81.

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yard between 1537 and 1546,[1] and it is likely that during this period our copyist found No. 13, especially since we have seen that the year 1547 is about the latest possible date for the finding of No. 7.

Summing up, then, it seems a fair assumption that our inscriptions were copied about 1530–40.

Regarding the identity of the copyist, nothing definite can be said. A clue is furnished in the statement that No. 8 was found "in *our* vineyard in the Via Merulana near the Colosseum." The earliest reference I can find to the later Villa Casali (where, as shown above, No. 8 may have been found) is in 1575, when it belonged to Adriano Martire.[2] I have shown in another work[3] that Pope Marcellus II (1555) owned our MS. It is possible, though scarcely probable, that he himself copied the inscriptions.

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[1] *Storia* III, p. 82.

[2] Lanciani *Storia* III, p. 80.

[3] *The Manuscripts of Catullus Cited in Statius' Edition of 1566*, Chicago, 1908, p. 7.

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JOHN HENRY WRIGHT

1852–1908

Something of the sweet gentleness which always attended the pervasive influence of this gracious scholar must have come to him from birth and boyhood in a devoted missionary family of the nobler Orient. Sterner and stronger influences were about his youth, which was spent in school and college on the upper waters of our Hudson and Connecticut. Broader visions and ambitions came to him with the first years of his teaching in a college of Ohio. To the two years of his residence in Leipzig, and to the little group of young Americans there drawn into an intimacy with him which has been to them all one of life's chiefest blessings, he brought a rare combination of minute linguistic scholarship with the keenest literary and artistic sense. Those were the days when the school of Georg Curtius was at the height of its influence, and also when Overbeck's Seminar was privileged to discuss, from unpublished photographs and summaries of excavation, the marvelous finds of Olympia. His devotion to linguistic and grammatical studies during this Leipzig period bore fruit in that severe accuracy with which he always interpreted a literary or historical monument, an accuracy which tempered but never subdued a natural enthusiasm which his pupils always found contagious. His devotion at the same period to archaeology and history bore speedy fruit in his contributions to the *History of Ancient Sculpture* by his sister, Mrs. Mitchell, and in his translation of Collignon's *Manual of Greek Archaeology*, both of which were made during the eight years of his service as assistant professor of Greek at Dartmouth College (1878–86).

With his subsequent career who that reads these lines is not familiar? And what need of enumerating here his contributions to knowledge? He accomplished well large editorial and administrative tasks. He quickened and inspired a generation of young scholars. He drew generously from the deep wells of ancient culture and enriched our modern life and thought with the living water. He made no enemies and had hosts of loving friends. His home was a radiant center from which streamed out high influences and appeals. He had no obtrusive methods as a teacher, no cumbersome apparatus as a writer. He did not strive nor cry. But he could do the very finest things. He could anticipate the revelations of Aristotle's *Athenian Polity*, discover a new fragment of Philochorus, penetrate one of the mysteries of the art of Sophocles, illumine Plato's Cave, or fittingly publish an Athenian white lecythus. And in these finest things his fine soul took most delight — in these, and in those whom he loved. *Sit tibi terra levis!*

B. P.

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NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

CAESAR'S BATTLE WITH THE HELVETIANS

In a monograph entitled *Bibracte: Eine kriegsgeschichtliche Studie* (Aarau, 1904) H. Bircher sets forth a new theory with reference to the position of the Helvetian forces after their first encounter with the Romans below Armecy in the summer of 58 B. C.[1] The site of the battle-field is generally conceded to be near the juncture of the Arroux and Auzon rivers just west of Toulon-sur-Arroux. This fact, hinted at by Garenne, was confirmed by Bulliot's unquestioned identification of Bibracte with Mont Beuvray, which Caesar says (*Bell. Gall.* i. 23) was eighteen miles from the point where he left the pursuit of the Helvetians, and by Stoffel's discovery in 1886 of a Roman intrenchment, apparently thrown up hastily, on the hill of Armecy. A study on the spot from the point of view of a practical general of what was likely to take place considering the local topography and the relative position of the two armies convinced Stoffel that after their first unsuccessful encounter with the Romans the Helvetii retreated to an elevation in the direction of the present village of Montmort and that there occurred the second conflict. Caesar's words are, "Tandem vulneribus defessi et pedem referre et, quod mons suberat circiter mille passuum, eo se recipere coeperunt" (*Bell. Gall.* i. 25). Stoffel's argument is one drawn from probability only, since no excavations which might settle the question have been made in the immediate vicinity of Montmort. The theory of Bircher about to be explained is also unsupported by the evidence of excavations.

Bircher's hypothesis was inspired by a desire to offer an easier explanation of the phrase, *latere aperto* (chap. 25) than was afforded by Stoffel's plan of the battle. Usage shows that the *latus apertum* was the right or unprotected flank of the army, and inasmuch as Stoffel's view required Caesar's lines in their second position to face toward the north, it was necessary for him to suppose that the Boii and the Tulingi crossed the rear of the Romans (cf. *circumvenire*, which with Bircher's explanation is without point) and started to attack the enemy on its most vulnerable side, namely the right or east flank. This necessity of making the Boii and Tulingi march so far before striking a blow instead of attacking at the nearest point, the left flank, has been regarded by some as a real difficulty in Stoffel's plan. It is easily explained, however, by the topographical requirements, since a steep ravine immediately west of the Roman position would have made a left flank attack impossible even if

[1] Bircher's theory is supported also by Fröhlich *Die Glaubwürdigkeit Caesars in seinem Bericht über den Feldzug gegen die Helvetier* (Aarau, 1903), pp. 33 f.

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the Boii and Tulingi had desired to grapple with the Romans' shield-protected side. In order, therefore, to provide a plan by which the Boii and Tulingi would have first encountered the *latus apertum* of the Romans, Bircher conceives that the Helvetii withdrew from the hill of Armecy southward to an elevation across the stream Auzon. The Romans pursuing had their right thus exposed to the direct attack of the approaching Boii and Tulingi. I repeat that the decision of the question as to which one of these two theories is to be preferred rests at present solely upon the argument of probability, since no excavations have been made upon either site. There is one known fact, however, obtained from the narrative itself of Caesar, which in my judgment demolishes Bircher's theory and tends to confirm Stoffel's, the fact, namely, that after the second encounter the direction of the Helvetians' flight was toward the north. From chaps. 26 and 27 we learn that the scene of the final surrender of the Helvetians was at a considerable distance directly north of where the battle took place. In describing the flight Caesar says, "eaque tota nocte continenter ierunt; nullam partem noctis itinere intermisso in fines Lingonum pervenerunt." The Helvetii, therefore, arrived *in fines Lingonum;* and the boundaries of the Lingones were north of the Aedui within whose territory the battle occurred. It is perhaps unnecessary to mention the significance also of such topographical references as the attempt of the canton Verbigenus to escape *ad Rhenum finesque Germanorum* (chap. 27), or the entreaty of the Gallic chiefs, prominently the Aedui and the Sequani, that Caesar protect them against the neighboring Germans. Moreover, Caesar distinctly says, "alteri se, ut coeperant, in montem receperunt;" that is, the Helvetii *continued* their flight in the same direction in which they started. If according to Bircher the Romans first drove the retreating Helvetii southward across the Auzon and then pressed upon them hotly forcing them again to attempt to escape, it is contrary to the recognized laws of the human mind and of self-preservation to suppose that the enemy should have turned about arbitrarily and fled in the opposite direction, almost in the face of the Roman soldiers. They would rather have retreated either southward in the direction from which they originally came, or westward in the direction in which they had started the day before the battle. My conviction on first reading Bircher's monograph that he was wrong was confirmed in the summer of 1908 when I again visited the scene of the battle. It is impossible for me to believe that the defeated Helvetii having once been driven southward would or could have crossed the intervening heights and valleys and have turned their faces northward toward a section of mountainous country with which they were totally unfamiliar. Stoffel's theory is still the only one which in the light of the facts seems to me admissible.

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PLIN. *EP.* II. 12. 4

Pliny is exclaiming over the unreasonableness of a decision of the Senate which allowed a man convicted of complicity in extortion to retain his seat in that body, subject to certain limitations of privilege: "quid enim miserius quam exsectum et exemptum honoribus senatoriis labore et molestia non carere? quid grauius quam tanta ignominia adfectum non in solitudine latere . . . . ? praeterea quid publice minus aut congruens aut decorum ⟨quam⟩ notatum a senatu in senatu sedere," etc.

All of the MSS, of whatever family, read without *quam* between *decorum* and *notatum*, and the earlier editors were content to follow them in that particular. Sichardus, however, in his recension of the Aldine edition (Basel, 1530), inserted *quam*, doubtless out of regard for the structure of the preceding sentences. His example was not without influence on subsequent editors, though many still clung to the MS reading, ordinarily punctuating with an interrogation point after *decorum* as well as after *sedere* and the corresponding infinitives that follow. Keil also, in his first edition (1853), went back to the MSS, but later repented, and in his Erlangen programm of 1865 (p. 16) defended briefly the insertion of *quam*, and inserted it in his critical edition of 1870, wherein he has been followed by later editors. The grounds of his defense are Pliny's regard for *concinnitas orationis*, and doubt whether the exclamatory phrase could be used by him in such a connection (apparently he means without *quam* after a comparative).

Pliny's regard for a mechanical *concinnitas orationis* has been (*me iudice*) altogether exaggerated by some scholars, though that question is too large to enter upon here. But the omission of *quam* after a comparative and before a clause can be paralleled from Pliny's friend and fellow-rhetorician, Tacitus, who, according to the MS tradition, wrote, in *Ann.* ii. 77. 1 f., "Domitius Celer . . . . disseruit . . . . si quid hostile ingruat, quem iustius arma oppositurum qui legati auctoritatem et propria mandata acceperit?" Here Lipsius inserted *quam* before *qui*, and has been followed therein by later editors. But the correspondence of phrase and setting in the passages from Pliny and Tacitus, though not perfect, prompts the thought that the MSS of both authors may be right, and the omission of *quam* after a comparative and before a clause in rhetorical appeals be more frequent than is commonly supposed. A further, and perfect, parallel can be found in *Aetna* 253 ff. (Ellis):

> nam quae, mortales, super est amentia maior,
> in Iouis errantem regno perquirere uelle,
> tantum opus ante pedes transire ac perdere segnem?

Whatever the variations of text here, there are none that affect the construction at issue. I should be grateful for information of other similar instances.

E. T. M.

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ON ARISTOTLE *DE PART. AN.* IV. 10

687 *a*, 10 ff.:

ἡ δὲ φύσις ἀεὶ διανέμει, καθάπερ ἄνθρωπος φρόνιμος, ἕκαστον τῷ δυναμένῳ χρῆσθαι. προσήκει γὰρ τῷ ὄντι αὐλητῇ δοῦναι μᾶλλον αὐλοὺς ἢ τῷ αὐλοὺς ἔχοντι προσθεῖναι αὐλητικήν· τῷ γὰρ μείζονι καὶ κυριωτέρῳ προσέθηκε τοὔλαττον ἀλλ' οὐ τῷ ἐλάττονι τὸ τιμιώτερον καὶ μεῖζον. εἰ οὖν οὕτως βέλτιον, ἡ δὲ φύσις ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων ποιεῖ τὸ βέλτιστον, οὐ διὰ τὰς χεῖράς ἐστιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος φρονιμώτατος, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ φρονιμώτατον εἶναι τῶν ζῴων ἔχει χεῖρας.

For *προσέθηκε* we must read *προσθήκη*. In itself *προσέθηκε* might be used in the pregnant sense "added as a *προσθήκη*." But the context carefully considered excludes the verb here. The clause *φύσις ἀεὶ διανέμει* tells how "nature" generally acts. The clause *προσήκει γάρ* gives by a concrete illustration the reason why this is the fitting or intelligent action; and the clause *τῷ γὰρ μείζονι* explains this reason by generalizing it. The lesser is an appendage to the greater, not the reverse. After these parenthetical explanations, we return with *οὖν* in the next clause to nature: "If then this is the better way and nature does what is best nature acts in this way." This logical sequence is completely destroyed by retaining *προσέθηκε* with *φύσις* as implied subject, with the interpretation "For nature makes the greater an appendage to the lesser," etc. Immediately after saying that nature does this it would be absurd to add, "If then this is the better way nature does this." It would be very harsh to supply *ὁ φρόνιμος* as the subject, and the gnomic aorist would be inappropriate.

Προσέθηκε then is an accidental corruption or the error of someone who failed to follow the thought closely.

For this use of *προσθήκη* cf. *Zγβ* 4, 738 *b* 17 *τὸ δὲ κάτω προσθήκη καὶ τούτου χάριν*, and *Rhet.* A 1. 1354 *a* 14, and such phrases as Demosthenes' *ἐν προσθήκης μέρει*: Bonitz' index omits the passage under *προστίθημι*.

PAUL SHOREY

NOTE ON POLYBIUS XXX. 23. 3

τῆς γὰρ τῶν Ἀντιγονείων πανηγυρέως ἐν τῷ Σικυῶνι συντελουμένης καὶ τῶν βαλανείων ἁπάντων ἐχόντων τάς τε κοινὰς μάκτρας καὶ πυέλους ταύταις παρακειμένας (Polyb. XXX. 23. 3). In this passage the form *μακράς* is found in all the manuscripts (so accented in Va., otherwise without accent) and Reiske's emendation to *μάκτρας* has been accepted by all later editors without exception. This note is intended to prove the correctness of the manuscript reading.

It is true that Pollux (vii. 168) states that *μάκτρα* with the meaning "bath tub" was in common use in his time. Hence it might be argued that *μακράς* is merely a scribe's error. Paleographically this would be

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quite possible, but the existence of the form in all the manuscripts is a strong argument against its probability. Moreover, there exists excellent authority for the form μακρά with this meaning both in literature and on the epigraphical side. The examples on the literary side are comparatively late and are found in the writings of Galen (cf. Stephanus *Thesaurus*, *s. v.*): κάθιζε εἰς μακρὰν καὶ ἀπόνιπτε, and σμικρᾶς δὲ νοτίδος γενομένης, εἰς τὴν μακρὰν καθεὶς. The word is also found in the MSS of Artemidorus (v. 58) where the copyist of MS V explains it as τῆς λεγομένης καρδόπου. Herscher accordingly emended the text to μάκτρας. As either meaning "bread trough" or "bath tub" might apply, this passage cannot afford any basis for argument. So we turn to other sources. In the Andanian inscription relating to the Mysteries (Michel *Recueil* 694, Dittenberger *Syll.*[2] 653, Collitz *SDGI* 4689), l. 107, is found the following provision relating to the baths: ὁ ἀγορανόμος ἐπιμέλειαν ἐχέτω, ὅπως . . . . παρέχωντι πῦρ καὶ μακρὰν εὔκρατον (the editors accent μάκραν considering it a corruption of μάκτραν). This inscription is dated 91 B. C., not many years after Polybius wrote his *History*. The use of μακρά in a religious inscription, which with its conservative formalism would be slow to adopt new words, shows that it was in common use long before the first century. This form is also found on grave monuments in Cilicia to denote the receptacle of the dead (cf. Le Bas-Waddington, 1466, *BCH* VII, 292). The use of πύελος also on grave monuments is significant and shows the close relation of the two forms in meaning. Further support for the form μακρά is found in a papyrus fragment of Philodemus (περὶ κακιῶν ι', p. 25, l. 30) where μακραι has been needlessly changed to μάκτρᾳ by Sauppe.

The form μακρά, therefore, seems to be correct. The fact that it is thus accented in all MSS where it is found with an accent argues against its being a corruption of μάκτρα from which it seems to have differed also in meaning. In all cases it refers to a larger common bath and may originally have been used to distinguish a public μακρὰ πύελος or σκάφη from individual smaller πύελοι.[1] In view of all the evidence in support of the form, the manuscript reading μακράς should be restored in the passage under discussion.

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[1]This suggestion has been made to me by Professor D. M. Robinson, who also refers me to the fact that μακρὰ (accented μάκρα by the editor) occurs in inscriptions of Syria; cf. Prentice *Gr. and Latin Inscr.* (Princeton Exp. to Syria, 1899–1900), p. 127.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Hegemonius: Acta Archelai. Herausgegeben von CHARLES HENRY BEESON. (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte.) Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906. Pp. liv+134. M. 6.

The Acts of Archelaus possess a peculiar importance for the study of Christian literature, as having long served western writers as their chief source for Manicheeism. The work belongs to the first half of the fourth century, and passed, perhaps in the time of Jerome, into a Latin version, in which alone it has been fully preserved. What its original language was cannot certainly be determined, but there is every probability that it was Greek. The fragments of the Latin text were first published by de Valois in 1868, from an imperfect Bobbio manuscript, and practically the whole document was printed by Zacagni, in 1698, from the Monte Cassino manuscript, which lacks only one or two leaves. Dr. Beeson's edition has the distinction of being the first that is really complete, for he has made use of a complete manuscript of the Acts, belonging to the late Professor Traube, and dating from about the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Latin text rests mainly upon four manuscripts, at Milan (de Valois' Bobbiensis), Turin, Monte Cassino, and Munich. These, as well as the minor witnesses and the patristic excerpts, Dr. Beeson has subjected to a fresh examination, and his edition, with its apparatus of readings, thus constitutes the best presentation of the text of these Acts that has been put forth. The parts preserved in Greek in Epiphanius are printed in the text above their Latin equivalents. Dr. Beeson holds Hegemonius to be the author of the work, for which he doubtless made use of earlier materials, although just how and to what extent it is difficult to say. The Acts of Peter at all events seem to have been freely used by him. The work is not to be understood as dealing with an actual debate between Mani and the bishop Archelaus, but rather as a fictitious account of such a dialogue, designed to expose the heretical participant Mani to derision and contempt. The indices are remarkably full and precise, constituting more than one-sixth of the book. It is gratifying to recognize in the editor of this sixteenth volume of the Prussian Academy's great series, an American scholar—the first, we believe, who has thus far contributed importantly to the enterprise. On the whole, he has given us what promises to remain the standard edition of The Acts of Archelaus until new textual materials of impor-

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tance appear to modify his text construction, or, we may hope, to supplement it by the long-lost original Greek. Dr. Beeson's reference to Evetts' edition of the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* (p. xiv) as though it had not appeared, is curious, since Evetts' first part, the part dealing with Marcellus, Manes, and Archelaus, was published in the spring of 1904.

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Vorgriechische Ortsnamen als Quelle für die Vorgeschichte Griechenlands. Von AUG. FICK. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1905. 8vo. Pp. 173. M. 5.

When in 1853 F. A. Pott in his *Personennamen*, p. 451, called attention to the fact that Greek names of localities in *-ανθ-*, *-ινθ-*, *-υνθ-* (e. g. Κόρινθος, Τίρυνς), find a parallel in Minor Asiatic names ending in *-νδ-* (e. g., Ἴσινδος, Καράανδα), his observation called forth neither approval nor contradiction. It is safe to say that Pott's contemporaries—and perhaps Pott himself—failed to realize the bearing of his suggestion. Matters, however, changed when in 1886 those two remarkable inscriptions, written in an Early Greek alphabet but in a "barbaric" language, were discovered on the island of Lemnos. The existence here in historical times of an ancient pre-Hellenic population within Greek territory became obvious even to the most skeptical minds, and the importance of this discovery for the history of the Greek language and for Greek ethnology can, without exaggeration, be compared with that of the Mycenean finds for Greek archaeology. The first one to attempt to draw the linguistic and ethnological consequences of the Lemnian inscriptions was C. Pauli in his monograph *Eine vorgriechische Inschrift auf Lemnos* (Hannover, 1886).[1] On a wider scale and with special reference to Asia Minor the investigation was resumed by O. Kretschmer, who in his *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen, 1896), pp. 289, 492 f. furnished ample proof for the close connection of many of the most familiar Greek local names with similar ones found in Lycia, Cilicia, Cappadocia and various other regions of Asia Minor.

Fick's *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* again marks a considerable step in advance. The question is for Fick no longer whether foreign elements have entered into the vocabulary of Greek local names. He has attempted to distinguish in detail between genuine Greek and originally foreign

[1] A valuable contribution toward discussing Pauli's views on the origin of the Etruscans is the recent programm by Professor A. Kannengieser, *Ist das Etruskische eine hettitische Sprache?* (I. Ueber das *-νθ-* Suffix im Etruskischen u. im Griechischen), Gelsenkirchen, 1908. The author arrives at the result that the Etruscan language shares the *-νθ-* suffix as found with the Hittites and with the pre-Hellenic settlers of Greece.

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names by collecting—within the boundaries of Greece proper and of the Greek islands—the whole mass of pre-Hellenic geographical names. He has, moreover, undertaken to ascertain systematically the ethnographical character of these names by endeavoring to assign every one of them to a definite language or at least to a definite race or tribe, such as Hittite, Kydonian, Pelasgian, Lelegian, etc.

Let it be said at once that we are moving on difficult ground. Proper and local names—as is well known—constitute one of the most difficult elements in every language. Names such as English *Essex*, *Sussex*, *London*, or German *Uelzen* (i. e., "Ulrichshausen," OLG. *Ōdalrīkeshūson*), *Arolsen* (formerly *Aroldessen*, i. e., "Aarwaldesheim" or "Aarwaldeshausen") would probably defy the efforts of the etymologist if they were known to us only in their present obscured form. The difficulties of course are much greater in the case of names inherited from an extinct race or tribe of whose language we have hardly any other traces but these very names. In such cases the etymological analysis becomes largely a matter of conjecture, and the investigator must count not only on the reader's intelligence, but also—to a certain extent—on his willingness to be convinced. This being so we cannot, in my opinion, but congratulate ourselves that Fick has deemed it worth his while to concern himself with the problem of pre-Hellenic Greek names. We could have in these matters no better guide than the scholar who was the first to teach us to understand the system of Greek proper names[1] and whose long-continued occupation with Greek local names[2]—combined with his often proved ingenuity in etymological and philological researches—has enabled him particularly for this line of work. The fact, however, should not be overlooked that words like "wohl" or "wohl nicht" or "wahrscheinlich" or "vielleicht" are used by Fick in this monograph over and over again, and that in not a few cases he has plainly to confess his inability to decide whether a certain name is of Greek or foreign origin.

There is probably room for a few more question marks. Fick (p. 25) is inclined to reckon, e. g., names like Μασσαλία (the modern *Marseille*) or Μασσαλίας (river in Crete) among the foreign names. These names, however, may be genuine Greek, with slightly obscured vocalism: Μασσαλία = Μεσσαλία (cf. ὄβολος = ὀδελος, and many similar instances), meaning a locality between two waters or two seas (μεσσο- = Att. μεσο-, cf.,

[1] *Die griechischen Personennamen nach ihrer Bildung erklärt*, Göttingen, 1874; second edition (by Fick and Bechtel), *ibid.*, 1894. While the second edition contains ampler material as regards the Greek names and is practically a new work, it is to be regretted that the editors deemed it necessary to omit entirely an interesting chapter of the original treatise, viz. the one on Indo-European proper names (pp. 66–219).

[2] See, e. g., Fick's articles on "Griechische Ortsnamen" in Vol. XXI–XXVI of *Bezzenb. Beiträge*. I am speaking besides from my personal acquaintance with the author, remembering, e. g., that when in 1880 I was to leave Göttingen and went to pay a parting visit to my beloved teacher, I found him working at the Greek local names.

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e. g., ἐν δὲ μέσσωι Tab. Heracl.), like *Interlaken* or *Metapont.* Compare, for the first part of the compound, also the ancient Celtic name *Mediolanum* (= *Milano*). The name appears to have been given to towns (or rivers), situated between two inlets.

What has been said of the difficulties as to the separation of non-Hellenic from Hellenic names, applies equally to the second task which Fick has attempted to perform, viz., the definition of the ethnographical character of the non-Hellenic material. Fick has ventured, e. g., to distinguish on the island of Crete between Hellenic, Eteocretan, Kydonian, Pelasgian, and Phoenician names, although the languages of the Ἐτεόκρητες, Κύδωνες, and Πελασγοί are to us an unknown quantity, notwithstanding the fragment (cf. *Samml. d. griech. Dial.-Inschr.* III. 2, p. 363) of an ancient "Eteocretan" inscription from Praisos. Would it have been better then to refrain from any definite conclusions as to the ethnographical character of these names? I would answer this question decidedly in the negative. Fick's researches into the ethnographical relations of ancient Greece count among the most brilliant and important chapters of his book. Let us grant that many of his ingenious suggestions remain for the present conjectural: all due deductions having been made there remains enough that must be regarded as definitely proved. I would refer, e. g., to Fick's result, pp. 34 and 123 f., that very few Greek names (the Index, p. 167, gives 9 such names, three of them with a question mark) can with some certainty be claimed as Phoenician. As entirely convincing I would also regard Fick's attitude toward the much-ventilated question of the Pelasgians (see esp. pp. 97 and 143 f.). The Pelasgians with him have ceased to be a mere name or a kind of a specter. They have taken on flesh and blood and appear as one of the several pre-Hellenic tribes, with a language and a religion of their own, originally settled along the northern coast of the Aegean Sea, and from there spreading over the islands as far down as Crete and westward to Attica and other points of the continent.

In the case of the Pelasgians as well as in other instances Fick has successfully endeavored to trace the influence of the pre-Hellenic races on Greek mythology and religion. His remarks on these topics (e. g., on Ikaros and Hephaistos, pp. 55 and 139 f., on Hermes—"jedenfalls ursprünglich eine Gottheit der kleinen Leute, Bauern und Hirten, also der Urbevölkerung"—p. 131, on Aphrodite-Κύπρις p. 132, on the phallos cult p. 145, and so forth) contain valuable hints for students of Greek and of comparative mythology.

We believe with the author that for many problems connected with the ancient Greek local names, additional light may be expected from a more thorough understanding of the extinct languages of Asia Minor and especially from the decipherment of the Hittite inscriptions. After the recent finds near Boghasköj by Winckler of many additional Hittite

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inscriptions written in cuneiform characters, we may hope that the time will finally come when we shall be able also to read the Hittite pictorial inscriptions.

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Die ältesten Kalendarien aus Monte Cassino. Von E. A. LOEW, Dr. Phil., Carnegie Fellow of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome. Mit drei Tafeln. (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, begründet von LUDWIG TRAUBE. Dritter Band. Drittes Heft.) Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1908. M. 6.

Dr. Loew, a pupil of the great Munich paleographer, Traube, is preparing a work on Beneventan script, the script of southern Italy. In collecting his materials, he came across three MSS which exhibit this script in its earliest stage, one at Cava dei Tirreni (No. 23), the pretty little village that one visits from Naples, one at Paris (Lat. 7,530), one at Rome in the Biblioteca Casanatense (No. 641). He found that all three contained a Calendar of Saints' Days, along with tables for the computation of Easter; that all three were written at Monte Cassino; that the latest of the three (the Casanatensis, written in 811) was the original of which a Monte Cassino MS (No. 3), previously supposed to be the earliest specimen of Beneventan script, was a copy; and, seeing that the group offered a problem worth solution, he set himself to ascertain their exact relationship and history. His paleographical knowledge has enabled him to avoid the mistakes made by other writers regarding these MSS. Since the Easter-tables in the Paris MS (as in the Cavensis) began with the year 779, its composition had been wrongly referred to that year, e. g., by Steffens in the supplement to his *Lateinische Paläographie*, Plate 15. The Calendar in the Casanatensis has several entries by later hands. The difference in writing had not been noticed, and the MS had been postdated in consequence. Dr. Loew has put these matters right and by a patient investigation which has left no detail neglected and no available clue unused, he has wrested their innermost secrets from these three MSS in a way that would have delighted his late teacher. The results he has won are of importance mainly for mediaeval church history, in particular for the ritual of Monte Cassino and the relations of that monastery with Benevento. But they bear on classical philology, too. The Cavensis is a MS of Isidore's *Etymologies*, exhibiting the better class of text. Thanks to Dr. Loew, we now know that it was written at Monte Cassino at some time between 779 and 798, and that the same is true of Paris 7,530. Now,

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as we learn from Keil's account of its contents (*Gramm. Lat.* IV, p. xlii), the Paris MS contains on foll. 289–90 a chronology based on (or extracted from) Book V of the *Etymologies* and ending with the entry: "Eraclius ann. XVII huius imperii XIV anno iudaei ab ispanis christiani efficiuntur." This sentence, the opening sentence of the last paragraph of Isidore's fifth book, appears in the Cavensis in this defective form: "Eraclius ann. XVII iudaei spanis christiani efficiuntur." The importance of this paragraph as a test for the various families of the text is well known to students of Isidore. It is very gratifying to obtain from the Paris MS supplementary evidence for the reading of that Monte Cassino archetype from which the Cavensis was transcribed; and it is useful to know for certain the date and the provenience of the transcript. Again, with regard to this Paris codex. It plays an important part in Keil's *Grammatici Latini*, being the sole existing source of some of the grammatical writings,[1] so that, in its case, too, certain knowledge of date and provenience is a valuable gain. It has besides aroused much interest from the fact that it contains a poem, or rather mnemonic verses on Diomedes' *Grammar*, a grammar resurrected in the year 780 and brought into fashion at the court of Charlemagne (see Keil *Gramm. Lat.* I, p. xxix). They embody the acrostic PAULUS FECI, and were certainly written by Paulus Diaconus, the Monte Cassino monk who made the *Epitome of Festus* (see Neff's *Geschichte des Paulus Diaconus*, pp. 75–81). For a time it was thought that we had here a specimen of Paulus' own handwriting; but mistakes of spelling, like *optavam* for *octavam*, made us sure that we had not. Still the puzzle remained how to accommodate the date 780, the year in which Adam edited Diomedes, and dedicated his edition to the Emperor, with 779, the supposed date of the MS which contains these verses, and how to explain the fact that they were written before Paulus came to Charlemagne's court in 782. Now that Dr. Loew has shown us that 779 is a wrong dating and that the MS may have been written at any time between 779 and 787, the difficulty disappears.

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The Attica of Pausanias. By MITCHELL CARROLL. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1907. 8vo, pp. iv + 293. $1.65.

In this volume Professor Carroll publishes in separate form "for the first time in England or America . . . . the portion of 'Descriptio Graeciae' treating of Athens." The text adopted is that of the Hitzig-Blümner edition, and for the introduction, notes, and excursuses the

[1] Even of one so important as Servius' *Commentary on Donatus*, according to Keil. But the other MS, the "codex Meermannianus," which he sought in vain (*G. L.* IV, p. xlii), is in the Bodleian Library (Meerm. 46; of the ninth century).

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author acknowledges his indebtedness to the edition named and to that of Frazer. But he has worked through his material with care and has his own convictions to express.

The introduction discusses the scope, character, and date of Pausanias' work, together with his life, aim and method, style, and originality, and is supplied with a detailed topographical outline. The text and commentary are followed by an appendix containing discussions of manuscripts and editions, and a bibliography, while the moot points of Athenian topography are considered with some fulness in twelve excursuses on the harbors and fortifications, the agora, Enneacrunus, the Theseum, the Olympieum, the theater, the Acropolis, the Propylaea, the temple of Athena Nike, the Parthenon, the Erechtheum, and the Old Athena Temple. Introduction, appendix, and excursuses take about a third of the book.

The views accepted by Dr. Carroll include the location of Phalerum on the slope of Munychia and the rejection of the third long wall, the placing of Enneacrunus near the Pnyx, the identification of the "Theseum" with the Hephaesteum, the apparent acceptance of Dörpfeld's theory as to the unfinished state of the Erechtheum, but the rejection of the late continuance of the Old Athena Temple. To some of these views — as to any that he could have expressed — the author will find plenty of opponents; the partisans of the theory mentioned for Phalerum and the long walls seem especially far from having proved their point. In accepting Dörpfeld's location of Enneacrunus Mr. Carroll unfortunately follows him in the violent rendering of Thucydides' *πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον*, which places the sites mentioned by the historian, introducing the doubtful Pythium and the more shadowy Olympieum, *west* and *north* of the Acropolis (cf. *Class. Rev.* XVI [1902], 158 f.), though Mr. Carroll would save the case by keeping the Dionysium in Limnis near the Dionysiac theater. But apparently no unanimity is yet possible on these points. The date accepted for the Nike temple (after the Propylaea) is also open to question — witness the peculiar construction of the southwest wing of the Propylaea (p. 272). So, too, are the location of the precinct of Aglaurus and the *naos-heroum* argument against the "Theseum."

The necessary brevity of the work has often made the author seem to have been incomplete in statement and more dogmatic than he probably would wish. The great structures not treated by Pausanias, the Colonnade of Eumenes, the Odeum of Herodes Atticus, and the like, must perhaps pass with bare mention — though the student should know them — but the view of Curtius that St. Paul was not taken to the hill of Areopagus (p. 142) might at least have been faced with the statement and note of Gardner (*Anc. Ath.*, p. 505). The mention of "actual remains of a building known as the *Chalkotheke*" (p. 123) is a bit positive, and one would be glad to be sure what was "the customary form for Leschae" (p. 84).

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In handling such a mass of material errors were unavoidable. A few slips may be noted. The cutting in the rock for the base of the "Athena Promachus" is not "thirty feet from the Propylaea" (p. 139) but more than as many meters. That "the eastern wall [of the Acropolis] seems to have been entirely rebuilt on the old foundations in the Middle Ages" (p. 141) is doubtful. The modern marble quarries, not the ancient, are visible from Athens (p. 163). North*west* and south*east* should of course be read (p. 229, second line from bottom) for north*east* and south*west*, and Stevens for "Stevenson" (pp. 227 and 282), for the architect who discovered so cleverly the windows in the east front of the Erechtheum.

The commentary is almost wholly archaeological and is as full as space permits. One note (p. 40) amounts to a publication of news and deserves quotation: "Dr. Dörpfeld writes me under date of January 19, 1908, that the excavations of the Greeks on the east slope of the Theseum hill have laid bare a building with an apse, possibly the Royal Colonnade. The building formerly identified by Dörpfeld (*A. M.* XXI. 102 ff.; XXII. 225 ff.) as the Royal Colonnade he now thinks did not belong to the market, but was the last building before the 'Ceramicus' of Pausanias."

The brevity of this book and the complexity of the subject demand that the teacher shall supplement it with an abundance of illustrative material, only a little of which is furnished in the volume. Indeed the comparative unimportance of the topography of Megara and of Attica outside of Athens might have made it seem justifiable to omit these entirely, together with Pausanias' tedious excursuses, and to add more copious illustration—even if this be heterodox. But the publication was worth making and Dr. Carroll has written a useful book.

CHARLES HEALD WELLER

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Der neue Menander. Bemerkungen zur Rekonstruktion der Stücke nebst dem Text in der Seitenverteilung der Handschrift von CARL ROBERT. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1908. Pp. 145. M. 4.50.

Szenen aus Menanders Komoedien. Deutsch von CARL ROBERT. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1908. Pp. 130.

The new inspection of the papyrus by Körte (*Berichte über d. Verh. d. sächsischen Gesellschaft d. Wissensch. zu Leipzig* LX [1908] 87–141) and Körte's account of the two new fragments discovered by Zucker (*ibid.* 145–75), in which are included vss. 71–118 of the Περικειρομένη in a better text, show how mistaken was the attempt to reconstruct the pagination of the Cairo MS, and how ambitious Robert's disentangling

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of the plots of the newly discovered plays. The edition of the text, to realize the editor's theory (pp. 22–28), exhibits many pages that are blank save for the scene-headings, which Robert supplies in accordance with his theory of the action of the plays. The theory of pagination is demolished by Körte's two reports (*loc. cit.* 89 ff., 92, 93, 114, 131, 132, 133, 134, 159, and especially 174 ff.).

The reconstruction of the plots (pp. 1–21) is the product of a vivid imagination that often refuses to be controlled by facts in the text or in available subsidiary sources. We seek in vain for evidence of a wise conservatism, of a rational discrimination between fact and fancy, obvious truth and dubious hypothesis. In the Σαμία Tryphe is said to be the wife of Nikeratos, Laches is said to be a parasite: but is there any likelihood that such a name as Tryphe, properly belonging to a *meretrix* or at best to a slave (cf. Aelian *Epist. rust.* 11, 12; *Anth. Pal.* v. 154, 185, vii. 222: Τρυφέρα), would be applied to the wife of a free citizen? and where in extant Greek or Roman comedy is a parasite ever dubbed Laches? On the contrary how often it appears as the name of a free citizen (e. g., Arist. *Vesp.* 240, *Lys.* 303; Terence *Hecyra, passim*)! The decisive question in the Περικειρομένη, we are told, is: where did Glykera go when she left Polemon? This question Robert answers by considering the action: in 145 ff. (342 ff.), he says, a band of drunken revelers come to the house from which Glykera is taken; but all that we find, on referring to the text, is that the speaker (whose position on the stage is not discoverable) says a company of drunken revelers προσέρχεται, which can only mean "comes toward" the speaker without reference to any house at all; but on this Robert begins to build a theory that it is a house of ill repute from which Glykera is taken. Not even the phrase τὸ δυστυχὲς οἰκίδιον τοῦτο in 273 (470) supports this theory (which may be true without any evidence to support it!), for it depends on the speaker and his mood whether a δυστυχὲς οἰκίδιον is a brothel or a marble palace; in this case the speaker is Polemon's slave, and his master's interests may have blurred his vision. Such criticism may seem captious, but when we are dealing with fragments, and fragments that have not been thoroughly edited, a *non intellegitur* is more helpful to other scholars than an unsupported conjecture. Our author is not altogether culpable if he finds confirmation of a theory (p. 15) in a solitary "C d. i. [CΩ]C[ώς]" in the margin at 250 (447), although Körte has since reported (*loc. cit.* 105): "der Schluss der Szene ist durch einen Schnörkel am linken Rande angedeutet, der allenfalls O mit Abkürzungsstrich, aber nicht C sein könnte; . . . ." We might forgive the editor for creating a Thraso out of an embryonic . . . σω in 283 (480) where Körte (*loc. cit.* 109) has found an O or Ω before the . . . σω, or even for making Philinos and Sosias the speakers in 257 ff (454 ff.), since he did not know of the ΠΟ in the margin at 256 (453) (Körte *loc. cit.* 105 ff.). But it is harder to forgive the ascription of 145 ff

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(342 ff.) to Philinos when κεκτημένην 146 (343) and ὁ τρόφιμος 149 (345) point clearly to a slave as the speaker, and that slave apparently Daos.

Attempts to fill the larger gaps in the lines of the fragments seldom serve any more valuable purpose than to indicate an editor's understanding of the action. Robert's δέκα τάλαντα in the mutilated passage, Περικειρομένη 166 ff. (363 ff.), receives no confirmation from Körte's readings. There is, on the whole, more profitable work to be found in using what we have than in stopping gaps, however ingeniously, with phrases that simply represent presuppositions as to the plot of the play.

It is inevitable, however, that this fragmentary literature should tempt the imagination, and here and there the editor's intuition may have led him to the right issue. In matters archaeological Robert is an acknowledged authority, and we look forward with interest to the elaboration of his discovery that three plays of the Cairo papyrus are illustrated in three scenes from a frieze of the *Casa del centennaio* ("*Mon. d. Inst.* XI, tav. XXX–XXXII").

The translation is of interest to scholars only in so far as it serves to interpret the text. The text, however, represents the editor's later views, and in many respects deviates from the interpretation offered in the translation. These deviations are noted on the last page of the edition of the text.

HENRY W. PRESCOTT

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Catulli Veronensis Liber. Erklaert von GUSTAV FRIEDRICH. Leipzig: Teubner, 1908. Pp. 560. M. 12.

This latest addition to Teubner's *Sammlung wissenschaftlicher Kommentare* contains a text of Catullus as well as a commentary upon it. No *apparatus criticus* is appended, but many readings are discussed critically in the notes. The principles on which the editor has constituted the text are set forth in a brief preface. He believes, with K. P. Schulze, that O and G are both direct copies of the lost Veronensis, and preserve the best tradition of the text; but the corrections of G (g), and the remaining MSS, go back to a third (lost) copy of Veronensis, and yet a fourth is represented by Datanus. The Venice MS published in facsimile by Costantino Nigra is, however, according to Friedrich, of no such marked value as Schulze attributed to it, being, indeed, no better than the common ruck of MSS other than OGD. But even so it is better, declares the editor, than the codex Romanus of Professor Hale, which furnishes not a thing for the constitution of the text. He even challenges Professor Hale to produce a single passage of Catullus bettered *einwandsfrei* by the aid of codex R. It may be remarked in passing that it appears to be a somewhat curious critical standpoint

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that the editor thus occupies, and might well awaken some preliminary distrust of the soundness of his critical sense. This may be said without any attempt to adjudicate upon the question of the precise character of R. For, according to the *pronunciamento* of Herr Friedrich, even the discovery of the lost Veronensis itself would probably be an event of no real importance, as all the readings of V are very possibly included in one or another of its extant descendants, or may be inferred from their readings. Does Herr Friedrich really think it just as convincing to determine the proper text of an author by his own cerebration working upon little evidence, as to determine it by the consideration of much, and immediately pertinent, evidence? It may further be remarked that Friedrich apparently professes to base his judgment of the extremely low value of R upon his own examination of that codex in Rome. Yet he does not distinguish in, for example, one important case (49. 7) between the first hand of R and a much later interlinear correction. Does Herr Friedrich really think that it makes no difference in the judgment of a MS reading whether it is part of the main text or a correction introduced, it may be, a century later? But here, and elsewhere, despite his professed basis of personal examination, he may be merely copying readings from the edition of Professor Ellis in the Oxford series.

The editor's style has a breeziness and vigor, as well as a quality of clarity, that makes it good reading. But his treatment of critical problems is too often characterized by unsafe methods. One example out of many may suffice. In 47. 2 he would emend the MSS *scabies famesque mundi* to read *scabies famesque saecli*, on the ground that Catullus could not have used *mundus* in this sense, Horace being probably the very first to do that (in *Sat.* i. 3. 112). This is a sufficiently striking *petitio principii!* The paleographical defense for his emendation by Herr Friedrich is of course that *mundi* was an interlinear gloss upon *saecli*, which it later displaced. This is a form of explanation of paleographical difficulties which the editor especially affects. He brings it in even on the most innocent occasions, as, for example, in 61. 186, where *unis* might have been most simply and satisfactorily explained as a mere error of the eye for *uiris*. The trouble with Herr Friedrich's remedy is that, like many other medicines, it needs to be used with caution and self-command. It is a form of explanation that may otherwise explain too much. It may be used to afford a purely fictitious support to the wildest and most unnecessary of conjectures.

The liveliness of Herr Friedrich's imagination and the facility of his pen lead him not infrequently into an exuberance of idea and of verbiage that appear somewhat removed from the staid dignity of a "wissenschaftlicher Kommentar," though they add to the agreeableness of his style—but at the expense sometimes of a carefully reasoned conclusion. One trait in the book deserves unqualified condemnation—the pornic taste

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that expresses itself on certain occasions in dash and innuendo. It is far more disgusting than anything in Catullus himself.

On the whole, the book, though rather too disdainfully self-confident in manner, and inferior in real solidity of grounding to some other treatises of the series in which it is issued, will have to be taken seriously into consideration by future editors of Catullus.

E. T. M.

Q. Horati Flacci Carmina. Recensuit FRIDERICUS VOLLMER. Editio Maior. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1907. Pp. viii+390. M. 2.

Briefly in the preface of this book and at greater length in an article in *Philologus*, Supplementband X, pp. 261–322, "Die Überlieferungsgeschichte des Horaz," Professor Vollmer has stated the principles upon which he has based his edition. His theory is expounded in a clear and interesting way, and in innumerable details shows erudition and long and careful thought. The results of the whole investigation, however, are disappointing. Many important conclusions are based on hypotheses which are not adequately supported by the evidence, and while it is patent that the classification of the MSS given by Keller and Holder is open to serious criticism, it is doubtful whether Vollmer has proved himself a safer guide.

Instead of the threefold classification of Keller and Holder, Vollmer sets up a twofold classification. According to him all the MSS of Horace are derived from one or the other of two copies made in the eighth century from the text which Mavortius emended in the sixth century; Mavortius' text was derived from Porphyrio's edition, which in its turn went back to an edition by the grammarian Probus of the first century.

The weakness of this stemma is obvious. Vollmer has wholly failed to establish any connection between Porphyrio and Probus. Moreover, he has not proved that Probus made an edition of Horace. There are no traces of such an edition, nor does Probus' name even appear in the scholia of Horace. But the most surprising feature of the whole stemma is the assumption that all the MSS are derived from copies of the very MS which Mavortius emended and which, Vollmer thinks, survived till the eighth century. It is true that the period from the sixth to the eighth century showed a vastly diminished interest in the copying of MSS, but it is not safe to assume from the absence of direct testimony that Horace was wholly neglected and that his works were neither read nor copied.

The two copies of the MS of Mavortius from which all our codices are derived showed differences, according to our editor, along these lines: the order of the poems, the errors of the scribes, and finally the scholia and glosses. In determining whether a given MS belongs to his class

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I or class II Vollmer has examined it from these three points of view. In class I he includes A B C E D; in II, Bland. R F λ l δ π. But on examination this apparently clean-cut classification shows complications. R, for example, agrees sometimes with class I and sometimes with class II. Not even Vollmer himself follows this classification to its logical conclusions, for while he does not concede any independent value to Bland., he adopts in *Serm.* 1. 6. 126 the reading *campum lusumque trigonem* for which it is the sole authority. The assertion of the editor's opinion that the apparent independence of Bland. is due solely to the accident that this part of the *Satires* is missing in A B and C, and that if they had contained the passage they would undoubtedly have shown the same reading, will convince no one.

Professor Vollmer does not claim finality for his work. He recognizes the complexity of the question, and one of his principal aims is to arouse interest in a subject which too many have regarded as practically settled. In this he will undoubtedly be successful, and on account of the stimulus given to the study of the whole problem, as well as for the soundness of judgment shown in the discussion of many individual passages, his edition is of importance.

G. J. LAING

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Aristotelis de Animalibus Historia. Textum recognovit LEONARDUS DITTMEYER. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1907. Pp. 467. M. 6.

Aristotle's *History of Animals*, for its time one of the most significant of his works, now possesses only the historic interest that attaches to the early stages in the science of descriptive anatomy and physiology.

Dittmeyer's work marks a distinct advance upon the last published edition of this treatise, the important one of Aubert and Wimmer in 1868, as well as upon the earlier standard edition of Bekker. He has made an independent and most careful collation of the manuscripts, with results notable in not a few doubtful passages.

The preface gives a clear and full statement of the value and relations of the manuscripts, as well as of the various translations and editions of the work. Dittmeyer agrees with previous scholars in regarding the tenth book as spurious. The seventh and ninth books, with the last ten chapters of the eighth, which had been called in question by Aubert and Wimmer, are also rejected, upon convincing grounds.

The text is a painstaking and, on the whole, a conservative one, though occasionally an ill-considered departure from the manuscript readings is found, as for instance the emendation of ἄνθρωπος to γίννος, A 1, 488 *a* 27, which seems to rest upon a misconception of the force of ἀεί which here

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no doubt means "throughout life," not "in all instances." The context readily shows that Aristotle is not giving examples of the too obvious distinction between wild and tame animals.

The addition of τετράποδα, A 5, 490 *a* 10, seems questionable. In the passage cited by Dittmeyer as confirming the emendation, the bat is looked upon as anomalous. Birds are spoken of as regularly two-footed, *De Part. An.* B 16, 659 *b* 7; Δ 12, 693 *b* 5, and elsewhere. In the present work they are repeatedly distinguished from, and contrasted with, τετράποδα, "four-footed animals."

Lack of continuity with the main thread of the narrative seems hardly adequate ground for rejecting such passages as B 15, 506 *a* 26 to 31 and B 17, 508 *b* 4 to 8, in a treatise which is, as Dittmeyer himself points out, Preface XXV, preliminary notes for a finished work.

Not a few convincing emendations are found, as, for example, ἀσκαρίδων A 1, 487 *b* 5 for ἀσπίδων of the best manuscripts. Bekker with some manuscript authority had read ἐμπίδων. The emendation of εὔκοι or εὐΐκοι A 8, 491 *b* 14, to εὐήθικοι seems particularly felicitous.

But one misprint has been noted, A 7 491 *b* 2, ἀσάκρῳ for ἀσάρκῳ.

CLARA MILLERD

IOWA COLLEGE
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Carl Otfried Müller: Lebensbild in Briefen an seine Eltern mit dem Tagebuch seiner italienisch-griechischen Reise. Herausgegeben von OTTO UND ELSE KERN. Berlin: Weidmann, 1908. Pp. xvi+399.

Most readers of *Classical Philology* are familiar with the important contributions made by Carl Otfried Müller to the cause of classical studies. His publications during the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century include at least two works that have been deservedly lauded as *bahnbrechend*, and many others that would have severally given him an enviable reputation. Recognition followed closely upon his achievements. At the age of thirty-two he could write, on the occasion of the translation of his *Dorier* into English: *dieser Europäische Ruhm kommt zu früh, und man sollte mit dem Übersetzen auf reifere Werke von mir warten.* The Hanoverian government was not slower in honoring him than was the world of scholarship, and conferred upon him even the titular distinction so deeply, so incomprehensibly, dear to very many German savants. Furthermore, he was fortunate enough to be blessed with a few students of real brilliancy, Ernst Curtius, for example, and was able to perpetuate his ideals through that most satisfactory of all channels, a school. With reference to his public career there seems nothing to regret, save that it was terminated by such an untimely death.

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In the volume before us, however, we have not the eminent *Philolog* and *Archaeolog*, accredited with a certain "*Göttinger Hofratston*," but a dutiful and loving son, an ardent lover, an appreciative husband, and anxious father. The letters are all addressed to the parsonage at Ohlau, and with the *Tagebuch der griechischen Reise* cover the years from 1811 to his death (1840), except for one lamentable lacuna: there are no letters for the very period about which we should have most liked to learn, the student days (1816–17) at Berlin, where August Boeckh and other quickening influences came to him as a veritable "*Befreiung von der jämmerlichen Breslauer Philologie.*" From the nature of the correspondence we have no right to expect any new light either on the spirit of his research or on his methods of work: these were well known before. We do get, however, some suggestive echoes from the strife about *akademische Freiheit*, for which, naturally, Müller stands very earnestly, if not always very militantly. Of the man, the letters give us a complete picture, perhaps too complete. I do not mean that he appears as anything save lovable throughout these many pages; but one simply feels that the reader is being honored with an intimacy he cannot possibly deserve. The letters, for instance, narrating the course of his lofty love for Pauline Hugo, who became the dearest and best even of German wives, assuredly ought to have been omitted. She herself destroyed practically all of his writings addressed to her.

I enjoyed the volume; but I am by no means sure that with its limitations it will serve any purpose justifying its length. A life, with selections from all his correspondence, giving all sides of his personality, could have been written in half the number of pages. Howbeit, the edition is a tribute of *pietas*, and criticism of such a work is always ungracious. In any event, the reader who continues to the end will feel that he has been associating with a rare spirit, worthy alike of the gentle provincial parents and of the great culture to which he devoted himself so zealously and so fruitfully. There is superb, if melancholy, inspiration in the final pages, which record his last painstaking work and leave us the thought that the brilliant scholar, in the very finest period of his activity, gave his life for the cause he loved.

F. B. R. HELLEMS

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO

Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums. Von OTTO GILBERT. Von der Königlich-Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften mit dem Zographospreise gekrönt. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1907. Pp. vi+746. M. 20.

Dr. Gilbert begins his discussion with an introduction (pp. 1–16) dealing with the term *τὰ μετέωρα*. His conclusion may best be stated in

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his own words (p. 14): "So gestaltet sich die Meteorologie in Wirklichkeit zu einer Geschichte der Elemente: sie ist die Darstellung der πάθη, der Leiden und Betätigungen der vier elementaren Grundstoffe." He then divides his treatise into two parts, the first general, treating of the doctrine of the elements, the second special, dealing with the science of meteorology and its several parts.

In the first (general) part Dr. Gilbert sketches the history of the elements, beginning with the popular conceptions embodied in Homer, and following the course of historical development through Epicurus and the Stoics. The part closes with a consideration of elementary changes (Stoffwandel). In the second (special) part the matter is grouped under the following captions: I. Der Erdkörper; II. Das Erdelement; III. Das Wasser; IV. Die tellurischen Ausscheidungen; V. Atmosphäre und atmosphärische Niederschläge; VI. Windgenese; VII. Windsysteme; VIII. Atmosphärische Spiegelungen; IX. Das atmosphärische Feuer; X. Das ätherische Feuer. Schluss: Elemente und Gottheit. There is added an excellent index of thirty-five pages.

In a book of such scope one who is engaged in work in the same field will inevitably find much to criticize. He is fortunate if, as is the case with Dr. Gilbert's book, he finds more to praise because the author has shed light on problems which sorely needed illumination. The space which could be spared in this journal for purposes of a review will suffice neither for special mention of the large number of questions to which our author has made a distinct contribution, nor for a detailed criticism of those parts of his work which seem to the reviewer to be clearly or probably erroneous. I shall therefore confine myself to a brief reference to certain matters of more general bearing and interest.

Dr. Gilbert acknowledges his fundamental indebtedness to Zeller's great history of Greek philosophy. In a large and important sense this must be true of every student of the subject; but it seems fair to demand of everyone who undertakes to handle anew the great mass of materials of Greek philosophy that he shall at least consider independently the basic presuppositions of even so monumental a work as Zeller's. If he does so and deliberately assents to the conclusions of his predecessor, he has done his duty. His critic can at worst dissent and note the grounds for his dissent. But in numerous fundamental questions Dr. Gilbert either appears not to have raised the necessary preliminary question, or, when he actually emphasizes a new factor, seems not to have perceived its bearings. Thus he apparently accepts without question the distinction between "dynamic" and "mechanical" systems, although he is thereby led (probably unconsciously) to interpret the same phrase or set of phrases in contrary senses when applied to different philosophers. On the other hand, he repeatedly refers in a general way to the fundamental significance of ἀναθυμίασις for ancient physical theories, but

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singularly neglects to employ the conception when he proceeds to the consideration of special problems. Thus it would not be unfair to regard his book as a companion volume to Zeller's history, supplementing and correcting it in details, but containing little or nothing new that is of fundamental importance. This is the more to be regretted because Dr. Gilbert displays a knowledge of the sources rarely met with. His book will certainly supply other scholars with data on which to work and the conservative temper of our author will render his guidance relatively safe if not as stimulating as it otherwise might have been.

The typography is fairly correct, as one might expect from the publisher; though I have noted some hundreds of errors, few of which will disturb the reader.

W. A. HEIDEL

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

Geschichte der Autobiographie. By GEORG MISCH. Ester Band. Das Altertum. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1907. Pp. vii+472. M. 8.

This is the first volume of a formidable History of Autobiography. The second volume is to carry the theme into the seventeenth century; the third, to the present day.

Persönlichkeitsbewusstsein is a gift of Greece to European culture. The interest of the individual Hellene in himself, in his many-sided relations to the world of men and gods and things, is a distinctive trait in all his varied literary forms; and yet, strange to say, he neglected almost entirely, until comparatively late, the most suitable medium for its fullest expression, formal autobiography. This, the author thinks, is no accident. It is due to a limitation of the Greek genius. In his striving for perfection the plastic Greek emphasized the importance of the ideal type rather than the significance of the struggle with imperfection which leads to the full and complete man. Hence, the absence of *journaux de la vie intime* in classical antiquity.

The nearest approach to formal autobiography in what the author calls the Hellenic and Attic periods of literature is found in the oratorical *apologia pro vita sua* exemplified in Demosthenes' *On the Crown* and better still in Isocrates' *Exchange of Properties*. In these the purpose is not so much that of self-portraiture as of self-justification through a "monument more enduring than bronze."

In fact autobiography was hampered more or less throughout antiquity by this rhetorical form, and never attained the dignity of other literature. The motive was "enkomiastisch nicht historisch," and the result suffered in truthfulness because when a man writes about himself,

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as Cicero complains, modesty prevents him from giving due emphasis to his virtues and vanity, from being frank about his faults.

A new impulse was given to self-analysis in the Hellenistic period. The solidarity of the city-state was broken up and with the consequent relaxing of the ties that bound the individual to the political organism, his interest turned more and more upon himself. This was accentuated by philosophy. The stoic faith carried Socrates' interpretation of γνωθι σεαυτόν to its logical conclusion by insisting that freedom of the soul comes only through a knowledge of its powers and limitations, and that only through self-examination could a man attain to the divine. The characteristic product of these influences is the book of meditations which Marcus Aurelius addressed to himself.

But we do not yet have autobiography in the proper sense. The motive of self-justification and the desire for good fame remain too strong. It is only with the Christian glorification of the divine through the abasement of the human, the confession of weakness as a means of grace, that self-biography assumes a frank attitude toward human experience. "If I needs must glory," said Saint Paul, "I will glory in the things which concern mine infirmities." This new religious ideal entering the ancient world inspired a great number of mystic meditations of which the most significant and typical are the lyrics of Gregory Nazianzen and the *Confessions* of Saint Augustine.

This will indicate in outline the attempt of the author to unify his material. The book deals also with examples of self-portrayal and self-expression not of a formal autobiographical character, but is by no means an exhaustive treatment of the subject. The discussion of individual authors is clear and readable, but a superabundance of ponderous psychological and philosophical generalization produces an effect, as a French reviewer feelingly remarks, *terriblement germanique.*

GEORGE NORLIN

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO

Anthropology and the Classics. Six Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford by ARTHUR J. EVANS, ANDREW LANG, GILBERT MURRAY, F. B. JEVONS, J. L. MYRES, and W. WARDE FOWLER. Edited by R. R. MARETT. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908. Pp. 191. $2.00.

Six experts would be needed to review critically this volume of lectures by six masters. Mr. Arthur Evans prefaces his forthcoming book *Scripta Minoa* by discoursing with great wealth of illustration on "the European diffusion of pictography and its bearings on the origin of Script." He does not go so far as does M. Piette who discerns actual

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letters in the markings on the pebbles in the Cave of Mas d' Azil. But the vast array of facts which he marshals prepares us to accept his thesis that the Minoans had already crossed the line which divides pictorial symbolism from syllabary and alphabet. We have moved far indeed from the Wolfian interpretation of σήματα λυγρά.

Mr. Andrew Lang finding little anthropology and less "Beastly Devices of Ye Heathen" in the pure and serene poetry of Homer, gives us what is better—a lucid restatement of the main argument of his recent book *Homer and His Age*. Homer presents a consistent picture of a sub-Minoan civilization that no archaizing poet or committee of poets could have achieved, even if primitive poets archaized—which they didn't. His essential unity is sufficiently demonstrated by the typical truth of his description of loose early feudalism under a Charlemagne—Agamemnon overlord. His disdainful reticences cannot be explained as the result of expurgation. Why was not Hesiod expurgated? One or two seals found in Crete and depicted on p. 57 free us from the grotesque fancy of naked Minoan warriors, and prove, Mr. Lang thinks, that cuirass, zoster, and mitré were known before Homer.

Mr. Gilbert Murray finds no lack of anthropological material in "The Greek Epic Literature outside Homer." Homer, he repeats in answer to Mr. Lang and in confirmation of his own *Rise of the Greek Epic*, Homer was expurgated because the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* "were selected at some early time for public recitation at the solemn four-yearly meeting of all Ionians and afterward of all Athenians. But if the "intellect of Greece focused" upon Homer purified the epics of all allusion to sin against nature, for example, how, we ask, did it come to tolerate the recitation of the *Myrmidons* of Aeschylus in the fierce light that beat upon the Attic stage? After these preliminaries Mr. Murray becomes severely anthropological, and shows that Dionysus was a Dukduk or Egbo or Mumbo-jumbo, that the divine king is the Medicine king, that θεός originally meant magic or medicine, that Zeus *is* the thunderstone which Gaia gives to Kronos to swallow in his stead, and that "all through this pre-Hellenic realm of saga and half-history we find ourselves in contact with these god-kings or medicine-chiefs."

In his lecture on "Graeco-Italian Magic" Mr. Jevons ably resumes recent literature on incantations, spells, *defixiones*, *mala carmina*, and the like.

In "Herodotus and Anthropology" Mr. Myres deals not with the stores of anthropological data collected by the father of history, but with the philosophical and anthropological preconceptions which their collection and form of statement imply. "If Herodotus was not in advance of his age, then his age was abreast of Herodotus." This is the line of inquiry pursued by Dümmler in his *Prolegomena zu Platon's Staat*, to whom Mr. Myres does not refer, and more recently by Nestle in a "Programm"

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on Herodotus' "Verhältniss zur Philosophie und Sophistik." Mr. Myres finds already a standard scheme of archaeology in Hesiod's ages of gold, silver, and bronze, and he reads startling anticipations of evolution into the well-known fragments of Anaximander and Archelaus. He sometimes, as is inevitable in a quest of this kind, finds too much, as when he translates γένεσις ἐξ ἀλλήλων (in Archelaus) by "interbreeding," or when he contrasts Herodotus' four criteria, community of descent, language, religion, and customs, with the "less-advanced method of inquiry" pursued in Aeschylus *Supplices* 287, 288. But as a whole he illustrates in most instructive fashion from Herodotus himself, from the Hippocratean writings, from the drama, and from the fragments of fifth-century literature generally the spirit of rationalistic anthropological curiosity in which the "histories" were composed.

An interesting and scholarly study of *Lustratio* by Mr. W. W. Fowler concludes a volume which no student of the life and thought of antiquity can afford to leave unread.

PAUL SHOREY

Adonis, Attis, Osiris: Studies in the History of Oriental Religion. By J. G. FRAZER. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1907. 2d ed. Pp. xix+452.

Only a year's interval falls between the first and second editions of this book in which Dr. Frazer gives us the first instalment of the third edition of *The Golden Bough*. Although the studies here contained are in a sense expansions of the corresponding sections in the earlier work, the greater part of the matter is new, and in the second edition of this instalment there have been added a chapter on "Sacred Men and Women," a new section on "Influence of Mother-kin on Religion," and three new appendices: "Moloch the King," "The Widowed Flamen," and Some Customs of the Pelew Islanders." In discussing the worship of Adonis, Attis, and Osiris much more attention has been given than before to the physical environment in which these worships originated and to the effect of that environment on them. To say that this book is interesting to every student of religion would be a weak expression; while the volume contains much that is not new or unknown, and although few readers will be able to go the whole way with the author along the uncertain roads of mother-right and early kingship, or accept many of his conclusions, none the less the value of this store of learning is not seriously lessened by these facts, and the present reviewer cannot refrain from expressing his admiration for the varied knowledge, the capacity for unremitting and fruitful toil, and the ability to present his views in lucid and alluring form which the author of *The Golden Bough* and *Pausanias* exhibits.

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Of the three gods treated Adonis receives almost half the volume. After chapters on the sacred myth and the cult at its two great centers, Biblos and Paphos, Frazer passes on to consider instances in which a god, or a king or priest in character of the god, was burned: the gods chosen are Melcarth (and Hercules), the divinities of Tarsus and of Ibreez and Boghaz-keni in Cappadocia; the best known of the mortal examples are Sardanapalus—or, to be historically correct, Shamashshumukin, the brother of Sardanapalus, and Shinsharishkun the last king of Assyria—and Croesus, who, according to the older and truer tradition, attempted to burn himself, each seeking through fire to purge away his mortal and to set free his immortal parts, as one of divine descent, regarding death by burning his appropriate end. This leads to an interesting chapter dealing with the influence of volcanic phenomena, earthquakes, mephitic vapors, and hot springs on the religions of Asia Minor. After this somewhat long excursus we return to Adonis, whom Frazer holds was originally a spirit of wild fruits, grass, and grain, later with the advance of civilization elevated to a corn spirit, whose death in the mill was mourned at his festival. His original character was shown in the magic "gardens" which still survive in Sicily and Sardinia, where, as in many parts of Europe, St. John at midsummer seems to have replaced the earlier god, even as his spring festival may have been the pagan stock on which the Christian Easter was grafted.

Hepding's valuable study of Attis inevitably suggests a comparison between his treatment and the shorter discussion by Frazer; but as a matter of fact the two were composed with different ends in view. Hepding gives us the sources, which he then proceeds to criticize and interpret, confining himself strictly to Attis and the Great Mother; Frazer, in accordance with his general plan, gives references only to his sources, but after considering the myth, ritual, and nature of Attis, as well as devoting a short chapter to the priests, who as human representatives of the god may have been originally slain at his festival each year, passes on to consider the character of the hanged god Marsyas, whom he regards as a probable double of Attis, and whose death calls to mind the hanging of Odin; this leads him further to a discussion of the use of victims' skins to secure resurrection and fertility. The two closing chapters of this part are given to a brief treatment of the worship of Cybele, Attis, and Mithras in the West, to the borrowing from them of festival days by Christianity, and to the hero Hyacinth. A single error may here be noted: the statement on p. 229 f., based on a passage in Sallust the philosopher, that the rite of taurobolium for the regeneration of the devotee was performed at the vernal equinox is not correct, for of all the datable taurobolic inscriptions the puzzling *CIL* XIII. 501, dated March 24, 239 A. D. is the only one that coincides with this event.

Finally, we have an elaborate and interesting treatment of Osiris,

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which includes not only an exposition of the myth, the festivals, the nature of the god and of his consort, Isis, of the indentification of Osiris with the sun and moon, of the king of Egypt as the personation of Osiris, but also chapters dealing with the official calendar of the Egyptians, the calendar of the Egyptian farmer with its rites of irrigation, sowing, and harvest, and the doctrine of lunar sympathy.

In his concluding chapter Frazer points out the similarity of the three gods of vegetation with their female consorts, in whose superiority he detects an indication of a system of mother-right, especially in Egypt, where conservatism preserved into Roman times the habit of marriage between sister and brother, a social custom which he sees reflected in the mythical marriage of Isis and Osiris.

This survey can only give an imperfect idea of the rich contents of this book, in which material from the widest range is brought together for the elucidation of the worship of the three gods considered. However much we may dissent in detail—and the reviewer has already intimated that he cannot subscribe to many of its doctrines—no one can fail to be instructed and stimulated by its pages.

CLIFFORD H. MOORE

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Athenian Lekythoi. With outline drawing in glaze varnish on a white ground. By ARTHUR FAIRBANKS, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Vol. VI of the University of Michigan Studies (Humanistic series). New York: The Macmillan Co., 1907. Pp. 365, 57 text illustrations, 15 plates. $4.

This book is a careful classification and discussion of Athenian lecythi from about 475–430 B. C. There is thus no extended treatment of this form of vase in the blackfigured technique nor of its development in the latter part of the fifth century B. C., when the use of dull colors prevails and more complete polychromatic effects are sought. On the other hand, the introduction affords an adequate discussion of the steps from earlier times which lead to the technique of outline drawing in glaze, and there are in the course of the book many valuable observations upon the gradually extended use of dull colors. Thus the way is prepared for a further study, which the author has in mind, of later lecythi.

Four main groups of the vases are recognized, A B C and D, in the first three of which there is chronological sequence. Group D is not to be distinguished chronologically from group C, but represents various differences in style. Under these groups, and side by side with them (see the useful table facing the title-page), is a division of the whole material into eight classes, and in each class, after the specimens have been presented and described, there is a conclusion in summary of the

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characteristics of the class. In the case of the earliest group A there is also a summary conclusion for the group, but in general the group characteristics are pointed out as each group is introduced. The division into classes does not represent direct chronological sequence, though chronological deductions may often be made from the classification; its primary purpose is to make possible a study, which would otherwise be confined to isolated specimens, of types of vases. In several classes minor differences of specimens within the class are recognized by a subgrouping in separate series. At the close of the book there is a "conclusion" which treats of the various scenes represented on lecythi, mythological, religious, and scenes from every-day life. This feature, and several good indices, add greatly to the general usefulness of the work.

The descriptions of the vases, nearly five hundred in all are careful, and clearly written. They are naturally concerned largely with technique, but there are also many excellent observations on the scenes portrayed, with references to the treatment of the subjects on other monuments of Greek art (cf. for example, Class III, No. 4*a*; Class IV, 1, No. 30). The plates in the book are good "half-tone" illustrations; the illustrations in the text are not always so successful, but as a whole they serve their purpose.

Any extended criticism of this admirable book is impossible in a short notice, but it may be said without reservation that Professor Fairbanks' work is indispensable to the student of Greek lecythi and a distinct help in the general study of Greek vases. The excellent classical scholarship which lies back of it is everywhere apparent, and the book is an honor not only to its author, but also to American scholarship.

J. R. WHEELER

Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta. Collegit recensuit HYGINUS FUNAIOLI. Volumen prius. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1907. Pp. xxx+614. M. 12.

This is a collection of all extant fragments that have to do with grammatical questions, from the earliest period of Roman activity to the end of the reign of Augustus. It includes only fragments, and consequently omits complete, or nearly complete, works such as Varro's *De lingua Latina* v–x, and Cicero's *Orator*, although the definition of grammar is broad enough to cover even this latter work. Grammatica is used in the Roman sense, as defined by Cic. *De orat.* 1. 187 (Gudeman, *Grundriss d. Gesch. d. kl. Phil.*, p. 6).

The collection is chronological by authors, or writers, and is intended to include all references to grammatical questions, whether in professedly grammatical writings, or in other literature where grammatical statements are made. Thus we find bits from Appius Claudius, Ennius, Cato,

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and Lucilius, as well as fragments of Aelius, Nigidius Figulus, and Varro. Under each fragment the passage where it first occurs is quoted in full, then if the same citation is later made by others, reference to the full list of such passages is given, also arranged chronologically. Ordinarily reference to modern literature is given only in matters of textual criticism, or in questions of genuineness. But preceding each writer is a list of editions or dissertations treating of the fragments in question. Along with these are given the sources for the life and writings of the author. These are, in general, not more full than in Teuffel, often less full. But the editor has rightly been at pains to give a particularly full list of sources for the minor writers.

Upon the content of the fragments the editor rarely makes comments. It is not his purpose to give his own opinion of the value of the views of the Roman grammarians, nor even to refer to modern views of the subjects treated. Only occasionally does he lapse from this position, and then not always happily. The work thus becomes simply a source-book, similar to that of Keil for the later period.

The Prolegomena include two topics. First comes an admirable collection of sources on schools and teachers, arranged chronologically according to the development of schools and the dates of teachers. Following this is a well-selected range of sources on public and private libraries, but by no means complete. For example, the *Bibliotheca Templi Divi Augusti* (Suet. *Tib.* 70, Pliny *N. H.* 34. 43, Aur. Vict. 11. 14), and the *Bibliotheca Domus Tiberianae* (Gell. 13. 20. 1, etc.) are not mentioned. A fuller and more systematic list of sources is given by Teggart in the *Library Journal*, 1899, but even that is not complete.

The main body of the book is divided into four periods. "Grammaticae Primordia," "Grammaticae antevarronianae fragmenta," "Grammaticae aetatis Varronianae fragmenta," and "Grammaticae aetatis Augusteae fragmenta." One is impressed by the very multitude of the fragments collected, and by the labor the editor has undertaken in gathering them together (he spent three years at the task). The original work here done consists in the treatment of the text, and in the assignment of the fragments to specific writers and books. These are tasks of extreme difficulty, and in general the editor has been reasonably conservative, although few will follow him in the assignment to the various books of the prolific Varro. A good critical apparatus follows each fragment.

Facility in the use of the book is greatly increased by the addition of nine Indexes, the chief of which are entitled "Libri" (i. e., those from which fragments are given), "Praecepta Grammatica," "Res ad Historiam Litterarum Pertinentes," "Verborum Origines Explicationesve," "Memorabilia."

The book will be used chiefly as a work of reference, to ascertain what the republican writers and scholars had to say on the various sub-

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jects included. For this purpose it would be extremely interesting to have all the quaint etymologies grouped together, as also all passages dealing with the history of orthography, or of literary criticism. But the editor is undoubtedly right in his chronological arrangement by writers, for it is very desirable to have a historical view of the development of the feeling for accuracy, which can be traced almost decade by decade as one reads the fragments through. Further, it is only by this method that the fragments of Varro, or Aelius, or Hyginus could be assembled so as to give the reader the proper respect for the activity of these writers.

One can have only feelings of gratitude to the editor for the thoroughness of his work, for the accuracy which characterizes his numerous citations, and for the freedom from mistakes in press. But even yet we do not possess a complete view of Roman activity in grammatical questions, and in literary criticism. Here and there through the whole course of the literature from Ennius down are pieces of linguistic and literary information just as valuable as many of those in the present collection. If Funaioli would gather together all such passages, possibly as a supplement to the *Fragmenta*, he would add greatly to the service he has so excellently rendered.

R. W. HUSBAND

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METANOEΩ *and* METAMEΛEI *in Greek Literature until 100 A. D., Including Discussion of Their Cognates and of Their Hebrew Equivalents.* By EFFIE FREEMAN THOMPSON, Ph.D. (The University of Chicago Historical and Linguistic Studies, Second Series, Vol. I, Part V.) Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1908. Pp. 29. $0.27.

μετανοεῖν means (1) *to consider afterward*, and then *to change one's opinion;* when this *μετάνοια* operates on the feelings and the will it becomes (2) *regret* and (3) *change of purpose.* These two words denote intellectual action in the classic period, emotional and volitional action—chiefly the latter—in succeeding times, but only volitional in the New Testament. They express emotion less frequently because this meaning belongs primarily to *μεταμέλει, μεταμέλομαι* and *μεταμέλεια;* since, however, regret for past action may lead to a change of purpose, these three words also occasionally acquire a volitional force. A distinction of meaning between the two groups of words is maintained fairly well in classic writers, the Septuagint, and the New Testament, but not elsewhere.

In the New Testament *μεταμέλομαι, regret*, is the only word of this group used and occurs but 6 times, while *μετανοέω* and *μετάνοια*, the regular terms for repentance, are found 34 and 22 times respectively. The

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last two words always signify in the New Testament a *change of purpose* from evil to good, an internal change manifested in a change of the outward life and conduct. Sorrow may be antecedent in this change (II Cor. 7:10), but is never identified with it.

The work is in the main well done. But the etymologies adopted from Curtius are now generally rejected, and some of the grammatical observations are subject to correction. In the constructions of μεταμέλει on p. 11, for example, numbers 6, 7, and 8 are the same as 1, 3, and 2 respectively.

CHARLES W. PEPPLER

Horazstudien. Von J. W. BECK. Haag: M. Nijhoff, 1907. Pp. 80.

This pamphlet contains an elaborate criticism of Vollmer's views of the interrelation of the Horatian MSS. Vollmer's contention that all our MSS are derived from a single copy of Horace's works is based largely on a list of so-called errors which he claims are common to all the codices. Beck subjects each of these "errors" to a searching criticism and insists that in many cases the alleged error is the right reading. In *Carm.* i. 2. 39 he prefers *Mauri*, the reading of the MSS, to the generally accepted emendation *Marsi*. In *Carm.* i. 20. 1. he defends (rightly, I think) *potabis*, as opposed to Vollmer's conjecture *potavi*. We see the same future in Plaut. *Curc.* 728 *tu miles apud me cenabis;* Hor. *Epist.* i. 7. 71 *ergo post nonam venies.* In *Carm.* i. 23. 5 he argues that to substitute *vepris . . . . ad ventum* for *veris . . . . adventus* the reading of the codices is to attribute to the poet the rigid accuracy of the philologian. In *Carm.* i. 25. 20 he regrets that Horace did not write *Euro*, but is sure that he wrote *Hebro*. In iv. 2. 49 he defends *teque dum procedis*, pronouncing *tuque dum procedis*, if applied to Antonius, ridiculous, if applied to Augustus, impossible. Even the reading *fugio rabiosi tempora signi* (*Serm.* i. 6. 126) finds in him a champion. In many cases Beck's arguments are not convincing, but in general his position is well taken, that there is so much uncertainty about a majority of the "errors" that they cannot safely be used as a criterion in the construction of a stemma. Moreover, he is right in his assertion that there is no good reason for assuming that the Horatian tradition was at a standstill for nearly two hundred years. The archetypes of the R_π and $F\lambda'$ groups may easily have been codices of the seventh century.

No discussion of the Horatian MSS is complete without a stemma. Beck finds two chief and one subordinate group:

1. Mavortian Recension $A\lambda$+BC+lemmata Porph.+scholia Pseudo-Acronis: Keller's second class
2. The $R\Phi$ class+Porph. in interpretatione: Keller's third class.
3. Keller's first class with scholia Γ and glosses Γ in cod. γ.

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Johannis Vahleni. . . . . opuscula academica. Pars Posterior. Leipzig: Teubner, 1908. Pp. 646. M. 14.

The second and concluding volume of Vahlen's *Opuscula*, containing his *prooemia* to the *indices lectionum* of the University of Berlin from 1892 to 1906, follows the first volume with welcome rapidity. It is furnished with full indices, compiled by E. Thomas, of facts, Greek and Latin words, and passages.

A significant feature of these *opuscula* is that they were intended not only to vindicate or amend or interpret the texts of classical authors, but also to serve as examples of critical method for the student in the classical seminar. It is to be hoped that from these exercises in criticism and other concrete examples of the processes followed in acquiring a sympathetic understanding of an author's words and meaning, a competent mind should abstract some of the simple principles underlying interpretation and express them with greater intelligence and deeper appreciation of their significance than do the authors of the dry statements about "Hermeneutics" in current handbooks. The seminar and pro-seminar cannot hope to escape the criticism justly directed at them until an attempt is made to lead the young student of classical philology from minute analysis to the fundamental principles underlying his critical work.

The value of the two volumes to special workers in the authors treated has been recognized from time to time as the discussions have appeared in the semi-annual publications of the University of Berlin. To the mature scholar, as well as to the immature student, these *opuscula* are models of accuracy and sane, catholic judgment, and illustrate particularly well the fruitful results of following the familiar injunction *lesen, viel lesen, sehr viel lesen.*

HENRY W. PRESCOTT

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Diogenes von Apollonia. Von DR. ERNST KRAUSE. Beilage zu dem Jahresberichte des Königlichen Gymnasiums zu Gnesen, Ostern 1908. Posen: Merzbachsche Buchdruckerei.

In the simple statement of Diogenes' doctrines, which is all that is attempted in this brief treatise, originality would hardly be a desideratum. One might expect, however, in a monograph of the present day, somewhat more interpretative discussion than is given by Dr. Krause, especially of such fundamental problems as the reason for Diogenes' return to the outgrown view that one material element can explain the universe, and of the way in which his position differs from that of the early Ionians. A very adequate collection of the ancient evidence regarding Diogenes' life and teaching is given, and a clear and full statement, essentially in its

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traditional form, of his doctrines. Venturesome conjectures find no place, and the conclusions reached are sane and conservative. The few questionable positions taken arise mainly from a tendency to treat the evidence somewhat too literally and mechanically. The assertion on p. 7 that Diogenes must have been a physician is a case in point. He may well have been one, but the evidence cited gives no more than a presumption in that direction, especially when we consider the widespread interest of his contemporaries in physiological matters.

Equally questionable is the assertion on p. 7 that he can have written but one book. One of the grounds for this conclusion, that the other physicists wrote but one work, would have no weight, even if it were true.

On p. 16, we find a surprising statement to the following effect: "Die Aussenwelt, die wir wahrnehmen, ist nichts Reales, sondern lediglich ein Produckt unserer Sinne." We may question whether this statement could fairly be made of any Greek thinker, but it certainly is not a warranted inference from *Dox.* iv. 9, 8. In spite of the limitations indicated, the present study will serve as a convenient, and in the main a trustworthy, summary of all that is handed down to us concerning this belated representative of the Ionian School.

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Classical Philology

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VULGAR LATIN IN THE *ARS CONSENTII DE BARBARISMIS*

BY FRANK FROST ABBOTT

With the exception of the *Appendix Probi* Consentius' little treatise *De Barbarismis et Metaplasmis* (Keil *G.L.* V, pp. 386–98) is the only systematic discussion of vulgar Latin which has come down to us from ancient times. It cannot be compared in importance with its rival, but it has some points of independent interest, and its character, almost unique, makes it deserve something more than the cursory attention which it has received. It seems to be worth while, at least, to group together the instances of vulgar usage which Consentius gives and to test his statements by what is known of the people's speech from the inscriptions and from other sources. In remarking on the plan which he purposes to follow in his discussion of barbarisms he says (p. 391. 25 ff.): "nunc iam quibus modis barbarismus fiat, tempestivius proferemus, in quo equidem non imitabor eos scriptores, qui exempla huius modi vitiorum de auctoritate lectionum dare voluerunt . . . . nos exempla huius modi dabimus, quae in usu cotidie loquentium animadvertere possumus, si paulo ea curiosius audiamus." A scrutiny of the illustrations of barbarismus which he gives seems to show that he was honest in carrying out the plan which he laid down for himself, and puts him in pleasing contrast to a long line of grammarians who contented themselves with taking their illustrations, appropriate and inappropriate, from

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their predecessors. In fact there seems to be only one form, cited by Consentius, whose vulgar character we should be inclined to question. The archaic Mavortis (397. 7) in the fifth century surprises one, and it is possible that our author, not finding readily an illustration of his point, viz., of the addition of a syllable in the popular pronunciation of a word, borrowed this form from his reading in the early poets or from some other grammarian. On the other hand, it should be remembered that colloquial Latin kept many forms after they had disappeared from literature, and this may be a case in point. The probability of this second hypothesis is made somewhat greater by the fact that the word in question had to do with the religious life of the people, for in this field popular speech was especially conservative. Whatever may be thought of this one word, at all events, we have good reason to believe that we shall find in Consentius instances of deviation in the people's speech of his day from accepted standards.[1]

There are other considerations, too, which lend importance to the little treatise by Consentius. In one respect it and the *Appendix Probi* furnish more trustworthy material for the investigation of the people's speech than any other vulgar Latin document does. In reading Petronius, the *Peregrinatio* of Sancta Silvia, or the *Mulomedicina Chironis* we are often puzzled to know whether a vulgar form is to be attributed to the writer or to a copyist, but in Consentius this question rarely, if ever, arises, because he not only cites the form in question as objectionable, but he also either characterizes it or he contrasts it with the accepted form. Consequently we know in almost every case just what word he wrote and branded as vulgar and what mistakes

[1] The *Ars Consentii*, as it has come down to us, consists, as is well known, of two parts, viz., the treatises *De Nomine et Verbo* and *De Barbarismis et Metaplasmis*. That in the first treatise Consentius drew largely from Donatus, Diomedes, Charisius, Caper and others, or from their sources, has been clearly shown by Keil (V, p. 335), by Jeep (*Zur Geschichte der Lehre von den Redetheilen*, p. 69), and by Goetting (*De Flavio Capro Consentii Fonte*). In treating barbarisms, although the classification and some of the definitions may be borrowed from his predecessors, the specific illustrations which Consentius gives of errors in pronunciation seem to be original with him. Even when he takes up a subject which has been treated by an earlier grammarian, like the incorrect use of the aspirate, his illustrations are not those of his predecessor (cf. Goetting, *op. cit.*, p. 89).

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people made in using it. Thus, for instance, he remarks (392. 25): "per transmutationem sic fiunt barbarismi: temporis, ut siquis dicens pices producta priore et correpta sequenti pronuntiet," and again he says (392. 8): "per detractionem fiunt barbarismi sic: litterae, ut siquis . . . . socerum volens dicere dicat socrum meum." It is noteworthy, too, here and throughout his discussion that he uses such words as *dicere* and *pronuntiare* and not *scribere*[1] or even an ambiguous word like *uti*. In drawing conclusions from the statements of Consentius we are on even safer ground, than when we are dealing with the *Appendix Probi*. In the latter work it is difficult to say, for instance, whether in "Marsyas non Marsuas" an error in spelling or in pronunciation, or in both respects, is noted. From the fact that Consentius sometimes uses the indicative (cf. 392. 3: "ut quidam dicunt piper vel pius producta priore syllaba") and sometimes the subjunctive (cf. 392. 8, quoted above) it might be thought that he was giving both real and fictitious errors, and that his inventions were indicated by the use of the subjunctive, but this is evidently not the case, for in 392. 11 he says, "ut siquis dicat orator correpta priore syllaba, quod ipsum vitium Afrorum speciale est." It is reasonably sure, therefore, that the barbarisms of Consentius are genuine vulgar errors, mostly in pronunciation, of the writer's day, and that most of the objectionable forms which our text presents have been handed down to us correctly.

In this paper we shall concern ourselves mainly with that portion of the work of Consentius which deals with barbarismi and runs from p. 391 to p. 398. Its interest for us lies in (1) the instances which it contains of vulgar pronunciation, and (2) its illustrations of dialectal peculiarities.[2] Cases of barbarismus and metaplasmus involve what our writer regards as similar deviations

[1] In one case only is *scribere* used (ut siquis homen scribens adiciat primae syllabae aspirationem, 392. 6), and here Consentius seems to be speaking of both spelling and pronunciation, cf. 392. 13.

[2] Until a few years ago Monacensis 14,666 was the only known MS containing this treatise, but in 1904 Professor Lindsay discovered another MS of Consentius at Basel, and a collation of the new find has been given by E. O. Winstedt in *A. J. P.* XXVI (1905), pp. 22 ff. B is independent of M, gives us a better text at some points, and has been taken into consideration in this paper. My friend, Dr. C. H. Beeson, has also very kindly collated the Munich MS afresh for me. I regret that space does not allow

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from current good usage, but if the form under consideration is to be found in classical literature it is taken by him as a case of metaplasmus. *Admittier*, for instance, belongs to this category, while the vulgar *Chartago* is a case of barbarismus, which in turn is distinguished from barbarolexis, or a mistake in the use of a foreign word, and from soloecismus, or a grammatical fault. Since he restricts his definition of barbarismus to the narrow lines just mentioned we shall expect to find his discussion confined to points in phonology. This is, in fact, the case. Only incidentally does he stray into the fields of morphology, lexicography, or syntax. Assuming the distinction which he has made between metaplasmus and barbarismus he defines the latter (386. 15 ff.) as "detractio et adiectio et transmutatio et immutatio litterarum syllabarum accentuum temporum aspirationumque." This definition, artificial as it is, covers every possible vulgar error in pro-

me to give his collation here in full, but from his notes I subjoin a brief description of the MS, and make a few additions to, and corrections in, Keil's critical apparatus. "The MS," Dr. Beeson writes, "is hard to read at many points, since the ink is pale and faded. The parchment is often very rough, and has been scraped in many places, and these places frequently give the impression of corrections. The parchment is oily, too, in spots. Consequently the strokes are often not perfect, and both M and the corrector have retouched them — the corrector especially where the ink was light. The corrector (M^2) uses a brown ink that is easily recognized when the stroke is firm and heavy; often, however, it is impossible to distinguish M and M^1. M^1 is the scribe correcting himself. His ink is bright yellow insular. Either the scribe or another using the same ink and script has made frequent rubrics or notes on the margins. These are often faded beyond the possibility of deciphering with certainty." Extracts from Dr. Beeson's collation follow: 386. 20 secundum *in marg. add.* 388. 5 pro abisse *corr. in* pro abiisse 15 pro menestio *corr. in* menestius 389. 19 pro orphe, us 390. 4 latinost 7 pasus 32 mi 391. 3 recipisse 29 *post* plerumque *superscriptum est* frequenter 29 *post* alii *superscriptum est* veteres 29 *sic* novi *super* alii, raro *super* interdum, utrique *super* idem 30 *post* lectionis *superscriptum est* poematis 392. 3 piper 4 triginta 393. 20 ciborum 32 poterint 394. 24 est *add. al. man.* 36 et *adscr. supra* 396. 2 *post* detractionesve *rasura septem aut octo litterarum* 12 errore *litteris* re *adscr. supra* 18 cognitu *corr. in* cognitum 8 alterius *corr. ex* alteri 399. 6 vocale 14 ut est et pecodes.

The orthography of the MS presents some points of interest. There is a consistent use of *i* in such Greek words as sillaba, sistole, titirus, and ethimologia. There is a frequent confusion of single and double letters, especially in the case of *s*, e. g., *asspiratio*, *possita*, *siracussas*, and *excussatio* by the side of *pasus*, *molosus*, and *spisa*. Occasionally the same confusion extends to *f*, *r*, and *l* in such words as *reffert*, *efulgere*, *Terrentius*, and *Cellsus*. *O* stands regularly for *u* in the derivatives from *muto*, in *Topiter* (= *Iupiter*), and *pecodes*, and for *e* in *vorsus*. *Nq* appears everywhere in such words as *utrumque* and *tanquam*, and *mp* in *tempnere* and its compounds. *Subtracho* and *difinitio* are the accepted forms. Almost all these characteristic spellings have been noted by Winstedt in B (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 30) and may help to establish the relation of these two MSS to each other.

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nunciation. It was the purpose of Consentius not to draw up a complete list of mistakes common in his day, but rather to classify barbarisms. In accordance with this plan, only one or two illustrations are given of each kind of errors. We have, therefore, a comparatively small number of vulgarisms cited, but they throw light upon several important points in the pronunciation of vulgar Latin.

The vowels.—To proceed now to a grouping and brief discussion of these errors. It is noticeable that Consentius gives only two instances of (1) *vowel change*, viz., *stetim* 392. 16 and *tarterum* 392. 17, while the *Appendix Probi* has sixty or seventy. The pronunciation *stetim* is a dialectal peculiarity, Consentius tells us, of the Roman plebs, and has been happily compared by Seelmann (*Ausspr.*, p. 173) to the cockney "keb" for "cab." There seems to be no other case of this change of a short accented *a* into *e* since **grévis* for *grăvis* was probably due to the influence of *lĕvis*. Such a weakening as we find in *tarterum*, of an unaccented *ă* to *e*, especially before *r* in the penult is not uncommon in vulgar Latin (cf. *Caeseris* and similar forms in Schuchardt *Vok.* I, pp. 195 f.). Under (2) *syncopation* may be mentioned *audacter*, *repostum*, *morat* and *commorat* (388. 15–19), *socrum*, and for convenience even *salmentum* (392. 9,10) and *uam* (393. 1). Elsewhere (*Class. Phil.* II, p. 454) I have tried to show that where a syncopated has developed out of an unsyncopated form the short form belongs to popular speech. The preference which Consentius shows for *audaciter* over the short form proves that he is aware of this general principle without knowing the relation of the two forms in question and illustrates that *molestissima diligentiae perversitas* of the professional grammarian which Quintilian condemns (i. 6. 17). The form *audacter* is the common one in good literature of all periods (cf. Georges *Lex. d. lat. Wortf.*). The forms without *v* in the perfect system of *moveo*, while used with some freedom in the familiar style at all times, as, for instance, in Terence, and in informal letters like those of Caelius, are rare in serious literature and naturally come under the ban of a purist like Consentius. Such forms as *postus*, *prepostus*, and *repostus* are found in vulgar literary and epigraphical

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texts in all parts of the empire (cf. Schuchardt, II, p. 414; Carnoy *Le latin d'Espagne d'après les inscriptions*, p. 114; Pirson *La langue des inscriptions latines de la Gaule*, p. 50). There seem to be no close parallels to *salmentum*, although such MS forms as *converit* (=*convenerit*), *cerae* (=*ceterae*), and *heras* (=*hederas*), cited by Schuchardt (II, p. 440) are equally surprising. Consentius is correct in stigmatizing *socrum* and similar forms as popular. The evidence of the inscriptions and of the Romance derivatives of the word clearly confirms his judgment on this point. We cannot say positively whether *ua*, which Consentius condemns, is a mere graphical variant of *uva*, or points to a vulgar pronunciation of the word. The fact, however, that the pronunciation *ua* seems to be perpetuated in *luette* = *l'* + *u*(*v*)*etta* (cf. Fass *Rom. Forsch.* III, p. 494) seems to show that it is a matter of pronunciation. It is comparable, therefore, to *rius* for *rivus* of the *Appendix Probi* (cf. Sp. *rio*). On the other hand, in many cases to be found in the inscriptions *u* or *v* is omitted, as Carnoy observes (*op. cit.*, p. 130), to avoid the doubling of the letter. This seems to be proved by the occurrence in the same document of *dius* and *divos*, *Flaus* and *Flavos*, but in general the disappearance of *v* between unlike vowels belongs to popular speech of the later day (cf. Sommer *Handbuch*, p. 176).[1] There is only one case of (3) *anaptyxis* in Consentius and in this case it is interesting to see that the popular form *Menestheus* (388. 15) with the parasitic vowel, is in his opinion the correct literary word. Following the general principle illustrated in the case of *audacter*, that the syncopated forms result from rapid and careless pronunciation, he naturally regards *Mnestheus* as vulgar. A parasitic vowel like *e* in the first syllable of *Menestheus* was inserted in order to facilitate pronunciation. Naturally it appears most frequently in borrowed words where combinations of consonants foreign to Latin usage occur, but it is inserted now and then even in pure Latin forms (cf., e. g., *liberitas*, *CIL* X. 215, and *calecandum*, *CIL* I. 1166) where a harsh or heavy group of consonants is found. Forms with the parasitic vowel

[1] For other instances, see Schuchardt II, pp. 471 ff.; Ullman *Rom. Forsch.* VII, pp. 201 f.; Heraeus *Ar. f. lat. Lex.* XI, p. 306; Grandgent *Introd. to Vulgar Latin*, pp. 102, 136, 178; Pirson *op. cit.*, p. 62 f.; Stolz *Hist. Gram.*, p. 285.

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aré commonest in southern Italy. This state of things is due to two facts (cf. Carnoy *op. cit.*, pp. 103 ff.): Many Greek words were brought into the Latin of this part of Italy and many of them probably came through Oscan, which shows a marked tendency to anaptyxis (cf. Buck *Gramm. of Oscan and Umbrian*, pp. 50 ff.). Forms with the inserted vowel, however, are of frequent occurrence in vulgar inscriptions, especially in epitaphs, all over the Roman world (cf. Seelmann, p. 251; Carnoy, p. 103; Pirson, p. 59; Stolz *Hist. Gramm.*, pp. 197 ff.; Neumann *Verzeichnis d. auf Ausspr. u. Rechtschr. bezüglichen Eigenthümlichkeiten in d. Inschr. aus Gallia Narbonensis*, Pt. I, pp. 8, 14; Pt. II, pp. 7, 11, 19). No instance of a prosthetic vowel is cited by Consentius, and this fact may have a bearing upon the date at which his treatise was composed. So far as (4) *the quality* of vowels goes Consentius remarks only upon *i*. The passage in question reads (394. 11–22): "iotacismum dicunt vitium quod per i litteram vel pinguius vel exilius prolatam fit. Galli pinguius hanc utuntur, ut cum dicunt 'ite,' non expresse ipsam proferentes, sed inter *e* et *i* pinguiorem sonum nescio quem ponentes. Graeci exilius hanc proferunt, adeo expressioni eius tenui studentes, ut, si dicant 'ius,' aliquantulum de priori littera sic proferant, ut videas disyllabum esse factum. Romanae linguae in hoc erit moderatio, ut exilis eius sonus sit, ubi ab ea verbum incipit, ut 'ite,' aut pinguior, ubi in ea desinit verbum, ut 'habui tenui;' medium quendam sonum inter *e* et *i* habet, ubi in medio sermone est, ut 'hominem.' mihi tamen videtur, quando producta est, plenior vel acutior esse; quando autem brevis est, medium sonum exhibere debet, sicut eadem exempla, quae posita sunt, possunt declarare." This passage has given rise to long discussions and diverse conclusions (cf., e. g., Lindsay *Lat. Lang.*, pp. 25 ff.; Seelmann *op. cit.*, pp. 191 ff.), but the difficulty in it, which is perhaps insoluble, lies mainly in the account which Consentius gives of the correct pronunciation of *i*. Fortunately we are concerned with the vulgar or dialectal treatment, and what is said on that point is reasonably clear. The Gauls, he remarks, in pronouncing *ite*, produce a sort of fuller sound which lies between *e* and *i*, that is, a relatively open *i*-sound, while the Greeks say *i-us*.

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There is a very small number of Gallic inscriptions in which *e* replaces long accented *i*. Pirson (*op. cit.*, p. 11) reports only four for the whole province and Neumann (*op. cit.*, Pt. I, p. 25) does not add to the number. It would seem, therefore, that, although this peculiarity in Gallic pronunciation was noticeable enough to catch the Roman ear it was not sufficiently marked to lead to the spelling *e*.

Two or three interesting but difficult questions are raised by Consentius' remarks concerning (5) *the quantity* of certain vowels. He seems to note as vulgar errors *pīper*, *pīus*[1] (392. 3), *ŏrator* (392. 11), *pīcēs* (?) (392. 18), *pīcĕs* (392. 25), *cĭborum* (393. 18), *merĕbatur* (393. 23), *nummŏs*[2] (393. 27), and *ōssua* (?) (396. 33). With one exception (viz., *cĭborum*) the short vowels which are lengthened are under the accent, and without exception the shortened long vowels are unaccented. Of the latter group two of the four cases (viz., *picĕs* and *merĕbatur*) fall under the *brevis-brevians* principle. When he first mentions *pices* Consentius speaks only of the vulgar lengthening of the vowel of the first syllable (*pīces*) but later he says that a *transmutatio temporis* occurs "siquis dicens pices producta priore et correpta sequenti pronuntiet" (i. e., *pīcĕs*). The last-mentioned pronunciation he probably has in mind in both passages. Other instances of the development of iambic into trochaic words are furnished by *Cērĕs* (quoted by Seelmann, p. 106, from Mar. Plotius Sac. K. VI. 451. 13 ff.), and *dēŏs* (*ibid.*, from Iuliani exc. K. V. 324. 19). In *pīus* the original long *i* was regularly retained in vulgar pronunciation as it was in similar paroxytone words (cf. Grōber *A. f. lat. Lex.* II, p. 101, under *dĭes*). The errors mentioned, as well as the mistakes illustrated by *ŏrator*, *merĕbatur*, and *nummŏs*, are readily understood without supposing that in common speech the quantitative principle had broken down entirely. Even the long initial vowel in *ōssua* may be due to the influence of *ōs*, and *cĭborum* is very likely not a bona-fide instance of an erroneous method of pronouncing the word, but rather a mistake made by some inexpert versifier or, it may be, even an illustration coined

[1] The reading *pīper vel pīus* is accepted from the Basel MS.

[2] Keil's transposition, viz., *nummos Verrĕs acceperat*, is accepted.

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by Consentius himself.[1] The same explanation ought possibly to be given to *merĕbatur* and *nummŏs*, which are cited in a similar metrical connection. If we turn to (6) the *semi-vowels* we find a warning against the trisyllabic pronunciation of *veni* (395. 15) and of *solvit* (392. 35 f.) and the trisyllabic pronunciation of *induruit* (393. 2). The Greeks of course had no sound like the Latin *v* and it is they, probably, who made the first two mistakes mentioned. This inference is confirmed by the fact that Consentius introduces his remarks by saying that he will note "vitia generalia quarundam nationum." The dissyllabic pronunciation of *ius* by the Greeks has already been mentioned (cf. p. 239).

The consonants.—The mistakes which Consentius mentions in the case of (1) the *initial consonants* concern mainly *h*. The attempt to reintroduce this sound in the Late Republic only led to a hopelessly confused state of mind about it among the common people, which is reflected by *homen* (392. 6), *onor* (392. 13), and *Hebrus* (392.21). In this connection may be mentioned the three transliterated forms of Greek words containing an aspirate used as illustrations by Consentius, viz., *Tracia* (392. 19), *Trachia* (392. 28), and *Chartago* (392. 20). The absence of the aspirate in the Romance derivatives from such words as these shows clearly that it was not sounded in normal vulgar Latin. *Trachia* and *Chartago*, therefore, represent the mistaken efforts of the few to pronounce or spell correctly. *Bobis* (392. 15) is one of the less frequent cases of confusion between *v* and *b* because, as Parodi has shown ("Del passagio di V in B nel latino volgare," *Romania*, 1898, pp. 180 ff.), the interchange of initial *v* and *b* is much rarer than is that of intervocalic *v* and *b*. Parodi's conclusion is confirmed by the facts obtained from a study of the Latin inscriptions (cf., e. g., Pirson, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 f.), although this distinction does not seem to have held for the pronunciation of Latin in Greek lands, if one may judge from the list given by Eckinger, *Die Orthographie lat. Wörter in griech. Inschriften*, pp. 85 ff., where such forms as Οὐαλέριος and Βαλέριος are found side by side from

[1] Consentius' words are (393. 16): "vult struere aliquis ex trochaeo et molosso, ut si dicat 'copiam esse doctorum,' structuram optimam facit. quodsi dicat hanc structuram se facere existimans 'copiam esse ciborum,' barbarismum fecerit: . . . . producit primam syllabam, ut dicat ciborum, cum si brevis sit."

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the second century B. C. on. A rather long list of instances of the substitution of initial *b* for *v* in Greek *defixiones* found in Italy and Africa is also cited by Audollent *Defixionum Tabellae*, pp. 536 f., and two cases of *bos* for *vos* in Latin tablets are also mentioned (*ibid.*, Nos. 273*a* and 274*a*). The trisyllable *Iachus* (397. 4) is hard to explain. In the vulgar treatment of (2) *medial consonants* the principal error which Consentius notes is the confusion of the single and double letter in such words as *vila* (392. 8), *mile* (*ibid.*), *ile* (394. 26), *Bacho* (397. 4), *iusit* (395. 14), *corupto* (400. 8), *tottum* (392. 1), and *cottidie* (392. 1). The full discussion by Lindsay (*Lat. Lang.*, pp. 113 ff.) and Sommer (*Handbuch*, pp. 291 ff.) of these two dialectal peculiarities of vulgar Latin makes the treatment of them here unnecessary. Although the mistake in the case of *ile* is ascribed to the Greeks, the faulty pronunciation which it illustrates and the opposite one are found in other parts of the Empire (cf., e. g., Guericke *De linguae vulgaris reliquiis apud Petronium et inscriptionibus parietariis Pompeianis*, pp. 27 ff., and Pirson *op. cit.*, pp. 84 ff.), and are commonest in the case of the letters *l* and *s* (cf. Audollent *op. cit.*, pp. 541 f.). In distinction from the Greeks, there are others who pronounce *ille* in such a way "ut aliquid illic soni etiam consonantis ammiscere videantur, quod pinguissimae prolationis est" (392. 28). Probably Lindsay is correct (*op. cit.*, p. 92) in thinking that these people gave double *l* the *ly* sound. In this connection should probably be mentioned in passing the reduction of a doubled consonant when the initial letter of a word in a sentence is the same as the final letter of the preceding word, which is illustrated by the faulty pronunciation *si custodit* for *sic custodit* (395. 13) (cf. p. 244).

The change of the intervocalic *d* to *r* in *peres* (392. 15), like the mistake in the case of *bobis* and *stetim*, all of which are stigmatized as Roman cockneyisms, is perpetuated in the Neapolitan *pere;* cf. Seelmann, p. 311. In noting the faulty pronunciation in the case of *nomeclator* (388. 15) Consentius has observed one of the marked characteristics of vulgar pronunciation, viz., the weakness of the nasal before mutes which is attested by such epigraphical forms as *pricipis* (*CIL* IV. 1945), *defuctus* (*CIL*

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XIII. 848), and *seper* (*CIL* X. 7173); cf. also Audollent *op. cit.*, p. 538. This explanation seems better than Buttmann's assumption (see Keil's critical note) based on Charisius *K.* I, 106. 20, that Consentius is condemning *nomenclator* as an objectionable form of *nomenculator*. At 395. 3 ff. the accepted text reads "ecce in littera *t* aliqui ita pingue nescio quid sonant, ut, cum dicunt 'etiam' nihil de media syllaba infringant. Graeci contra, ubi non debent infringere, de sono eius litterae infringunt, ut, cum dicunt 'optimus,' mediam syllabam ita sonent, quasi post *t z* Graecum ammisceant." For *post t z* the newly discovered Basel MS reads *post t·* ϒ· (cf. Winstedt *op. cit.*, p. 23). The reading of the Munich MS, followed by Keil, seems preferable here. Consentius, like Papirius and Pompeius (cf. Seelmann, p. 320), regards the assibilant pronunciation of *ty* in *etiam* as correct. His first criticism is directed against those who fail to give this sound to a medial *ti* followed by a vowel. At the other extreme are the Greeks who introduce assibilation (cf. Lindsay *Lat. Lang.*, pp. 83 f.) even when *ti* is not followed by a vowel. The new reading, if accepted, would seem to postulate the pronunciations *etyam* and *optūmus*. As the correct pronunciation, over against *etyam* and *optūmus*, Consentius would probably put *etzyam* and *optimus*. But the two errors would not be so clearly opposed to each other in this case as we should expect from the use of *contra*.

Consentius furnishes several interesting instances of metathesis. We find *lapidicinas* (391. 23), *perlum*, *reilquum* (392. 23), *interpertor*, *coacla* (392. 24), *displicina* (392. 25), and *forpicem* (397. 16). Such cases of metathesis belong particularly to the people's Latin of the late period, and result from a tendency to facilitate pronunciation. The individual factor is an important one here (cf. Sommer *Handbuch*, p. 301), but all these instances fall into three groups. Either a consonant and vowel change places with each other, as is the case with *perlum*, *reilquum*, and *interpertor*, or a consonant, as in *coacla*, is transferred to another part of a word, or two non-adjacent consonants change places with each other, as in *lapicidinas*, *displicina*, and *forpicem* (cf. *lerinquas* = *relinquas*, Audollent *op. cit.*, 286*b*).

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If we turn to (3) the *final consonants* we are surprised that Consentius utters no warning, as the *Appendix Probi* has done, against the omission of final *-m*. His principal concern is with final *-m* followed by an initial vowel, as in *dixeram illis* (394. 7), and this subject he discusses at great length in the following treatise *De scandendis versibus* (400. 28 ff.). His words furnish an interesting commentary on Quintilian's observation on final *-m* in this position *neque enim eximitur sed obscuratur* (*Inst.* ix. 4. 40), for he remarks (394. 5): "mytacismus dicunt cum in dictione aliquid sic incuriose ponitur vocali sequente *m* litteram, ut, an ad priorem pertineat an ad sequentem, incertum sit." Lindsay (*Lat. Lang.*, p. 121) suggests that "one may perhaps see the beginnings of the suppression of final consonants in the tendency . . . . to detach a final consonant from its word, and join it to a following initial" of which practice Consentius gives as an illustration *si(c) custodit* for *sic custodit* (395. 13) and *si cludit* for *sic ludit* (395. 9). The inference scarcely seems probable. In both cases the same phonetic principle applies between the two words concerned as we find at work within a word. In the first case careless pronunciation reduces the double consonant to a single one (cf. p. 242). In the other, following the principle of syllable division, the speaker joins final *c* to the following *l*. The tendency is a natural one, because the two words in each pair are closely joined in sense. Perhaps in fact the syllable-division followed in the sense-unit *sicludit* represents the common practice in everyday discourse. If this is true, wherever in writers of colloquial Latin, like Plautus or Petronius, a final mute precedes an initial liquid in a word group, the two consonants should be read with the following vowel. We can readily understand how a grammarian interested in preserving the integrity of single words would condemn such a practice as this, even if it were widespread. (4) One or two *miscellaneous forms* may be mentioned here. No satisfactory explanation can be given of *coperit* (392. 1) for *operit* or *gruit* (*ibid.*) for *ruit*, and the text is so uncertain at 396. 35 that no conclusion can be drawn from the form *apse*.

Morphology.—Under accent is to be mentioned the very interesting description (392. 4) of the error which is made: "siquis

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dicens triginta priorem syllabam acuat et sequentem graviter enuntiet" (cf. Sommer *Handbuch*, pp. 497 f.). Of the incidence of the accent on the first syllable of *orator* (392. 19, 27) there seems to be no further proof, although of course it is paralleled by the historically incorrect accentuation which the same word bears in English by the side of *curator*. From the citation of *nantes* (388. 18) as a case of syncope the conclusion is natural, though not inevitable, that Consentius did not think of *nato* as a frequentative derived from *no*. This attitude would be readily explicable in view of the growing use of frequentatives, which had been taken over from the people's speech, at the expense of the simple verb. *Tutrusit* (392. 2) is perhaps a reduplicated form. There seems to be no sufficient reason, however, for regarding it as vulgar (cf. Lindsay *Lat. Lang.*, p. 503). The common people evidently had difficulty with the nominative and genitive singular of certain mute stems of the third declension, for Consentius condemns as nominatives *fontis* and *dentis* (396. 8), while the *Appendix Probi* gives the warning *orbis non orbs* and *nubes non nubs*. In the way of VOCABULARY the possible retention in vulgar Latin of the archaic forms *Mavors* (397. 7) and *covacla* (397. 13) is worth noticing. The condemnation of the use of *scala*, *sordes*, *quadriga* (396. 5), *strena* (396. 26), and *Fidena* (397. 20), in the singular, and of *luces* and *paces* (396. 6) in the plural is also interesting. The form *ossua* (396. 25) seems to have come into rather common use in late Latin, especially in Christian writers (cf. Neue I. 532). Possibly it was a literary archaism, preserved like many others in vulgar Latin, which came to the surface in literature in the late period. *Invictissimus* and *infidelissimus* are condemned, but with the strange comment that "siquis dicat invictissimum ducem aut infidelissimum amicum, putat se plus dicere quam invictum aut infidelem, cum invictissimus ille sit, qui non penitus victus, et infidelissimus ille, qui non usque ad summum fidelis" (398. 8 ff.).

One is tempted to make a brief comparison of the vulgar errors mentioned by Consentius with those recorded in the *Appendix Probi*. The most important barbarismi in the *Appendix* which are not referred to by Consentius are the weakening

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of *i* in hiatus to *e*, the silence of final *m*, the confusion between *s* and *x* (cf. *aries non ariex*, *App.*); the dropping of *ct* to the *t* sound in such words as *auctor*, and the fondness for such secondary forms as the diminutive and for certain endings like *-osus*. Of analogical forms, which are so numerous in the *Appendix*, Consentius seems to mention only *dentis* and *fontis* as nominatives. The most important points peculiar to Consentius are comments upon certain mistakes in quantity and accent, and the cases which he mentions of the single for the double consonant.

The errors which they both condemn are the confusion of *b* and *v*, the misuse of the aspirate, the use of the double for the single consonant, syncope, the slighting of the nasal, metathesis, and vowel weakening. We may call attention in this connection to what was observed in an earlier part of the paper (p. 235), viz., that Consentius does not concern himself with incorrect spelling as the *Appendix Probi* does.

A characteristic feature of the treatise of Consentius is his attempt to point out certain dialectal peculiarities in the pronunciation of Latin in different parts of the Empire. Errors committed by the Africans, the Greeks, the Gauls and by the people of Rome are mentioned by him. The African mistakes are all mistakes in quantity, *pīus*, *pīper*, and *ŏrator* (cf. pp. 240 f.). The Greeks are more catholic in their tendencies to error. They reduce *-ss* to *-s* (*iusit*, 395. 14) and *-ll* to *-l* in *ille* (cf. pp. 242 f.) and it is probably they, also, who are guilty of saying *vila*, and *mile*. The difficulty which they have with the semi-vowel *i* in *ius* makes it probable that they should be held responsible for the mispronunciation of *soluit*, *ueni*, and perhaps of *indurvit* (cf. pp. 241 f.). Apparently they were especially prone, too, to the confusion of *b* and *v* (cf. pp. 241 f.), and to their door Consentius specially lays the faulty pronunciation *optζimus* (p. 243) or *optūmus* (?). The plebs Romana said *stetim* for *statim* (cf. p. 237); the Gauls mispronounce *ite* (p. 239), and the Italians, if we accept the reading of the Basel MS, give a wrong pronunciation to *etiam* (p. 243). *Si cludit* for *sic ludit*, *si custodit* for *sic custodit* (cf. p. 244), and the tendency to labdacismus (cf. p. 242)

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are national errors, but their place of occurrence is not given. It has been generally supposed that Consentius was a Gaul, but it is at least worth noting that this list of national errors seems to originate with him and yet only one of the number is Gallic—a state of affairs which does not on its face harmonize with the assumption that his home was in Gaul. It may be observed, too, that when he refers to the one specified Gallic mistake he does not use the first person plural, but says *Galli . . . . utuntur*.

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THE INFLUENCE OF METER ON THE HOMERIC CHOICE OF DISSYLLABLES

By John A. Scott

It is well known that many of the most common Greek words, such as ἄγαν, πάνυ, τόπος, σοφός, νόμος, are not found in Homer, while λόγος is so rare that the two passages in which it occurs are often doubted or emended. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Homerische Untersuchungen*, p. 20, supports his theory for the late composition of the first book of the *Odyssey* by assuming that λόγος of vs. 56 and νόμος of vs. 3 in the reading of Zenodotus, are "notorisch unhomerisch in der spätern Zeit ganz geläufig." Yet these two words never secured more than a foothold in epic poetry; Wellauer gives no example of νόμος in Apollonius, and Paschal[1] gives none from Quintus Smyrnaeus; Elderkin[2] shows that λόγος is found but once in Apollonius and once in Quintus, also that it is practically absent from all late epic poetry. The fact that these two words are as rare in latest as earliest Greek epic makes it impossible to assign any force to the argument of Wilamowitz that their assumed appearance in the first book of the *Odyssey* establishes its lateness, since this would make it later than the Posthomerica. There is no fact to support the statement that these words became "ganz geläufig" in hexameter verse, the only verse from which an argument should be drawn.

This paper will be confined to a discussion of three words, σοφός, νόμος, λόγος. Why should Quintus, e. g., have used λόγος but once? Homer has two well-attested examples, O 393, *a* 56, both in the text of Aristarchus, both certainly in the Homer known to him. The fact that Homer used this word but twice does not explain the practical absence from Quintus, since the latter never carefully regulated his vocabulary in accordance with Homeric usage; Paschal, p. 22, shows that Quintus has a vocabu-

[1] *A Study of Quintus of Smyrna* (University of Chicago dissertation).

[2] *Aspects of the Speech in the Later Greek Epic*, pp. 1 ff. (Johns Hopkins dissertation).

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lary of 3,800 words, of which 800, or more than one-fifth, are not in Homer, but even this one-fifth does not fairly represent the divergence, since many words rare in the early epic are here used with great freedom, e. g., Homer uses δῆρις but twice, Quintus employs it nine times in the first book; καΐπερ, found once in Homer, is twice used in the first book, and this same first book has the non-Homeric ἐΰσθενής six times, while the non-Homeric forms καταντίον, κατέναντα are found five times in Book i. These examples, taken from many, show that Quintus used with equal freedom words rare in Homer or words common, while many of his most frequent words are not in Homer at all.

The fact that Quintus does not use words so well-known to him as σοφός, νόμος, λόγος deserves some other explanation than Homeric imitation.

There must have been some external force acting both on Homer and on Quintus. These words were known to Homer, since λόγος is used twice and the root is found in the verbs λέγω, μυθολογεύω. Homer does not have σοφός, but has the abstract derivative σοφίη, O 412, nor does he have νόμος, but has the abstract εὐνομίη, ρ 487. The absence of a word may be no proof of the poet's feeling, since Homer does not use the word ῥόδον, yet must have held the rose in high esteem, as the words ῥοδόεις, ῥοδοδάκτυλος, show. It will be observed that these three words, νόμος, σοφός, λόγος are pyrrhics, or dissyllables with short penults, and that no pyrrhic can begin a verse, end a verse, or follow the bucolic diaeresis. I shall try to explain the practical absence of these three words from epic poetry on the basis of the meter. My thesis is this: Greek epic poetry prefers dissyllables with a long penult, and where choice is possible, generally chooses the long form, using the form with the short penult sparingly or not at all, that is, the absence of these three words is due to the meter rather than to meaning or ethos.

The prooemium of the *Iliad* has 12 dissyllables with long penults and but 3 with short. The prooemium of the *Odyssey* has 18 with long penults, and 9 with short. The first 100 dissyllables in the *Odyssey* show 66 with the penult long, 34 with it short, while of the first 100 in the *Iliad* 63 penults were long,

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37 short. Repeated tests, taken at random, in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* show that at least 60 per cent. of the dissyllables have long penults. The first 100 dissyllables in Aesch. *P. V.* show but 33 with long penults, against the 66 of the *Odyssey*, the same number in the *Septem* have 40 with the penult long, 60 with it short. Careful examination of many chance passages in Aeschylus shows about the same ratio. Homer then in every five dissyllables has at least three with the long penult, Aeschylus scarcely two. This preference is as marked in the later as in the earliest epic poetry, since the first 100 verses in the Posthomerica have 111 dissyllables with long penult and but 75 with short. This simply puts the pressure upon epic poets to choose in general, where choice is possible, the word or form with the long penult. There are many words which must be used, since there is no ready synonym or parallel form, such words are ἐγώ, ἐμός, θεός, ἔχω, ὅτε, περί, ἀνά, κατά, κτλ., so that using these words the choice of pyrrhics must be further restricted. It is clear from a comparison of Homeric dissyllables, having 60 per cent. of the penults long, with the 40 per cent. of Aeschylus that Homer decidedly prefers the trochaic or spondaic word to the pyrrhic or iambic. How is this preference to be shown? Sometimes by metrical lengthening, as in ὕδωρ B 307, δριμύς Λ 270, ἀνήρ B 553, δῑά Γ 357, Ἄρες E 31, φίλε E 359, ὄφις M 208, ἔπει δ 13; but, except in polysyllables, this is violent and spasmodic, as Schulze *Quaestiones epicae* has shown. An easy and ready way lay before the poet, namely to choose the synonym or form with the long penult in preference to the one with the short.

Homer has many dissyllables with a long initial syllable where Attic Greek has a short, such as καλός, ἠώς, μοῦνος, νοῦσος, κοῦρος, ἶσος, ξεῖνος, γαῖα, ποίη, στεῖνος, καίω, τίνω, φθίνω, φθάνω, στείνω. Although the long form of most of these words is due to an original digamma and Homer does not use the short form, it may well be questioned whether the short form was unknown to him and the long a deliberate choice, since we have ξενίη, ξένιον, but only ξεῖνος; μονωθείς but no μόνος; στείνω in the simple verb, while the compound is περιστένεται; ὕω with the penult long, yet the same vowel is short in the derivative Ὑάδες; φθίνω with the penultimate

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vowel long, but short in the alternative form φθινύθω; Homer has only ἠώς, but the shorter form appears in ἑωσφόρος Ψ 226. The presence of these shorter forms shows that before the Homeric poems had reached their present shape the loss of a digamma within a word did not compel compensative lengthening, although for most of the words we have no proof that the poet had both short and long forms from which to choose.

In the following words we can see the Homeric choice, as their comparative frequency shows: αἰεί occurs 238 times, ἀεί 3; ῥεῖα, as a dissyllable, 53; ῥέα, as a dissyllable, 5; εἴσω 53, ἔσω 7; yet the simple ἐς is found twice as often as εἰς; λίην 32, λἴην 10; πᾱτρός 125, πᾰτρός Z 479, only, Ludwich *Aristarchus* II. 353; πρόσσω 14, πρόσω 4; νηός 94, νεός 14; νῆα 114, νέα 1, and even that one pronounced as a monosyllable; νῆες 53, νέες 12; νηῶν 85, ναῦφιν 12, νεῶν 42; νῆας 191, νέας 16; oblique cases of χείρ, where there are the two forms, χειρί 85, χερί 3; these three datives are the only forms of this word with a short penult, the short stem appearing in the form χερσί, but the ending makes it a trochee; πλεῖος 12, πλέος 1. The shift between these two forms is purely metrical, as the one example of the pyrrhic form shows, ν 355:

εἰδώλων δὲ πλέον πρόθυρον, πλείη δὲ καὶ αὐλή,

ἔως, "until," is scanned with initial short syllable but once in Homer, β 78, with initial long about 50 times; τέως with initial long 9, short 2; υἱός with initial long over 300, initial short 12; πνέω 1, πνείω elsewhere and often; κενός 1, elsewhere κεινός, or the trisyllable κενεός; of the indefinite relatives the forms with long penults, such as ὅστις, ὅττι, occur far more frequently than the shorter forms ὅτις, ὅτι; so the forms with the long penult, τόσσος, ὅσσος, predominate over the pyrrhics ὅσος, τόσος; χρεῖος 6, χρέος 2; κρείων 14, κρέων 1; θάρσος, the trochee, 12, the pyrrhic θράσος but once. In the above selected cases we had the same word now with a long, now with a short penult. In the following list we shall see how in synonyms a dissyllable with a long penult takes the place of one with short. Homer has no iambic ἐκεῖ, yonder, but instead has κεῖθι, κεῖσε, κεῖθεν, yet the form with short penult must have been known to him as the form ἐκεῖθι shows; Homer

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has no πάνυ, but trochaic πάγχυ; τίπτε takes the place of τί ποτε; εἶδαρ with long penult, yet the verb is ἔδω, ἔδομαι; ἔγχος and the stem form as shown in δουρός are far more common than the pyrrhic δόρυ; φλοῖσβος, δοῦπος, but no ψόφος; φύζα 7 times, φύξις 3, while the iambic φυγή is found but twice; πέδον only in the form πέδονδε which gives the long penult; χλαίνη, but no χλανίς; ἦμαρ over 200 times, ἡμέρη but six. The ease with which ἦμαρ fits into the dactylic verse, the difficulty in using ἡμέρη is sufficient explanation for the difference in their use. The use of πνοίη for the true form πνόη seems to be due to the meter.[1] ἐγγύς 46, ἄγχι 62, πέλας 2; ἔρση, ἐέρση (for dew), but no δρόσος; μῶλος 7, μόλος 1; ἠδέ ten times as often as ἰδέ and αὐτάρ five times as often as ἀτάρ; ὠκύς more common than ταχύς, ὦκα 74, ταχέως 1; while the comparative forms θᾶσσον, τάχιστα, forms with the long penult, occur 76 times. The pyrrhic word for bow, βιός 17, the synonym, with long initial syllable, τόξον 113. ἔμπης has taken the place of ὅμως, except in M 393, as a *v. l.* λ 565. δράκων with the oblique cases such as δράκοντα furnishing a long penult crowds out ὄφις, used as an exact synonym M 208, even here the meter forced ο under the ictus.

Many pyrrhic or iambic words developed a corresponding form with long initial syllable, e. g., δίχα, διχθά; τρίχα, τριχθά; μίγα, μίγδα, the pyrrhic form μίγα is not in Homer; Τρίκη, Τρίκκη; ἐνί, εἰνί; δύο has a parallel δοιώ; ὁδός, οὐδός; πολύς, πουλύς; πνέω, πνείω; πλέω, πλείω; θέω, θείω, *v.* Schulze *Quaestiones epicae* 276. Many pyrrhics are given long penults by the addition of δε, e. g., πόλινδε, πέδονδε; Homer has λίς to avoid the iambic λέων; θέαινα to avoid θεαί; the use of the pyrrhic λίπα is avoided by eliding the last vowel, and the short penult in χρέω disappears in synizesis, so that the word is always a monosyllable.

A comparison of Homer with Aeschylus, as well as the comparison of Homeric words, shows his great preference for dissyllables with a long penult.

Ludwich *Aristarchus* II. 313: "Wealth of spondees is a peculiarity of the older Greek hexameter," 336, "The Greek language has far more dactylic than spondaic elements." How then could

[1] Solmsen *Laut- und Verslehre*, p. 113.

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Homer give this spondaic tone to a dactylic language? Clearly in two ways, by the rather violent method of poetic lengthening, or by the choice in kindred words or forms of the one with the long rather than the short vowel. Schulze has shown in all parts of his *Quaestiones epicae* the epic reluctance felt in metrical lengthening, especially in other than polysyllabic words. The spondaic tone is clear in Quintus also, so the path open to Homer was open to him, and while he differs much from Homer in vocabulary he rarely uses a non-Homeric pyrrhic or trochaic word.

Paschal, pp. 22 f. gives a list of 99 words found in Quintus which first appear in the *Homeric Hymns*, Hesiod, early lyric poets, or Pindar; not one of these 99 words is a dissyllable having a short penult, if we except πέδον which appears in Homer under the form πέδονδε, and φάραγξ which, however, appears in Quintus under the form φάραγξιν, giving the coveted long penult, so it is no exception. While there are no words of the 99 of the metrical form of λόγος, there are nine dissyllables with a long penult, viz., κισσός, πρέμνον, ζῆλος, σίμβλος, σμῆνος, ὕδρη, βληχρός, λαιός, τερπνός. This metrical restraint laid upon Quintus furnishes an explanation for the fact that he called his poems λόγοι, *v.* Paschal, p. 11, yet used that word but once in the poems themselves.

There are few better attested words or roots in Homer than λόγος, the noun is found twice in the best manuscripts and was not questioned by the Alexandrians, while the same root is found both in λέγω and μυθολογεύω. The cutting-out of all words in Homer that appear but once or twice would leave few passages intact, yet this word is fortified not only by its double use, but also by verbs from the same root. It is impossible to draw any sure definition of λόγος from the two sentences in Homer, and I can see but little difference in the Homeric use of μῦθος from that of λόγος in the later lyric or tragic poets. Homer contrasts μῦθος with ἔργον, *a* 358, I 443, Σ 252 in the same way later writers contrasted λόγος with ἔργον. μυθολογεύω, where both words are combined into one verb, argues for similarity of meaning. Apollonius Sophistes in his *Lexicon to Homer* defines μῦθος by one word, λόγος. Nothing is gained by assigning the two Homeric

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verses in which λόγος appears to later poets, since later epic poets preferred μῦθος quite as much as Homer. All later epic poets had these two Homeric precedents, they had the ideas which in conversation, tragic, and lyric poetry were expressed by λόγος; why, then, having these Homeric examples and good established prose and poetic usage did they choose μῦθος? Simply because the epic verse prefers dissyllables with long penult rather than those with short. Hence no νόμος, but θέμιστες, with long penult; no σοφός, but δαίφρων, περίφρων, and other compounds of φρην or μῆτις, each with a long penult. This may explain the Homeric preference for ὄφρα with the long penult rather than the pyrrhic ἵνα, and why the genitive singular shows the early οιο with long penult, or the late ου, but so few traces of the intervening οο, with its short penult. The use of the same word with double quantities as in υ 355; πλέον, πλείη, E 31; Ἄρες, Ἄρες must have caused a metrical jar which would have been avoided had there been a fitting synonym close at hand.

The history of νόμος in Homer and the elegiac poets is as follows: Homer does not use the word itself, but it must have been familiar to him, as he uses the derivative εὐνομίη, ρ 487, which presupposes a νόμος. A scholar as eminent as Zenodotus felt it perfectly in keeping with Homeric ideas, so did not hesitate to assign this word to α 3. The word does not appear in the dactylic verse of Solon, except in the abstracts δυσνομίη, εὐνομίη, ii. 32, 33. However, he does use νόμος in an iambic verse, 32. 16. In fact this word never appears in the hexameter verse of the elegiac distich, but only in the so-called pentameter. In the Hiller-Crusius edition νόμος is first found in the elegy in Theognis 54:

οἳ πρόσθ' οὔτε δίκας ἤδεσαν οὔτε νόμους,

and in the same position, Theognis 290:

ἀνδρῶν, ἡγέονται δ' ἐκτραπέλοισι νόμοις,

each time at the end of the verse, or just the position where the pentameter differs most from the hexameter. A dissyllable with short initial syllable cannot close a hexameter, it can a pentameter. It is more than probable that it is the meter and not the meaning

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which puts this word in the second and not the first verse of the distich.

Homer has no σοφός, but the word was known to him, since he uses the derivative σοφίη. Archilochus has no example of this word in the dactylic elegy, but uses it in an iambic trimeter, 44. 1. The only elegiac poet to use σοφός freely is Theognis, who uses it once in the hexameter, seven times in the pentameter, and five of these seven at the end of the verse, a position not allowed in the dactylic hexameter. (See the recent *Index* prepared by Mary Corwin Lane, "Cornell Studies," 1908.) As has been said λόγος[1] is found well attested twice in Homer and the root appears in λέγω, μυθολογεύω. Even though sanctioned by Homeric precedent Solon does not use it, nor does it appear in elegiac poetry except rarely, being practically confined to Theognis. According to the *Index*, just mentioned, it appears in the distich but fourteen times down to and including Aristotle, and of these fourteen six are at the end of the pentameter.

In elegiac poetry λόγος, νόμος, σοφός are found at the end of the pentameter more frequently than in all the other positions combined.

In any given verse Homer might have used σοφός, νόμος, λόγος if he chose, but each time the metrical need influenced him to choose a substitute for that particular word. That the influence should have shown itself in each individual case and have kept the first two of these words from the poems and made the last so rare is a pure accident, an accident due to epic preference for dissyllables with long initial syllable.[2]

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[1] It may seem that the preference for dissyllables with long penult would have shown itself in a restricted use of ἔπος as well as λόγος. Few words adjust themselves to the needs of the verse so easily as ἔπος, since it begins now with a digamma, now with a vowel, and has such dactylic forms as ἔπεα, ἐπέεσσι, ἔπεσσι, κτλ. This unusual metrical adaptability is quite sufficient to account for its free use in epic poetry.

[2] Danielsson's *Zur metrischen Dehnung* has not been quoted but has been of great service in preparing this paper. The *Index* by Gehring was constantly used, as well as Ebeling and Capelle. The Homeric readings are those in the last edition of Ludwich.

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THE TEMPORAL *CUM*-CLAUSE AND ITS RIVALS

By J. J. Schlicher

The various forms of the *cum*-clause perform approximately the same temporal functions as the clauses introduced by *postquam*, *ubi*, *ut*, *simulatque*, and *dum*. The two sets of constructions are, in a sense, interchangeable. Sallust, in his *Catiline* and *Jugurtha*, has 209 cases of *postquam* and *ubi*, and 24 cases of temporal *cum* with the subjunctive; in Caesar the figures are 77 and 147, and in Nepos 49 and 181, respectively. There is no reason to doubt that if Sallust had written the Commentaries or the Biographies, he would still have used the conjunctions in substantially the same proportion as he did. His individual preference led him to use *postquam* and *ubi*, which shows that while these may be regarded as substitutes for *cum*, there is nevertheless a difference between them and *cum*, which determined his choice. And this difference is clearly not an objective one, due to the character of the facts narrated, but subjective, reflecting the mental processes of the writer. To discover it we must, therefore, examine the mental processes involved in such forms of speech, rather than the external facts which they express.

I

The thinking which accompanies our speech is progressive.[1] We do not have the whole subject before our minds with equal clearness at any moment, while we are speaking or writing, nor even so much as is contained in a single long sentence. Rather, the different things which we say move, one after the other, into the full light of our consciousness, where they are held long enough to be seen in their details and internal structure, preparatory to their expression in speech. Then they return to the vague background of our minds, from which they came.

[1] See Wundt *Völkerpsychologie—Die Sprache*, Vol. I. 234–48, and Morris *On Principles and Methods in Syntax*, chap. ii.

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It is evident that for any given section of thought there is what we may call its culmination, the stage when it has attained its maximum of clearness in the mind. This must necessarily be so, since it passes from a state of vagueness, before the moment of speech has arrived, through one of distinctness into another state of vagueness after its expression, when the speaker's attention has passed on to something else. If this is true, it is also clear that when the vocal organs are ready to begin a new clause, the idea contained in it has not in all cases reached the same stage of distinctness, or, as we might say, it is not in all cases equally far advanced toward maturity.

So we may, for the purposes of our present discussion, divide the thoughts to be expressed by temporal clauses into two classes — those which are fully matured when expression begins, and those which are not fully matured. In the former the full bearing of what is to be said, and its internal structure, is clearly evident to the mind, while in the latter it is not yet thus evident, since the culmination in the progress of the thought has not been reached. Whether it is the one or the other ought to appear, if a distinction is made in speech at all, in the character of the introductory word. For when the thought is mature and has, even at this point, fully taken shape, the speaker is in a position to be more specific and accurate in his manner of expression than when this is not the case.

We shall assume then, as an initial step, that the clauses introduced by *postquam*, *ubi*, *ut*, *simulatque*, and *dum* probably express thought in a more advanced stage of formation than those introduced by *cum*. For while the words in the former list are all specific in their meaning, *cum* may be used to introduce a clause when neither the exact temporal relation, nor the nature of the action (aoristic or progressive), nor the nature of the relation itself (temporal, causal, adversative) is as yet distinctly realized by the speaker.[1]

The tendency of the clauses with *postquam*, *ubi*, etc., to confine themselves to a single form of the verb, as compared with the wide variety of tense and mood following *cum*, points in the same

[1] The process of clarification in the mind continues while the clause is being expressed, and the verb at the end regularly supplies some of the deficiencies of the introductory word.

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direction. On the one hand, the specific character of the introductory word in the former is naturally associated with specific forms of the verb. *Simulatque* requires a verb of momentary action; *dum*, "while," a tense of continuance; *ubi* and *ut*, ordinarily expressing identity of place and manner, and *dum*, "so long as," naturally make for a form of the verb similar in force to that of the main clause.

On the other hand, when the introductory words are themselves specific and indicate fully the temporal relation of their clause to the rest of the sentence, there is little left for the verbs to do. As a result, the verbs with *postquam*, etc., do little to express this relation. In most cases, with the exception of *dum*, these conjunctions introduce an act or occurrence preceding that of the main clause. And yet, the present perfect and pluperfect are rarely used with them. And *dum*, "while," has a form of the verb which does not make any pretense whatever of expressing the actual time of the occurrence which it mentions. With *cum*, on the other hand, both the character of the action and its temporal relation to that of the main clause, is regularly expressed by the form of the verb, and not by the conjunction.

II

How does it come about that some thoughts reach a stage of maturity in the mind so much more rapidly than others? The easiest answer is that it depends very much on the individual and the circumstances. The minds of all persons do not work with the same speed. Temporary excitement or unusual interest may have an effect. Familiarity with the matter under discussion, the speaker's purpose, the literary fashions of his time, may all play a part. But after this allowance is made, there will still be a sufficient residuum of similar conditions in thought, with similar effects in speech, from which reliable conclusions may be drawn.

When we speak, one idea follows the other because it is in some way associated with it. The connection between them may be of many different kinds, and may vary greatly in the force and fulness with which the first suggests the second. It is not always the path of least resistance that is followed. For the direction in

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which the thought proceeds will, at every step, be determined necessarily by the underlying purpose and nature of the discourse. And this will call for difficult as well as easy transitions. When the transition is easy, we shall naturally expect the new idea, other things being equal, to make more rapid progress than when it is hard.

Generally speaking, the transition should be easy in all those cases where the following idea involves a sequel to the preceding one which is natural or inevitable, and so can easily be foreseen. The transition will be more difficult, and the full maturing of the new idea in the mind will consequently be relatively more slow whenever it involves an occurrence or condition of things which is less closely and necessarily related to what has gone before. As examples of easy transition may be mentioned such clauses as express the arrival at a goal, or the consummation or completion of an action which has been mentioned previously, or the reaching of a certain stage naturally implied in it, or a sequel otherwise directly suggested by it. Of course the mere repetition of a previous idea, with or without elaboration, would also belong here. Clauses introduced by *postquam*, *ubi*, *ut*, and *simulatque* are widely used in all these cases.

Arrival at a goal:

Hoc nuntio commotus, sperans se etiamtum pecunia et potentia instans periculum posse depellere, domum rediit. Huc *ut* venit, ab ephoris in vincla publica est coniectus. (Nepos *Paus.* 3. 5.)

Cum . . . . eos in eo loco, quo tum essent, suum adventum exspectare iussisset, paruerunt. Eo *postquam* Caesar pervenit, obsides, arma, servos . . . . poposcit. (Caesar *B. G.* i. 27. 3.)

Itaque paucis diebus cum auro et argento multo Romam legatos misit. . . . . Sed *ubi* Romam legati venere . . . . tanta commutatio incessit ut. . . . . (Sallust *Jug.* 13. 7.)

Itaque, *ut* domum Cybebes tetigere lassulae,
Nimio e labore somnum capiunt sine Cerere.
(Catullus lxiii. 35, 36)

Consummation of an action:

Jugurtha quam maximas potest copias armat . . . . Adherbal, tametsi Romam legatos miserat . . . . fretus multitudine militum parabat armis contendere. Sed *ubi* res ad certamen venit, victus ex proelio profugit. (Sallust *Jug.* 13. 4.)

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Is de honore regni cum Agesilao, patruo suo, contendit neque id quod petivit consecutus est. Nam Lysandro suffragante. . . . . Agesilaus antelatus est. Hic *simulatque* imperii potitus est, persuasit Lacedaemoniis ut. . . . . (Nepos *Ages.* 2. 1.)

> Tum victu revocant vires fusique per herbam
> Implentur veteris Bacchi pinguisque ferinae.
> *Postquam* exempta fames epulis mensaeque remotae,
> Amissos longo socios sermone requirunt.
>
> (Virgil *Aen.* i. 214 ff.)

Reaching a certain stage in the action:

Huic in respondendo Epaminondas, cum de ceteris perorasset, *postquam* ad illa duo opprobria pervenit, admirari se dixit stultitiam rhetoris Attici. (Nepos *Epam.* 6. 3.)

Ubi vero ea pars turris, quae erat perfecta, tecta atque munita est ab omni ictu hostium, pluteos ad alia opera adduxerunt. (Caesar *Bel. Civ.* ii. 9. 5.)

> *Postquam* prima quies epulis mensaeque remotae,
> Crateres magnos statuunt et vina coronant.
>
> (Virgil *Aen.* i. 723, 724.)

Postremo *ut* iam agendae rei tempus visum est, stipatus agmine armatorum in forum inrupit. (Livy i. 47. 8.)

Simul primo concursu concrepuere arma, hostis dolo non metu pedem rettulit. (Livy vi. 24. 1.)

Sequel directly suggested:

Quaerit quibus locis sit Aspis: cognoscit haud longe abesse profectum que tum venatum. Quem *dum* speculatur, adventus eius causa cognoscitur. (Nepos *Datam.* 4. 4.)

Micipsa paucis post diebus moritur. *Postquam* illi more regio iusta magnifice fecerant, reguli in unum convenerunt. (Sallust *Jug.* 11. 2.)

Pompeius interclusus Dyrrhachio, *ubi* propositum tenere non potuit, secundo usus consilio edito loco . . . . castra communit. (Caesar *Bel. Civ.* iii. 42. 1.)

Ita renovatum foedus, indictumque iunioribus Latinorum ut ex foedere die certa ad lucum Ferentinae armati frequentes adessent. Qui *ubi* ad edictum Romani regis ex omnibus populis convenere . . . . miscuit manipulos. (Livy i. 52. 6.)

Repetition of the preceding idea:

Postquam, ut dixi, senatus in Catonis sententiam discessit, consul . . . . tresviros quae ad supplicium postulabat parare iubet. (Sallust *Cat.* 55. 1.)

Haec *dum* Dardanio Aeneae miranda videntur. (Virgil *Aen.* i. 494.)

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Dum ea Romae geruntur. (Sallust *Cat.* 56. 1.)
Id *ubi* dixisset. (Livy i. 32. 13.)
Haec *ubi* dicta. (Virgil *Aen.* i. 81.)
Roseis *ut* huic labellis sonitus abiit celer. (Catullus lxiii. 74.)

All these classes of ideas are also expressed by *cum*-clauses, with the difference, however, that they make up a much smaller proportion of the total number of temporal clauses with *cum*, than they do in the case of the other clauses mentioned above. The following examples will illustrate.

Arrival at a goal:

Iamque ibat dicto parens et dona Cupido
Regia portabat Tyriis, duce laetus Achate.
Cum venit, aulaeis iam se regina superbis
Aurea composuit sponda mediamque locavit.
(Virgil *Aen.* i. 695 ff.)

Consummation of an action:

Imperavit quam plurimas venenatas serpentes vivas colligi easque in vasa fictilia conici. Harum *cum* effecisset magnam multitudinem. (Nepos *Han.* 10. 5.)

Reaching a certain stage in the action:

Sedatis Hannibal certaminibus, *cum* iam Alpes peteret. . . . . (Livy xxi. 31. 9.)

Sequel directly suggested:

Indutiomari Treveri nuntiis impulsi suos concitaverunt subitoque . . . . ad castra oppugnatum venerunt. *Cum* celeriter nostri arma cepissent vallumque ascendissent. . . . . (Caesar *Bel. Gal.* v. 26. 2.)

Repetition of the preceding idea:

Id quantae saluti fuerit universae Graeciae, bello cognitum est Persico. Nam *cum* Xerxes et mari et terra bellum universae inferret Europae. . . . . (Nepos *Them.* 2. 4.)

The use of *cum* when it is possible to use a more specific conjunction must be set down largely as a matter of taste.[1] From its prevailing association with a certain type of idea, a conjunction with its attending clause came to have a specific atmosphere, and acquire the capacity for producing a specific effect, which the writer of artistic instincts would not be slow to use for his purposes.

[1] There are clauses with *cum*, of course, for which none of the other clauses would be an exact substitute.

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At the same time it should be borne in mind that it is much more often true that *cum* encroaches upon the province of the other conjunctions than that they encroach upon it. This is entirely natural. For it is easy to use a less specific word or clause than the state of your thought will warrant, but not so easy to be more specific in your language than in your thought. *Cum* is the temporal factotum, which can be readily turned to any kind of work, while the other conjunctions are specialized in their functions, and rather useless in any line but their own.

But there are, besides this, two additional factors which must not be overlooked, and which may frequently make the use of *cum* the natural form of expression, even for the various classes of ideas above enumerated, which ordinarily would seem to call for the other conjunctions.

If we are right in assuming that the clause with *cum* is the natural form of expression for the idea which at the beginning of the clause has not yet reached the stage of entire clearness in the mind, it would also seem natural to suppose that the same construction might again be used when the idea has already passed its culminating point, and is on its way back to the vague state from which it came. But this is, unfortunately, a stage in the idea's progress where it is impossible to draw a line with any certainty. The upward movement of the idea, from vagueness to clearness, can in a degree be measured, because the goal is in a way fixed, but its decline back into vagueness lacks this definite limit, and hence its progress in this direction escapes our control. We shall therefore have to be content with merely noting the probability that *cum* may be used for this purpose.

Clauses which readily suggest themselves as belonging here, are those which refer once more, very briefly, to the same thought that engaged the speaker's attention more fully and at greater length in the preceding sentence or sentences, and whose culmination clearly lies there and not in the brief second reference to it in the new clause. A common case is the one where a preceding speech is referred to by "haec cum dixisset," or some similar expression. Such clauses are nothing more than an echo of what has preceded, a mere transitional element or conjunction, by means

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of which the speaker passes on to what follows. They tend, therefore, to become stereotyped and, to that extent, to be removed from influences which might have an effect on their form. As a result, we find a tendency in the individual author to confine himself to a single form of this expression. So Caesar and Nepos always introduce expressions like the one just mentioned by *cum;* Sallust, who uses *cum* but little, prefers *postquam;* and Virgil repeatedly uses the phrases *haec ubi dicta* and *haec ubi dicta dedit.*[1]

In addition to those ideas which have already passed their zenith when the utterance of the clause begins, there are others which never reach full maturity in the mind at all. They may either in themselves not be of sufficient consequence to the speaker, whether absolutely or relatively, to enlist his full effort and attention, or it may seem to him that they are so self-evident, so completely to be taken for granted, that he makes a display of slighting them and leaving them by the way, as it were. A comparative vagueness and immaturity of the idea may thus be due to a lack of interest in it, either real or assumed, on the speaker's part, and so to a lowering of the tension in his mind, as compared with that which accompanies the other ideas before and after it which are felt to be of greater importance. It is evident, of course, that in the case of such an idea, which is slighted by the speaker, or treated as requiring little attention, the character of the action involved and its relation to other actions will be less clearly marked in his mind than would be the case if his interest and attention were fully enlisted. That is to say, the mental status of such an idea is similar in this respect to that of an idea but partially matured, or one whose point of culmination is already past. The clauses introduced by *cum* in the following sentences will illustrate what is meant:

Vidi etiam senem Livium qui, *cum* sex annis antequam ego natus sum fabulam docuisset Centone Tuditanoque consulibus, usque ad adulescentiam meam processit aetate. (Cicero *Sen.* 14. 50.)

[1] Perhaps no form of temporal clause becomes stereotyped more easily than *dum* with the present indicative. A very large proportion, in some authors, like Caesar, more than half, of all the occurrences of this conjunction, are in clauses with the verb *geruntur* (*dum haec geruntur*, and the like), referring to an action just described. The stereotyped character of this clause is, of course, also apparent from the use of the present tense.

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Haec loca vi quondam et vasta convolsa ruina—
Tantum aevi longinqua valet mutare vetustas—
Dissiluisse ferunt, *cum* protinus utraque terra
Una foret. (Virgil *Aen.* iii. 414 ff.)

In secundo proelio cecidit Critias, dux tyrannorum, *cum* quidem adversus Thrasybulum fortissime pugnaret. (Nepos *Thras.* 2. 7.)

Gaius Valerius Procillus, *cum* a custodibus in fuga trinis catenis vinctus traheretur, in ipsum Caesarem hostis equitatu persequentem incidit. (Caesar *B. G.* i. 53.)

In rapid narration we frequently find ideas slighted in this way in some authors, which by others are regularly given full prominence. Thus the arrival at a goal which has been previously mentioned is in Caesar expressed much more frequently by "eo cum venisset" and the like, than by clauses with *ubi* and *postquam*, which might be called the more normal method of expressing such an idea. The explanation is, no doubt, that in rapid narration, like that of Caesar, where the thing to be accomplished is the matter of chief concern, rather than the details of the process, the author does not care to dwell a second time with full attention upon a goal, let us say, which, it is evident from the preceding sentence, will surely be reached.

On the other hand, a striking proof of the effect produced upon the character of the temporal clause by excitement and intensity of mental action is found in two of the poems of Catullus. The "Marriage of Peleus and Thetis" has *cum* twelve times, *simul(ac)* six times, *postquam* four times, and *dum* and *ut* once each, which is about the proportion that we find in epic poetry generally. The "Attis," on the other hand, has *ut* four times, *ubi* and *simul(ac)* each three times, and *dum* once, but contains no *cum* whatever. Generally speaking, the poets use *cum*, especially circumstantial *cum*, much less than the prose writers. There are, however, exceptions among the latter, like Sallust and Tacitus.

That vigor and clearness of thought and the possession of the speaker's full attention are factors favorable to the specific temporal clauses is further shown by what we find to be true in the expression of certain other ideas, which not only have the advantage of rapid maturity, but in addition to it are so situated that,

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for special reasons, they command the attention in an unusual degree. We find this state of things in cases like the following:

Quae (vasa fictilia) iacta *initio* risum pugnantibus concitarunt, neque quare id fieret poterat intellegi. *postquam autem* naves suas oppletas conspexerunt serpentibus, nova re perterriti . . . . puppes verterunt. (Nepos *Han.* 11. 6.)

Vagenses . . . . *primo*, uti res erat, Metellum esse rati, portas clausere, *deinde ubi* neque agros vastari et eos qui primi aderant Numidas equites vident, rursus Jugurtham arbitrati cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt. (Sallust *Jug.* 69. 1.)

Regem *primo* delectatum esse munere: *post ubi* audisset unde essent, statim certos homines in quinqueremi misisse. (Cicero *Ver.* iv. 103.)

Namque *antea* pleraque nobilitas invidia aestuabat, et quasi pollui consulatum credebant, si eum quamvis egregius homo novus adeptus foret. *Sed ubi* periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia post fuere. (Sallust *Cat.* 23.)

It will be noticed that here the idea expressed by the clause with *postquam* and *ubi* is anticipated and prepared for in what precedes (*initio*, *primo*, *antea*, *deinde*, *sed*),[1] and that it has, therefore, a comparatively long time in which to mature. Consequently, it may reasonably be assumed to be in shape for clear and definite expression when its turn comes. On the other hand, interest in it is assured by the fact that it stands in contrast to the statement before it, and concentration of the attention upon it is thus secured. So it comes that we find this sort of temporal clause introduced by one of the definite conjunctions almost without exception. The following figures will show, for the three authors mentioned, the number of such contrasted clauses among the total of those introduced by *postquam*, *ubi*, and *ut*, and of the temporal clauses introduced by *cum*.

	POSTQUAM, ETC.	CUM
Caesar	12 out of 82	4 out of 157
Nepos	14 out of 75	3 out of 194
Sallust	39 out of 209	1 out of 46

[1] Of course, expressions suggesting the contrast are not always thus fully employed. Sometimes the contrast is implied in the construction of the whole passage, as in Nepos *Alc.* 11. 3 and 1. 4.

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A still further class of expressions which have the combined advantages of rapid maturity and mental tension or interest, is found in cases where a person, occurrence, or state of things, previously mentioned or described, is represented as coming to the notice of someone who is prominent in the action of the passage, and as leading to a change of course or the adoption of a new line of action on his part. Clauses of this kind are numerous in all kinds of narrative.

Ille *ubi* accepit homines claros . . . . contra inceptum suum venisse. (Sallust *Jug.* 25. 6.)

His in ignem coniectis flammae vim transiit. Quem *ut* barbari incendium effugisse viderunt . . . . (Nepos *Alc.* 10. 6.)

Postquam id animadvertit, copias suas Caesar in proximum collem subduxit. (Caesar *B. G.* i. 24. 1.)

Haec *simulac* cupido conspexit lumine virgo. (Catullus lxiv. 86.)

The occurrences, persons, and things referred to are, of course, clearly present in the speaker's mind at the beginning of the temporal clause, since they have just been spoken of. The idea of their coming to the interested person's notice is an easy one to grasp. That is, the whole thought contained in the clauses beginning with *postquam*, etc., is such that it may be supposed to mature quickly in the speaker's mind. And the fact that a new turn is given to the course of things by someone's noticing what has happened and acting upon it, furnishes a stimulus to the attention. Naturally, therefore, these clauses also are very much more frequently introduced by *ubi*, *ut*, *postquam*, or *simulatque* than by *cum*. In the table below the figures in parentheses give the total number of occurrences of the conjunctions in each author, those before the parentheses give the number of clauses of the kind we are describing.

	CAESAR	NEPOS	SALLUST	VIRGIL *Aen.* i-vi	OVID *Met.* i-v
*Postquam**	13(22)	14(45)	23(90)	2(19)	9(30)
Ubi	35(55)	2(4)	30(119)	3(30)	4(25)
Ut	2(5)	12(26)		10(22)	12(36)
Simulatque	4(6)	1(4)		1(1)	7(13)
Cum (w. indic.)	1(10)	0(13)	0(22)	0(51)	0(35)
Cum (w. subj.)	10(147)	12(181)	1(24)	0(11)	1(13)

*The clauses introduced by *posteaquam* are also included.

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It appears then that of 552 temporal clauses introduced by definite conjunctions in these authors, 182 belong to the class described above, while out of 507 temporal clauses introduced by *cum* only 25 belong to that class.

III

Our discussion has thus far dealt at some length with temporal clauses to which the transition is easy. We shall now turn to those clauses to which the transition in thought is more difficult. They will be such as contain ideas that are not so directly in line with what has gone before, and these are, consequently, not anticipated and prepared for in the same way as the ones of which we have spoken heretofore. They reach the mind as matter comparatively new, and will, other things being equal, require more time for their full maturing. We find that the form of expression gives evidence of this fact in a very decisive way. For the clauses in question are, generally speaking, and with few exceptions, introduced by *cum*. And clauses of this kind, which contain ideas that are not directly suggested in what precedes, do, moreover, form a large proportion, something like a third or a fourth, of all the temporal clauses introduced by *cum*.[1]

Clauses introduced by the definite conjunctions, on the other hand, are, for the most part, rarely used for ideas of this kind. In Nepos, for example, there appear to be only two clauses which are certainly of this kind, among 79 introduced by *postquam*, *ubi*, *ut*, and *simulatque*, and these are both found in a passage (Dion 4. 3–5) where the author has run ahead of his story, a fact which he realizes himself, as is shown by the words *sed illuc revertor* at the end of it, and by his immediate resumption of the narrative at an earlier point. In Caesar there are six such clauses, all introduced by *ubi*. But the idea which they express, while not directly anticipated in the preceding sentence, is yet involved in it as one of only two possibilities. They are all cases like the following:[2]

[1] No sharp line can be drawn, of course, between these clauses and those whose ideas are directly suggested by what precedes. The one class shades off gradually into the other by many intermediate stages.

[2] The others are *B. G.* iv. 21. 3; ii. 8. 3; vii. 26. 4 and *B. C.* i. 84. 2 and iii. 41. 2.

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Proximo die instituto suo Caesar e castris utrisque copias suas eduxit paulumque a majoribus castris progressus aciem instruxit, hostibus pugnandi potestatem fecit. *Ubi* ne tum quidem eos prodire intellexit circiter meridiem exercitum in castra reduxit. (*B. G.* i. 50. 1–2.)

The idea expressed by the temporal clause in such a case does not, of course, present a difficult transition in the same degree as the ideas in clauses like those given below, which are regularly introduced by *cum:*

Is pagus appellatur Tigurinus: nam omnis civitas Helvetia in quattuor pagos divisa est. Hic pagus unus, *cum* domo exisset patrum nostrorum memoria, L. Cassium consulem interfecerat et eius exercitum sub iugum miserat. (Caesar *Bel. Gal.* i. 12. 5.)

Equites nostri cum funditoribus sagitariisque flumen transgressi cum hostium equitatu proelium commiserunt. *Cum* se illi identidem in silvas ad suos reciperent ac rursus ex silva in nostras impetum facerent . . . . interim legiones sex, quae primae venerant, opere dimenso castra munire coeperunt. (Caesar *Bel. Gal.* ii. 19. 5.)

Fuga salutem petiit, quam consecutus non esset, nisi intra sua praesidia se recepisset, quae in proximo litore erant collocata. Reliquae Pergamenae naves *cum* adversarios premerent acrius, repente in eas vasa fictilia. . . . . conici coepta sunt. (Nepos *Han.* 11. 5.)

Regni certamine ambigebant fratres; maior et qui prius imperitarat, ... minore ab fratre et coetu iuniorum . . . . pellebatur. Huius seditionis peropportuna disceptatio *cum* ad Hannibalem reiecta esset, arbiter regni factus. . . . . imperium maiori restituit. (Livy xxi. 31. 7.)

The striking thing about the matter is that in an author like Sallust who introduces such a large number of his temporal clauses by definite conjunctions, to the exclusion of *cum*, we still find the distinction between the respective provinces of the two classes of expression scrupulously observed. Little as he uses *cum*, it introduces clauses that contain new matter in about the usual proportion of cases, while, on the other hand, of 209 clauses introduced by *postquam* and *ubi*, only about eight of this kind are found.[1] These figures are certainly full of significance from any point of view that we may adopt. If we assume an antecedent preference on Sallust's part for *ubi* and *postquam*, we are led to conclude that in order to indulge this preference, he was willing to curtail

[1] *Jug.* 93. 3; 70. 5; 11. 9; 25. 10; 64. 1; *Cat.* 11, 39, 28. This does not include the clauses expressing repeated action, which will be discussed later on.

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considerably the freedom of movement in his thought. And if we assume that his thinking was by nature thus clear and definite, avoiding all half-lights and vagueness, it will follow that he found its proper expression in the clauses with *postquam* and *ubi*, which he uses so abundantly.

IV

Being thus confirmed in our view that the closeness of the relation between a temporal clause and what precedes it is of great importance in determining the kind of clause to be used, we may next inquire whether the closeness or remoteness of the connection, and hence the ease or difficulty of transition, between the idea of the temporal clause and that of the main clause in the same sentence finds expression in a similar way.

The point about which the thought in a clause centers is usually the subject, the rest, predicate as well as modifiers, being subsidiary and auxiliary to it. Transition from one clause to the other will be easy when they have the same subject, and more difficult when they do not. And we find further confirmation of our views in the fact that identity of subject is much more common between the main clause and clauses introduced by *postquam*, *ubi*, *ut*, and *simulatque*,[1] than between the main clause and the clauses introduced by *cum*. In the table which follows, all impersonal expressions have, of course, been omitted.

	CUM			ALL SPECIFIC CONJUNCTIONS		
	Same Subject	Different Subject	Percentage with Same Subject	Same Subject	Different Subject	Percentage with Same Subject
Caesar	94	107	47−	72	46	64+
Sallust	13	22	37+	97	109	47+
Nepos	92	98	48+	65	16	80+
Virgil (*Aen.* i–vi)	15	48	24−	43	47	48−
Ovid (*Met.* i–v)	21	29	42	98	56	64−
Livy (xxi, i)*	59	84	41+	34	50	40+

*In Livy the comparatively small proportion of clauses with definite conjunctions that have the same subject as the main clause is in part due to his frequent use of impersonal expressions introduced by these conjunctions, especially by *ubi*.

[1] *Dum* is the only specific conjunction whose clause more often has a different subject than the main clause. This is largely due to the stereotyped character of many of the *dum*-clauses, and the frequent use of such expressions as "dum haec geruntur," with which the main clause almost necessarily has a different subject, in the nature of the case.

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Related to identity of subject as indicating ease of transition between the main and the subordinate clause is identity of tense and stage of action. A particular form of the verb carries with it a specific mental adjustment, which it has in common with the same form of other verbs. Figuratively speaking, we might say that a particular tense and mood of a verb fits into a particular mental mold, into which like forms of other verbs also fit more or less accurately, but all of them more accurately than different forms of those verbs. We see the operation of this principle in the leveling process which produces the sequence of tenses and the attraction of mood. Both of these phenomena owe their existence to the fact that like tenses and moods present a path of less resistance than would the use of different tenses and moods. Transition to the same tense, or to one belonging to the same time-sphere, or representing the same stage of action, is much easier than to a different tense or one representing a different time-sphere or stage of action. It is no doubt due to this fact that we find *cum* so much more frequently used to introduce a verb differing in tense from that of the main clause, than the other conjunctions, which we found associated with easy transition.[1]

V

Additional light is thrown on the main subject of our discussion by a comparison between the *cum*-clauses with the indicative and those with the subjunctive. The former are more closely akin to the clauses with specific conjunctions, which, like them, have the indicative. We find that these two kinds of clauses are included in a common preference by the same writers. Those who place their main reliance upon the specific conjunctions (Sallust, Virgil, Ovid) also have a relatively large number of indicatives with *cum*, while it is the writers making abundant use of *cum*, like Caesar and Nepos, who have also, relatively, the largest proportion of subjunctives.

[1] Here, as elsewhere, an exception must be made of *dum*, "while," and the present indicative, the stereotyped character of which largely exempts it from the influences to which the other clauses are subject.

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	SPECIFIC CONJUNCTIONS	CUM (total)	CUM (w. Ind.)	CUM (w. Subj.)
Sallust	209	46	22	24
Nepos	79	194	13	181
Caesar	88	157	10	147
Virgil (*Aen.* i–vi)	90	63	51	12
Ovid (*Met.* i–v)	156	50	35	15

In other words, the peculiar form of thought represented by the clause with *cum*, finds its extreme expression in the subjunctive with *cum*, the opposite extreme being represented by the clauses with *postquam*, *ubi*, etc., with which *cum* and the indicative is much more closely allied than *cum* with the subjunctive.

We reach the same conclusion when we consider the two kinds of clauses introduced by *cum* from a psychological standpoint. For most of the *cum*-clauses in which the indicative is used, show characteristics similar to those which we have found associated with the clauses introduced by specific conjunctions. Take the *cum*-clause of equivalent action (*cum quiescunt, probant*), for instance. We may in such a case put a sign of equality between the *cum*-clause and the main clause. The two are cast in the same mental mold, as it were, and the mental effort expended on the one will serve for the other as well. The energies of the mind can thus be exerted in full upon the thought of the subordinate clause, since they are not distracted from it by that of the main clause, which coincides with it. The subordinate clause thus enjoys conditions which are favorable to its early and full maturity. The same is true of a clause whose action, while not equivalent to that of the main clause, yet coincides with it in time (*quom pugnabant maxume, ego tum fugiebam maxume*). Like the clause of equivalent action, it has the indicative. Compare with these the temporal *cum*-clauses with the subjunctive, whose action in the case of the imperfect regularly extends beyond that of the main clause, while in the case of the pluperfect it lies entirely outside of it.

What has been said of the *cum*-clause of equivalent action, is also true, in a different way, of the postpositive *cum*-clause (*Vix ea fatus erat, cum circumfusa repente | scindit se nubes*). This

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clause also gets much more of the speaker's attention than the ordinary *cum*-clause of narration, for the reason that it contains the most important part of the thought, that which is formally the main clause being in reality of less importance and merely preparatory to it. But even when the *cum*-clause merely adds a statement loosely to the main clause (what Hale calls a "forward-moving clause"), which is not of overshadowing importance, the fact that the main clause is already complete and can no longer distract the attention from the subordinate clause, gives the latter sufficient advantage to make its mood the indicative.

In the case of the *cum*-clause of repeated action, the very fact of the repetition has made the occurrence familiar to the speaker, so that it does not require the same time or effort to bring it to maturity in his mind, as would be required for a clause expressing a single occurrence. The repetition of the experience here, just as the greater concentration of the attention in postpositive *cum*, gives this clause an advantage similar to that enjoyed by the clauses with *postquam*, *ubi*, etc., as they have been described in an earlier connection.

We may finally add to the list those clauses with *cum* and the indicative which are spoken of as "dating" or "expressing the exact time of" the action in the main clause. These definitions seem to mean something like the following. Two occurrences, A and B, take place, let us say, at the same time. A may be said to date B, however, only when A is, to begin with, definitely located in the speaker's and the hearer's mind, that is, when by extensive mental association with other known facts it has itself become accurately bounded and fixed. An example frequently met with in the grammars is this from Caesar *B. G.* vi. 12. 1: "Cum Caesar in Galliam venit, alterius factionis principes erant Aedui, alterius Sequani." Here the subordinate clause gives an event which was naturally prominent in the writer's mind and had, no doubt, often been used by him as a temporal landmark to measure from and refer other events to. Its action had consequently attained a clearness and definiteness which gave it a great advantage over other less prominent events, which passed through his mind less frequently. Hence the indicative.

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In external form the *cum*-clauses with the indicative appear more closely related to the clauses with *postquam*, *ubi*, etc., also by the fact that more of them have the same tense as the main clause or, what for our present purpose amounts to the same thing, that the action expressed by them does not extend beyond that of the main clause. In a sentence like "Cum Caesar in Galliam venit, principes erant Aedui," the verb of the main clause temporally includes that of the subordinate clause, and the latter consequently does not, so far as the time goes, involve a distraction of the speaker's attention, which in resting on the action of the main clause also rests on that of the subordinate clause. In the *cum*-clause with the subjunctive the relation of the tense to that of the main clause is decidedly the reverse of this. For there, with comparatively few exceptions, the action of the subordinate clause extends temporally beyond that of the main clause (imperfect subjunctive), or lies entirely outside of it (pluperfect subjunctive). Consequently, in the case of these, with his attention fixed mainly on the principal clause, as it generally is, the speaker's mind, in passing rapidly from one event to another, as it does in narration, is not able to bring the vagrant action of the subordinate clause sufficiently within his power to insure its prompt or full maturity in thought. And so he moves on, stepping from one main clause to the next, using the indicative, either with *cum* or with *postquam*, *ubi*, etc., in those subordinate clauses to which he can give the necessary attention in his progress, and leaving the others to be introduced by the vaguer *cum*, and concluded by the vaguer verb-form, the subjunctive, which stands for that mental half-light from which the thoughts expressed by them do not have a chance to emerge.

VI

The distinction in thought, however, between the two kinds of *cum*-clauses, as, indeed, between the *cum*-clauses as a whole and those introduced by *postquam*, *ubi*, etc., is by no means to be regarded as something absolute, or compulsory in its validity. For practical purposes, it is not even necessary that the distinction should appear in speech at all, as is shown by our own practice in

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English, where no visible difference exists between one kind of *when*-clause and another. And yet, while not a necessity of speech, the distinction is one of great stylistic importance. The avoidance by the poets of temporal *cum*, especially *cum* with the subjunctive, and their preference for the specific conjunctions, has already been referred to in the course of the discussion. It is clear that the latter clauses and *cum* with the indicative must have contained elements of meaning and the capacity for producing effects which served their particular purpose and harmonized with their habits of thought. These conjunctions were, as we saw, associated closely with fully matured, vigorously grasped, and clearly organized ideas, and their use served, no doubt, to stimulate in the reader's mind that concrete picturing faith of a poem's contents, which makes such a large part of its successful reading. In poetry details are more important than in prose, and the suggestion, which the definite conjunctions give, of full attention to the subordinate parts of the sentence, has no small share in arousing the feeling that everything in the poem exists and is to be read and clearly realized for its own sake, and not merely as a means, which may presently be discarded, to some other end.

But there are ways also in which the use of the definite conjunctions might serve a writer of prose. Sallust has been mentioned as one who shows great preference for them. We can speak of only one effect produced by them which falls in with his peculiarities as a writer. There is no more prominent quality in Sallust than his apparent moral purpose. Moral earnestness in his day meant holding up the ideal of Cato the Censor and the good old times. And if we may trust the judgment of his critics, Sallust was, in language as well as in sentiment, a "fur Catonis." To the bluntness and avoidance of artifice, which he evidently cultivated, the temporal clauses with specific conjunctions might be of considerable service. Standing for full maturity and definite expression of every detail, they suggested a willingness on the part of the writer to give attention to all the facts, however inconvenient they might be, and to set them forth simply and honestly, and without manipulation. The maturity of thought associated with these clauses implies also that the writer is in no

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hurry, but ready to stop long enough to allow the details to be clearly seen as they are. This is in strong contrast to the half-matured and slighted ideas of the subjunctive *cum*-clauses, in which the mind of the writer seems always fixed on something farther on, which is of more importance to him. These latter clauses suit a style of rapid narration, like that of Caesar, just as the former suit the style of an author like Sallust, whose strength lies rather in the description of conditions.

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ON CERTAIN SUPPOSED LITERARY RELATIONSHIPS. II[1]

By Campbell Bonner

III. ALCIPHRON AND LONGUS

The evidence adduced in proof of the alleged imitation of Longus by Alciphron is concerned entirely with specific resemblances. Here as in dealing with the relations between Lucian and Alciphron and between Alciphron and Aelian, Reich[2] begins his argument with an examination of the proper names employed by the authors (pp. 46, 51). Several names, in identical or modified forms, are found in both Alciphron and Longus. In four cases the forms are the same—Ἵππασος, Γνάθων, Μεγακλῆς, Φιλοποίμην—and none of them is very rare. Three of Longus' names—Νάπη (i. 6), Δρύας (i. 4), Ἀγέλη (iv. 39)—occur in Alciphron with amplified forms, Ναπαῖος (ii. 17), Εὐνάπη (ii. 18), Δρυάδης (ii. 39), Δρυαντίδας (ii. 8), Ἀγελαρχίδης (ii. 5). These names are for the most part very rare. According to Pape's *Eigennamen*, Ἀγέλη occurs only in Longus and one inscription,[3] Ἀγελαρχίδης only in Alciphron; the name Ἄγελος is found in Paus. vii. 4. 8. Δρύας occurs some fifteen times, Δρυάδης and Δρυαντίδας only in Alciphron. Νάπη occurs as the name of a woman three times, also as the name of a dog; Ναπαῖος once in Alciphron, once in Nonnus (a satyr's name), and once in an inscription, where the reading is very doubtful; Εὐνάπη only in Alciphron.[4]

Reich contends that Alciphron's use of the longer forms proves that he imitated Longus, since the general tendency of imitators is to expand the names that they have borrowed (p. 51, cf. p. 11). But it is doubtful whether this generalization rests upon anything more than a series of coincidences. At any rate it is subject to

[1] The first part of this paper appeared in *Classical Philology* IV, pp. 32–44.

[2] *De Alciphronis Longique aetate*, Königsberg, 1894; see *Classical Philology* IV, p. 32.

[3] I am unable, however, to verify Pape's reference to the inscription.

[4] But compare Eunapius, the name of the fifth-century sophist.

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exceptions. Alciphron makes use of the comic name Γνάθων (ii. 32, iii. 8), while Lucian has the longer form Γναθωνίδης. This Gnathonides is a character in the *Timon* (45 f.), a parasite, and in Alc. ii. 32 the writer of the letter, a parasite named Gnatho, tells the story of Timon's fallen fortunes and misanthropic seclusion. That we have to do with a reminiscence is clear (cf. Knorr, *Die Parasitennamen bei Alciphron*, p. 17, Belgard, 1875); but according to Reich's rule we should infer that Lucian in composing the *Timon* had borrowed the name Γνάθων from Alciphron and lengthened it—which is very far from the truth and from Reich's own opinion (pp. 12 ff.). It is natural enough that an imitator should lengthen a borrowed name in order to conceal the source whence he derives it; but this instance shows that a name might be shortened with the same object in view. For the rest, the similarity in the forms of these rare names is satisfactorily explained by the necessity, which both Alciphron and Longus felt, of giving appropriate names to their rural characters.[1] It contributes nothing of value to the proof that the one writer imitated the other.

The case against Alciphron really rests upon a few passages in the *Letters* which have rather striking parallels in Longus. These had been noted by Erwin Rohde, but he thought that Longus copied Alciphron, and held that opinion even after the appearance of Reich's dissertation (cf. *Griech. Roman*[2], p. 534 and n. 2, p. 535, n. 3*a*). Let us examine the passages and determine, if possible, their bearing upon the question.

1. Longus iv. 15: ὁ δὲ . . . . στὰς ὑπὸ τῇ φηγῷ, καὶ ἐκ τῆς πήρας τὴν σύριγγα προκομίσας, πρῶτα μὲν ὀλίγον ἐνέπνευσε· καὶ αἱ αἶγες ἔστησαν, τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀράμεναι. εἶτα ἐνέπνευσε τὸ νόμιον· καὶ αἱ αἶγες ἐνέμοντο, νεύσασαι κάτω· αὖθις λιγυρὸν ἐνέδωκε· καὶ ἀθρόαι κατεκλίθησαν. Cf. i. 27: ἦν δὲ ἄρα καὶ ᾠδικὴ (ἡ παρθένος), καὶ ἐτέρποντο αἱ βόες αὐτῆς τῇ μουσικῇ . . . . ἀλλὰ καθίσασα ὑπὸ πίτυν καὶ στεφανωσαμένη πίτυϊ ᾇδε Πᾶνα καὶ Πίτυν. καὶ αἱ βόες τῇ φωνῇ παρέμενον.

Alciphron ii. 9: μεσημβρίας οὔσης σταθερᾶς φιλήνεμόν τινα ἐπιλεξάμενος πίτυν . . . . ὑπὸ ταύτῃ τὸ καῦμα ἐσκέπαζον. . . . . καὶ λαβὼν τὴν σύριγγα

[1] With regard to Longus' Νάπη, a Lesbian, like all the rest of his characters, it may be noted that there was a Lesbian town of that name, Steph. Byz. *s. v.* But Ovid's use of Nape as a girl's name (*Am.* i. 11. 2, 12. 4) indicates that as a fancy-name at least the form was not entirely strange.

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ἐπέτρεχον τῇ γλώττῃ, ... καί μου ἡδύ τι καὶ νόμιον ἐξηκούετο μέλος. ἐν τούτῳ δέ, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως, ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδυφωνίας θελγόμεναι πᾶσαί μοι πανταχόθεν αἱ αἶγες περιεχύθησαν, καὶ ἀφεῖσαι νέμεσθαι τοὺς κομάρους καὶ τὸν ἀνθέρικον ὅλαι τοῦ μέλους ἐγίνοντο. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν μέσαις τὸν Ἡδωνὸν ἐμμούμην τὸν παῖδα τῆς Καλλιόπης.

The common features of these passages are not merely identical or similar words, but similar ideas and motives; and our question is, whether these similar ideas belong so exclusively to Longus and Alciphron as to justify the inference that either writer imitated the other. The coincidence regarding the pine tree (*πίτυς*) has little or no significance. The pine is a conventional background, a scenic property of bucolic poetry. We find it so in Theocritus (i. 1, 134, iii. 38, v. 49) and in Moschus, fragm. I (Wilam.). 7, 8:

γᾶ δέ μοι ἀσπαστὰ χἀ δάσκιος εὔαδεν ὕλα
ἔνθα καὶ ἦν πνεύσῃ πολὺς ὤνεμος ἁ πίτυς ᾇδει.

So also Leonidas of Tarentum in *Anth. Pal.* vi. 334, *Plan.* 230;[1] Moiro *Anth.* vi. 189. Besides, the pine is a tree sacred to Pan (cf. Long. i. 27; ii. 23, 26), the patron of herdsmen. Hence it comes about that Longus' romance is full of allusions to the pine. With something of the same feeling, Alciphron forms from the word *πίτυς* an appropriate name for one of his rustics, Πιτυίσκος (ii. 20).

We also hear elsewhere of the *νόμιον μέλος*, the herdsman's melody, *ranz des vaches*. There is a notice of it in Ath. xiv. 619D, and in a passage of Apollonius Rhodius (i. 569 ff.), which, since it will be necessary to return to it shortly, I quote:

τοῖσι δὲ φορμίζων εὐθήμονι μέλπεν ἀοιδῇ
Οἰάγροιο πάϊς . . . . . .
. . . . . τοὶ δὲ βαθείης
ἰχθύες ἀΐσσοντες ὕπερθ' ἁλός, ἄμμιγα παύροις
ἄπλετοι, ὑγρὰ κέλευθα διασκαίροντες ἔποντο.
ὡς δ' ὁπότ' ἀγραύλοιο κατ' ἴχνια σημαντῆρος
μυρία μῆλ' ἐφέπονται ἄδην κεκορημένα ποίης
εἰς αὔλιν, ὁ δέ τ' εἶσι πάρος σύριγγι λιγείῃ
καλὰ μελιζόμενος νόμιον μέλος· ὣς ἄρα τοί γε
ὠμάρτευν· τὴν δ' αἰὲν ἐπασσύτερος φέρεν οὖρος.

[1] Two other allusions to the pine, somewhat different in character, are to be found in Leonidas' epigrams, *Anth.* vi. 110, 262. Is the common liking of Theocritus and Leonidas for the pine anything more than a coincidence? Leonidas' phrase *τοιμερία πίτυς* (*Plan.* 230) has a conventional ring.

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Mention should also be made of an epigram of Erycius, in which he alludes to the herdsman's custom of piping the *νόμιον μέλος* to his cattle, as he rests in the shade; *Anth.* vii. 174.

Now for the idea of cattle being charmed by the music of the herdsman, as we find it elaborated in Longus and Alciphron, no exact parallel can be cited from the sources where we should expect to find it, namely, Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus. However, the flocks and herds are sometimes represented as manifesting an almost human sympathy with the good or evil fortunes of their master; Reich refers to Theocritus i. 74 f., where the cattle lament the death of Daphnis. We may add Mosch. *Epit. Bion.* 23 f. *αἱ βόες αἱ ποτὶ ταύροις | πλασδόμεναι γοάοντι καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντι νέμεσθαι*; cf. *ἀφεῖσαι νέμεσθαι* in Alciphron *loc. cit.* But a passage much more similar in feeling to the above quotations from Longus and Alciphron is Theocr. vi. 44 f.:

> *αὔλει Δαμοίτας, σύρισδε δὲ Δάφνις ὁ βούτας·*
> *ὠρχεῦντ' ἐν μαλακᾷ τὰ πόρτιες αὐτίκα ποίᾳ.*

Reich's argument upon the relation of Longus and Alciphron, as illustrated by the above passages, is about as follows (pp. 53, 55, 65 f.): Longus studied Theocritus closely and imitated him freely—a point which Reich demonstrates in an interesting and thoroughly convincing manner (pp. 56–65). Alciphron, on the other hand, shows only an occasional and superficial reminiscence of Theocritus (p. 55). Therefore we are to conclude that Longus developed this idea of the charming of the flocks by music after thoroughly steeping himself in pastoral poetry,[1] and harps upon it as a pet creation of his own; while Alciphron simply plagiarized the idea from Longus.

In answering this argument, it should be remarked, in the first place, that Reich probably underrates Alciphron's knowledge of Theocritus. He notes that Alciphron quotes the bucolic poet once (Theocr. vii. 82 in Alc. iii. 29. 3), and adapts a few Theocri-

[1] Reich calls attention (p. 66) to the fact that Virgil (*Buc.* viii. 1–4) and Calpurnius (*Id.* ii. 9–11) developed the same notion from the same source, Theocritus. The facts, however, do not help his theory that Alciphron must have drawn upon Longus and no other for this motive; for Virgil, in the passage cited, was almost certainly influenced by other sources, as well as by Theocritus: *v. infra*.

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tean phrases of proverbial character. Thus we have a reference to the insignificance of the Megarians (Theocr. xiv. 48 f.)[1] in Alc. iii. 8. 1, and to the danger of rearing wolves (Theocr. v. 38) in Alc. ii. 21. 1. In Theocr. x. 11, we find the saying *χαλεπὸν χορίῳ κύνα γεῦσαι*, in Alc. iii. 11. 4, *οὐδὲ γὰρ κύων σκυτοτραγεῖν μαθοῦσα τῆς τέχνης ἐπιλήσεται*; but compare also Luc. *Indoct.* 25, *οὐδὲ γὰρ κύων ἅπαξ παύσαιτ' ἂν σκυτοτραγεῖν μαθοῦσα.* Another supposed parallel noted by Reich depends manifestly upon the adoption of a false text in Alciphron.

With characteristic cocksureness Reich says (p. 54) that there are no other passages from which one may reasonably infer that Alciphron imitated Theocritus. But a careful reading of Alc. iv. 13 reveals a number of Theocritean reminiscences, especially echoes of the *Thalysia*, which, as has been shown, Alciphron quotes elsewhere. This letter tells the story of a picnic of a party of hetairai and their lovers; and although the narrative is marred by coarse passages, some of the descriptions are not unworthy to be called Theocritean in flavor. As minor points of contact with Theocritus may be mentioned several poetical, or chiefly poetical, words, all of which belong to the Theocritean vocabulary—*πῖδαξ*, *ἄνθεμον*, *πέταλον*, *σπιλάς*, *κωτίλος*, *καταλείβω*—and several trees and flowers that find a place in Theocritean landscapes—cypress, laurel, myrtle, plane, ivy, anemone, hyacinth, and melilotus (note especially §§1, 3, 4, 8). Of more importance is the description of an overhanging cliff covered with ivy (§4), which recalls the ivy-hung grotto in Theocr. iii. 13 f. Again, certain touches in Alciphron's description of the *al fresco* banquet recall the well-known scene in the latter part of the *Thalysia*. Alciphron's revelers improvise couches of branches of smilax and myrtle covered with their mantles (§8); in Theocritus (vii. 132 ff.) the guests recline upon pallets of fragrant rushes and vine leaves. Compare also the following passages:

Alc. iv. 13. 9: *ἐαρινοῖς ἐφιζάνουσαι πετάλοις ἡδὺ καὶ κωτίλον ἀηδόνες ἐψιθύριζον, ἡρέμα δὲ οἱ σταλαγμοὶ καταλειβόμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς οἷον ἱδρούσης σπιλάδος τρυφερόν τινα παρεῖχον ψόφον ἐαρινῷ πρέποντα συμποσίῳ.*

[1] But see also Plut. *Quaest. conv.* v. 7. 6 (682F), and Fritzsche-Hiller on Theocr. xiv. 49.

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Theocr. vii. 136 ff.: τὸ δ' ἐγγύθεν ἱερὸν ὕδωρ
Νυμφᾶν ἐξ ἄντροιο κατειβόμενον κελάρυζε.
τοὶ δὲ ποτὶ σκιραῖς ὀροδαμνίσιν αἰθαλίωνες
τέττιγες λαλαγεῦντες ἔχον πόνον· ἃ δ' ὀλολυγὼν
τηλόθεν ἐν πυκιναῖσι βάτων τρύζεσκεν ἀκάνθαις.
ἅδιδον κόρυδοι καὶ ἀκανθίδες, ἔστενε τρυγών . . . .

It is to be observed that the dripping cliff in Alciphron's description shelters a shrine of the Nymphs and Pan (§4), like the grotto of Theocritus, where the sacred water plashes; cf. also Theocr. v. 33 f., 47 f., [ix. 9]. Other possibly Theocritean features are the special mention of the fine wine (Alc. *loc. cit.* §9, Theocr. vii. 147; xiv. 15 f.) and certain items of the feast—*κόγχοι, κήρυκες, κοχλίαι, μύκητες* (Alc. §16), cf. *βολβός, κοχλίας* (Theocr. xiv. 17).[1]

It is not within the province of this paper to prosecute the search for Theocritean ideas and expressions through the whole of Alciphron's work, and indeed it is not likely that many others could be found;[2] for the subject-matter of Alc. iv. 13 lends itself more readily than that of other letters to a treatment in the style of bucolic poetry. But to return from this digression to the comparison of Alciphron and Longus, we find in Alc. ii. 9 (cited above), which has been supposed to be based upon an idea of Longus', two slight marks of the bucolic style. One is the phrase *ἡδύ τι*, for which compare Theocr. i. 1; v. 89; viii. 82; xi. 3; xxiii. 35; Mosch. *Epit. Bion.* 120; the other is the reference to *ἀνθέρικος* and *κόμαρος*. In view of the foregoing examination of Theocritus' influence upon Alciphron, it seems reasonable to suppose that if Alciphron's idea in ii. 9 is altogether traceable to the bucolic poetry, then he derived it directly from Theocritus, and not through Longus.

In fact, however, another influence is to be considered. The passage cited above from Alc. ii. 9 ends with the sentence, *ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν μέσαις τὸν Ἡδωνὸν ἐμιμούμην τὸν παῖδα τῆς Καλλιόπης*. In

[1] But cf. Alexis *Incert.* 279K., where *βολβοί, κοχλίαι, κήρυκες* are mentioned as *φάρμακα ἐρῶντι ἑταίρας*.

[2] See, however, Meineke on i. 6. 2 and i. 34. 6, 8 (= i. 6. 2, iv. 7. 6, 8 Schepers). Stadtmüller on *Anth.* ix. 432 (Theocr. *Ep.* 6) finds reminiscences of this epigram in Alciphron iv. 10.

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comparing the parallel passages in Alciphron and Longus, Reich does not quote this sentence, and seems to consider it of little or no importance. But it reveals the significant fact that in composing this letter Alciphron had in mind the legends of Orpheus and his charming of animals by the power of his music; and this reference explains at once the element in the letter which appears to be an enlargement upon the more familiar themes of pastoral poetry. Compare the Orphic passage in Apollonius cited above, also *Anth. Pal.* vii. 8, 9, and Philostr. Jun. *Imag.* 6. The same mingling of bucolic and Orphic elements occurs in Virg. *Buc.* viii. 3, where the Orphic coloring of the phrase *quorum stupefactae carmine lynces* did not escape the attention of Conington; see his note on the passage.

The presence of this Orphic feature in Alciphron's letter, together with our enhanced opinion of his knowledge of Theocritus, enables us to dismiss as unproved the contention that he must have derived the ideas here elaborated from Longus. On the other hand, the absence from the corresponding Longus passage of any direct indication of Orphic influence suggests that Longus may, after all, have imitated Alciphron here, as Rohde thought, only dropping the allusion to the Edonian bard. But it is doubtless safer to concede that the romancer could easily have developed the idea, which he uses here and elsewhere, from his close study of Theocritus.

2. We have next to deal with some passages of a very different character.

Longus iv. 16: *ξιφίδιον λαβὼν καὶ ἐμπλήσας τὴν γαστέρα τροφῆς, ἐμαυτὸν ἀποκτενῶ πρὸ τῶν Δάφνιδος θυρῶν.*

Alc. iii. 3. 3: *ἔκρινα οὖν πολυτελοῦς τραπέζης ἀπολαύσας ἀποπτύσαι τὸ ζῆν, κρείττονα ὀδυνηροῦ βίου τὸν καθ' ἡδονὴν θάνατον ἡγησάμενος.*

Alc. iii. 13. 3: *οὐ πρότερον στραγγαλιῶ τὸν τράχηλον, πρὶν τραπέζης ἀπολαῦσαι πολυτελοῦς.*

In each of these passages the speaker is a parasite who for some cause or other has become discontented and desperate. The resemblance in thought is so striking that one naturally supposes that one of the two authors must have imitated the other. It is not likely, however, that this notion of dying with a full stomach

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is original with either Alciphron or Longus. It sounds like a "parasitism" pilfered from the Comedy, and such I believe to be the case. Note the following passages:

Plautus *Stich.* 638 ff.:

> numquam edepol me vivom quisquam in crastinum inspiciet diem;
> nam mihi iam intus potione iuncea onerabo gulam,
> neque ego hoc committam ut me esse homines mortuom dicant fame.[1]

Gelasimus, the parasite, is the speaker. Somewhat akin to this passage is the description of a glutton's euthanasia in a fragment of Menander's Ἁλιεῖς, fr. 23 Kock:

> Ἴδιον ἐπιθυμῶν μόνος μοι θάνατος οὗτος φαίνεται
> εὐθάνατος, ἔχοντα πολλὰς χολλάδας κεῖσθαι, πάχυν,
> ὕπτιον, μόλις λαλοῦντα, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμ' ἔχοντ' ἄνω,
> ἐσθίοντα καὶ λέγοντα· σήπομ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς.

It seems very likely that the idea exploited by Alciphron and Longus came into literary currency through the comedy of Menander that was the original of Plautus' *Stichus*.[2] That Alciphron took it directly from Menander is probable in view of his interest in that poet's work (cf. iv. 18 and 19, especially 19. 19 ff.), and the probability is heightened by another slight coincidence between a passage in the *Stichus* and one of the same letters of Alciphron in which the above-discussed sentiment occurs. Cf. *Stich.* 64: *non homines habitare mecum mihi videntur, set sues*, and Alc. iii. 13. 3: ἄνευ ἡμῶν ἀνέορτα πάντα καὶ συῶν οὐκ ἀνθρώπων πανήγυρις.[3] It may also be remarked that the parallelism between *potione iuncea* in *Stich.* 639, cited above, and Ἁλιαρτίου σχοινίου, in Alc. iii. 13. 2, looks like something more than a coincidence.

The existence of a source whence both Alciphron and Longus could have derived the idea in question has thus been shown, and

[1] This passage was brought to my attention by the kindness of Mr. Eugene Tavenner, of the Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville. As this goes to press I find a modern illustration in an unexpected quarter. In Pinero's *Trelawney of the Wells*, p. 10, Tom Wrench pretends to stab himself with a pair of scissors which Mrs. Mossop has handed him. "Don't do that!" cries Mrs. Mossop. Tom answers, "You are right, sweet Mossop, I won't perish on an empty stomach."

[2] *Graeca Adelphoe Menandru* in the didascalia, but this is probably corrupt; see Schanz *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.*[2], Part I, p. 55. Christ *Gesch. d. griech. Litt.*[4], p. 323 assumes that Menander's Φιλάδελφοι was the original of the *Stichus*.

[3] This parallelism was observed by Volkmann *Studia Alciphronea*, p. 30.

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it seems probable that the former drew upon this source directly. Is it equally probable that Longus drew directly upon Menander, or is it more likely that he imitated Alciphron in this particular? It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to decide this question. In his characterization of the base parasite Gnatho (iv. 10 ff.), Longus does exhibit points of contact with the Comedy, yet hardly enough of them to justify the conclusion that he studied it for himself. The chief literary influence at work in his romance is that of the bucolic poetry, as Reich has shown. In view of Alciphron's superior knowledge of the Comedy, which is generally conceded, one is tempted to return to the opinion of Rohde, namely, that Longus imitated Alciphron. But Reich's example is a warning against hasty decisions.

3. We reach a similar result in the following passeges:

Long. iii. 15: *τότε δ' ἐξ ἐωθινοῦ, σκηψαμένη πρὸς Χρῶμιν ὡς παρὰ τίκτουσαν ἄπεισι γείτονα, κτλ.*

Alc. ii. 7: *ὠδίνουσά με ἀρτίως ἥκειν ὡς ἑαυτὴν ἡ τοῦ γείτονος μετέπεμψε γύνη.*

In Ar. *Eccl.* 528 f., Praxagora says in answer to her husband's inquiry why she had left home in the early morning

> *γυνή μέ τις νύκτωρ ἑταίρα καὶ φίλη*
> *μετεπέμψατ' ὠδίνουσα.*[1]

Although Longus and Aristophanes have in common here the idea of giving the errand as an excuse, which Alciphron has not, still the resemblance between Alciphron's language and that of Aristophanes is so strong that we must reject Reich's contention that Alciphron is here indebted to Longus. Again there arises the doubt whether Longus did not rather imitate Alciphron, and the remark in the last paragraph applies here also.

4. Of especial interest is the similarity of two pretty descriptions of bird-catching in winter time, of which I quote as much as is necessary for purposes of comparison.

Longus iii. 3: *γίγνεται δὲ χειμὼν . . . . ἐξαίφνης γὰρ περιπεσοῦσα χιὼν πολλὴ πάσας μὲν ἀπέκλεισε τὰς ὁδούς, πάντας δὲ κατέκλεισε τοὺς γεωργούς. . . . . ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἀφανὴς ἦν ὅτι μὴ περὶ πηγάς που καὶ ῥεύματα. . . . . iii. 5: πρὸ τῆς αὐλῆς τοῦ Δρύαντος, ὑπ' αὐτῇ τῇ αὐλῇ, μυρρίναι μεγάλαι δύο καὶ κιττὸς ἐπεφύκει.*

[1] Volkmann (*op. cit.*, p. 6) noted Alciphron's imitation of the passage from the *Ecclesiazusae*.

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. . . . ἦν οὖν πολὺ πλῆθος περὶ αὐτὸν τῶν χειμερινῶν ὀρνίθων, ἀπορίᾳ τῆς ἔξω τροφῆς· πολὺς μὲν κόψιχος, πολλὴ δὲ κίχλη, καὶ φάτται καὶ ψᾶρες καὶ ὅσον ἄλλο κιττοφάγον πτερόν . . . . iii. 6: καὶ (Δάφνις) . . . . τούς τε βρόχους ἔστησε καὶ τὸν ἰξὸν ῥάβδοις μακραῖς ἐπήλειψε. . . . . ἀλλ' ὄρνιθες μὲν καὶ ἦκον πολλοὶ καὶ ἐλήφθησαν ἱκανοί, ὥστε πράγματα μύρια ἔσχε συλλέγων αὐτούς . . . .

Alc. ii. 27: πολὺς ὁ χειμὼν τὸ τῆτες καὶ οὐδενὶ ἐξιτητόν. πάντα γὰρ ἡ χιὼν κατείληφε, καὶ λευκανθίζουσιν οὐχ οἱ λόφοι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κοῖλα τῆς γῆς . . . . προκύψας δῆτα τῆς καλύβης οὐκ ἔφθην παρανοίξας τὸ θύριον καὶ ὁρῶ σὺν τῷ νιφετῷ δῆμον ὅλον ὀρνέων φερόμενον, καὶ κοψίχους καὶ κίχλας. εὐθέως οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς λεκάνης ἀνασπάσας ἰξὸν ἐπαλείφω τῶν ἀχράδων τοὺς κλάδους, καὶ ὅσον οὔπω τὸ νέφος ἐπέστη [τῶν στρουθίων] καὶ πᾶσαι ἐκ τῶν ὀροδάμνων ἐκρέμαντο, θάμα ἡδύ, πτερῶν ἐχόμεναι καὶ κεφαλῆς καὶ ποδῶν εἰλημμέναι.

The resemblance is considerably heightened by the omission in the citations from Longus of some paragraphs of the context, but even allowing for this it is not surprising that both Rohde and Reich thought that so striking a likeness must betray a plagiarism. However, a careful study of the context shows differences that are not without significance—for example, in Longus, Daphnis' fowling expedition is only a pretext for a visit to Chloe, and he prepares for it by taking with him the rods, snares, and bird-lime of the professional fowler. Alciphron's rustic seizes an unexpected opportunity, and hastily smears bird-lime on the branches of his pear trees. On the other hand, where these passages are alike, they are so only because they both deal with certain commonplaces of the fowler's art—a point which requires explanation at some length.

Three points of contact deserve consideration, the use of bird-lime, the mention of blackbirds and thrushes in both places, and the wintry setting of the description. Certainly no inference can be drawn from the fact that in both Alciphron and Longus bird-lime, the usual weapon of the fowler,[1] is the means employed to catch the birds. Again, blackbirds and thrushes are mentioned in both authors simply because they were among the commonest victims of the bird-hunter, and as such they are very frequently named together, just as an Italian fowler might couple ortolans and beccaficos, or as an American sportsman might speak of mallard and

[1] For a recent discussion of the universal use of the lime-rod in fowling, cf. B. O. Foster on Prop. ii. 19. 23 f. in *Class. Phil.* II, p. 213 ff.

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teal in a breath. We find κόψιχοι (=κόσσυφοι) and κίχλαι coupled in Ar. *Ach.* 970; *Av.* 1080 f. and in several epigrams of the *Anthology* (ix. 76, 343, 373, 396). Finally, although the wintry landscape serves a literary purpose in Longus (see the context), which is scarcely, if at all, true in Alciphron, still we need not conclude that the latter imitated the former, or even that the occurrence of the common feature is fortuitous. For winter, and particularly the season of snow-storms, was considered the most favorable season for the use of some of the fowler's devices; cf. Paraph. Dionys. *De avibus* (Didot ed. of *Poetae bucol. et didact.*) i. 1, iii. 4. In the same work (iii. 13) κόσσυφοι and κίχλαι are said to be easily caught with a fall-trap in winter, probably because they linger about during that season, feeding upon the berries of the myrtle, laurel, and ivy (*ibid.* i. 27; cf. Longus iii. 5, cited above). A striking proof of the association of the fowler's craft with the winter season is to be found in Eumathius (Eustathius?) *De Hysmines et Hysminiae amoribus* iv. 18, where in the description of a series of pictures a fowler (ἰξευτής) symbolizes the late autumn and winter, just as a reaper and a vintager represent the seasons of their respective activities. The passage reads: *ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν ἰξευτὴς ὑπαινίττεταί σοι τὸν χρόνον καθ' ὃν τὰ πτηνὰ τὸν χειμῶνα φρίσσει, καὶ μεταίρει πρὸς τὸ θερμότερον.*[1]

The two passages under examination, therefore, furnish no conclusive evidence that the resemblance is due to the imitation of one author by the other. Given literary forms which entail description of the pursuits of country people at all seasons,[2] it is not strange that the two writers should treat the subject of bird-catching in a similar manner. But if Alciphron needed for his letter any other source than his own knowledge of country life, I should be disposed to look for it, not in Longus, but in some such didactic poem as the Ὀρνιθιακά of Dionysius, of the date of which, however, nothing definite seems to be known.[3]

[1] Cf. also Ar. *Ach.* 877 with schol., Arist. *Meteor.*, p. 362*a*, 22.

[2] Alciphron, for example, treats of hare-hunting (ii. 1), of fox-trapping (ii. 19), of honey-gathering (ii. 20), of a sacrifice for rain (ii. 33), and of sheep-shearing (ii. 39).

[3] Croiset *Hist. de la litt. grecque* V, p. 619, places it tentatively in the second century A. D.

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There are some points of resemblance between Alciphron's letter and certain passages in the prose paraphrase of the work of Dionysius. Compare the following:

Alc. ii. 27. 2: *καὶ ὅσον οὔπω τὸ νέφος ἐπέστη [τῶν στρουθίων] καὶ πᾶσαι ἐκ τῶν ὀροδάμνων ἐκρέμαντο, θέαμα ἡδύ, πτερῶν ἐχόμεναι καὶ κεφαλῆς καὶ ποδῶν εἰλημμέναι.*

Paraph. Dionys. *De avibus* iii. 4: *θεαμάτων δ' ἥδιστον στρουθοὺς ὁρᾶν ἰξῷ πεπεδημένους καὶ καταπίπτοντας. Ibid.* i. 1: *τερπνὴ δέ τις καὶ οὐκ ἄχαρις θέα ταχὺν ὄρνιν ἰδεῖν αἰρεθέντα βρόχου δεσμοῖς ἢ δένδρου μέν τινος ἐφιζήσαντα κλάδῳ, καλάμῳ δέ, ὃν ἰξῷ τις ἐπαλείψας θηρατὴς ἀνατείνει, συγκολλώμενόν τε καὶ καθελκόμενον.*

A similar idea, *mutatis mutandis*, is expressed in Oppian *Hal.* i. 71 f::

> *πολλὴ γὰρ βλεφάροισι καὶ ἐν φρεσὶ τέρψις ἴδεσθαι*
> *παλλόμενον καὶ ἑλισσόμενον πεπεδημένον ἰχθύν,*

a circumstance which reminds us that Alciphron might have used the lost *Ἰξευτικά* of Oppian.[1]

5. An episode in Longus (iv. 7, 8) relates how a beautiful garden was laid waste by an enemy in the owner's absence. The old steward, fearing his master's wrath, exclaims: *πῶς, πῶς δείξω νῦν τὸν παράδεισον τῷ δεσπότῃ; κρεμᾷ γέροντα ἄνθρωπον ἔκ τινος* (*μιᾶς* Hirschig) *πίτυος ὡς Μαρσύαν· τάχα δὲ καὶ Δάφνιν. . . . .* And in Alc. ii. 18 a farmer's wife complained that a lazy hireling has let a she-goat be devoured by a wolf, and adds: *πέπυσται δὲ τούτων οὐδὲν ὁ ἀνήρ· εἰ δὲ μάθοι, κρεμήσεται μὲν ἐκ τῆς πλησίον πίτυος ὁ μισθωτός.* Alciphron touches elsewhere upon the theme of worthless servants (ii. 21 and 36), but the coincidence regarding the pine tree is certainly an odd one in this case. It is to be observed that in both cases the threatened or apprehended punishment is not hanging in our special sense of the word, but rather being tied up to a pine for a sound flogging. In the first place it is not likely that a servant, especially a *μισθωτός* (as in the Alciphron passage), would be put to death for mere negligence; and in the second place, the context in Longus shows plainly that a flogging is meant. Cf. iv. 9: *ἐθρήνει καὶ Χλόη Δάφνιν εἰ*

[1] Croiset, however, suspects (*op. cit.* V, p. 622, n. 4) that some confusion with the similar poem of Dionysius may account for the ascription of an *Ἰξευτικά* to Oppian.

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κρεμήσεται, καὶ ηὔχετο μηκέτ' ἐλθεῖν τὸν δεσπότην αὐτῶν καὶ ἡμέρας διήντλει μοχθηράς, ὡς ἤδη Δάφνιν βλέπουσα μαστιγούμενον. Besides, there is the allusion to the flaying of Marsyas in the passage already quoted. See also Hyperides, fr. 200 (Blass).

Reich (p. 53) makes much of the fact that Longus alludes very frequently to the pine in his idyllic descriptions, while Alciphron mentions it only twice (ii. 9. 1, 18. 3). This, however, is not quite fair, since Alciphron's *Epistulae rusticae* are almost the only part of his work that can properly be drawn into comparison with Longus, and they make only one of the four books of letters. Furthermore, the use of the pine as a kind of conventional background in rural descriptions has already been noticed, and it may adequately explain the choice of that particular kind of tree in Alc. ii. 18. 3, without reference to Longus' penchant for the pine. There is also much reason to regard the pine (πίτυς) as a tree of ill-luck and mourning, and hence a fit one for the chastisement of an evil-doer. So we may understand the legends of the ancient Πιτυοκάμπτης or Pine-bender, of the finding of Melicertes' dead body under a pine (Plut. *Quaest. conv.* v. 3. 1, p. 675E), and of the flaying of Marsyas, who was tied up to a pine tree (*v.* Roscher *Lex. der Mythol. s. v.* "Marsyas"). The epithet γοερά, which Nicander (*Alex.* 301) applies to the pine, alluding to the story of Marsyas, probably represents a widely prevailing superstition;[1] and the phrase ἐκ πίτυος κρέμασθαι may be a semi-proverbial expression for getting a flogging. Here, of course, we tread upon uncertain ground. Yet the evidence, such as it is, warns us against the conclusion that because the two passages contain a similar idea, either Alciphron or Longus must have borrowed from the other.

6. The rest of Reich's evidence may be dismissed with brief scrutiny. In the fact that the parasite Gnatho seeks to gain the favor of the offended Daphnis by helping him to find Chloe, who has been carried off by a herdsman (iv. 28 f.), Reich recognizes a significant parallel with Alc. iii. 5, where two parasites conspire to act as procurers for their patron by dragging a hetaira to his house. Certainly this is a very far-fetched comparison. He closes

[1] Cf. Preller-Robert, *Griech. Mythologie*, p. 594, n. 1; Rohde *Psyche*[4], p. 152, n. 1.

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his case with some verbal evidence, which needs little comment, as follows:

μεσαιπόλιος, "grizzled," occurs in Long. iv. 13, Alc. ii. 22. 2, iii. 13. 2. Reich notes also, as the only other instances he has found, Homer *Il.* xiii. 361 and *Anth. Pal.* v. 233. Add Ael. *N. A.* xii. 43, where the word is one of several color-adjectives applied to horse-hair. This last example, involving as it does, a decidedly prosaic use of the word, allows us to conjecture that it had a wider circulation than the lexicons show among the sophists of the second and third centuries.[1] At any rate it lessens the slight importance which might else be attached to the occurrence of the word in Alciphron and Longus.

In Longus ii. 5, we find the phrase καπυρὸν γελάσας, in Alc. iii. 12. 4, καπυρὸς ἐξεχύθη γέλως. Reich reports the phrase καπυρὸν γελᾶν only once elsewhere, *Anth. Pal.* vii. 414 (Nossis). But note καπυρὸν στόμα, Theocr. vii. 37, Mosch. iii. 94 (Ahrens). Attention has already been called to Alciphron's use of Theocr. vii. Luc. *Deorum dial.* xxii. 3 has καπυρὸν συρίζειν, Ath. xv. 697B καπυρώτεραι ᾠδαί.

Long. iv. 20: τὴν ὀφρὺν εἰς αὐτὸν τοξοποιήσας; Alc. ii. 16. 2: τοξοποιεῖ τὰς ὀφρῦς. Reich cites also Ar. *Lys.* 8: τοξοποιεῖν τὰς ὀφρῦς, which seems to be the only other place where the phrase occurs. But if, as seems likely, either Alciphron or Longus borrowed from Aristophanes, we should not hesitate, in view of Alciphron's well-known use of Aristophanes, to assign the priority in adapting the phrase to him rather than to Longus.

Reich's comparison, κιττοφάγος (Long. iii. 5), κιττοστεφής (Alc. iii. 12. 1) deserves mention only as an example of his determined, not to say desperate, attempts to make something of every faint resemblance between the two authors.

Such is the evidence upon which we are invited to place the little-known Longus in the second century A. D. and to regard him as one of Alciphron's models. Upon such evidence we find critics of the importance of Christ and Norden accepting the conclusions of Reich. One would like to know to what extent their favorable reception of his views is due to a subjective feeling—which Nor-

[1] Cf. also Pollux ii. 12.

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den acknowledges—that Longus' superiority in style to the rest of the romancers entitles him to an earlier chronological position than that usually accorded him. In my judgment the evidence which Reich has used is quite insufficient to prove that Alciphron was in any way dependent upon Longus; and in more than one place where the two authors have a common point of contact with comic ideas or comic words,[1] Alciphron's generally conceded exploitation of the Comedy would rather influence one to the belief that he drew directly from the comic poets, while Longus took the comic matter from Alciphron at second hand—thus returning to the view of Rohde. But any sweeping declaration to that effect would be peculiarly out of place in an article which has several times already passed unfavorable criticisms upon the over-certain tone of Reich's dissertation. Perhaps, after all, we are dealing only with an independent use of the same sources.

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[1] See paragraphs 2 and 3 of this section of the paper, and also paragraph 6 on the phrase, *τοξοποιεῖν τὰς ὀφρῦς*.

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THE USE OF THE OE-DIPHTHONG IN PLAUTUS

By Andrew R. Anderson

In connection with my Doctor's dissertation, in which the status of the *ei*-readings in the Plautine MSS was examined, the late Professor Minton Warren had originally suggested that I undertake a similar study of the *oe*-diphthong. The purpose of this paper is to carry out that suggestion.

First let me define the three categories in which the *oe*-diphthong may be considered:

I. Words in which the *oe*-diphthong was never reduced to *ū*. If a reduction ever took place, it was not to *ū* but to *ē*, and the change was generally confined to Low Latin or Romance; cf. Ital. *pena* < *poena;* Span. *hedo* < *foedus*, "filthy."

In this category are native Latin words containing *oe* for original I.-E. *oi*-diphthong, *amoenus*, *coenum* (but cf. Walde *Lat. et. Wörterbuch*, *s. v.* "*caenum*"), *foetor*, *foetidus*, *foedus* "filthy," *foedus* "treaty," *moenia*, *proelium*, *oiei;* words containing an *oe*-diphthong produced by contraction, *Cloelius*, *coepi*, *coetus*, *oboedio;* Greek loan-words in which the *oe* is the transcription of οι or φ, *poena*, *comoedia*.

II. Words in which it stands for I.-E. *oi*, and in which in Classical Latin it was reduced to *ū*, as *mūnus*, *mūnera*, *mūnio*, **mūne*, *mūniceps*, *mūnicipium*, *commūnis*, *inmūnis*, *mūrus*, *mūto*, *mūtuus*, *spūma*, *ūtor*, etc., *cūnae*, *cūnio*, *cūro*, *cūra*, etc., *lūdus*, *lūdo*, etc., *plūres*, *plūrumi;* *pūnio*, *pūnicus*, *pūniceus*, and probably *hūius*, *cūius*,[1] etc. For convenience and clearness I give uniformly *ū* for the earlier *oe*. Obviously the discussion of this category will be the most important part of my paper.

III. Loan-words from the Greek, in which *oe* is explained as the transcription of *υ*, as *Antamoenides*, *lagoena*. For further examples see Schuchardt *Vokalismus*, II. 278 ff.

The first category requires no further treatment in this paper, and the third, in my opinion, can best be understood after a full

[1] I. e., if the development be *hoiius* > *hūius*, *quoiius* (pronounced *coiius*) > *cūius*.

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discussion of the second; consequently I begin by citing those instances in which the MSS of Plautus give or point to the archaic *oe* for the classical *ū*.

Bacch. 926: moenitum.
Capt. 254: circummoeniti.
Cist. 540: admoenivi.
Pers. 554: moenitum (munitum A, monitum P).
559: moenita muro A, P n. 1.
Poen. 990, 991: Punice . . . . Poenus Poenior, Poenior *Bothe*, punior *libri*.
Pseud. 229: Phoenicium poeniceo.
384: admoenire.
585*b*: admoenire (a quotation of 384).
Stich. 695: moenia (= munera).
Trin. 24: inmoenest, immunest A, In menest P.
Truc. 102: oenus B, unus CD.

Morphologically *noenum*, *Aul.* 67, *Bacch.* xxiii ? (Goetz and Schoell) belongs here, but it was used only as an archaic form, and is therefore in a class by itself; *vid.* Walde *s. v.* "*nōn*." For some conjectural *oe*-readings see the Triumvirate edition *Mil.* 223, 228, *Rud.* 934, *Truc.* 2. *Rud.* 692 *moenia* BCD, which Schoell changes to *moeniam*, is hardly worth considering.

The reduction of *oe* to *ū* is generally regarded as having taken place in the course of the second century B. C.; so Sommer *Handbuch*, p. 88. Lindsay *LL.*, p. 240, puts it as far back as the beginning of the century, and I feel confident that even he did not date the change too early. Probably the earliest epigraphic evidence for the change is found in *utier* of *CIL* I. 33:

Quei apice insigne Dialis flaminis gesistei,
Mors perfecit tua ut essent omnia brevia,
Honos fama virtusque gloria atque ingenium,
Quibus sei in longa licuiset tibe utier vita,
Facile facteis superases gloriam maiorum;
Qua re lubens te in gremiu, Scipio, recipit
Terra, Publi, prognatum Publio, Corneli.

This P. Cornelius Scipio has not been certainly identified. Mommsen puts the close of his life anywhere from 204 to 154, and on account of such linguistic peculiarities as the lack of *-d* in the ablative and the reduction of *oe* to *ū* in *utier* 4, scholars have

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been inclined to favor a later rather than an earlier date. However, after the reading of *in agro Teurano*, postscript to the SC de Bacchanalibus *CIL* I. 196, of 186 B. C., and the discovery of the decree of Aemilius Paulus, *CIL* II. 5041, of 189 B. C., the ablatival *-d* no longer returns to plague us in Plautus, and inasmuch as in every other respect also the orthography of this Scipio inscription agrees with that of Plautus, e. g., the differentiation of *ī* in *insigne* 1, *vita* 4, *Publi* . . . . *Corneli* 7, from the *ei*-diphthong in *quei* 1, *gesistei* 1, *sei* 4, *tibe* 4, *facteis* 5, the failure to use double consonants in *gesistei* 1, *licuiset* 4, *superases* 5 (cf. *essent* 2, *terra* 7), it will probably be correct to regard the spelling *utier* as part of the evidence for the reduction of *oe* to *ū* at an earlier date than commonly supposed.[1] Even if a later date is insisted on for the inscription, it should be borne in mind that as orthography always lags behind, generally far behind, changes in pronunciation—this being especially true of the Scipio elogia—there is still nothing in this inscription to disprove the view that the *oe*-diphthong had already been monophthongized to *ū* in the times of Plautus. Indeed, I hope to present some evidence in favor of the view that it had been reduced at least as early as the earliest of his datable plays—the *Miles Gloriosus*, which was brought out shortly after 206 B. C. But before presenting this additional evidence, let me consider two passages that seem to point to a contrary conclusion—*Pseud.* 229:

Cras *Phoenicium poeniceo* corio invises pergulam.

The date of the *Pseudolus* is 191. The classical form of *poeniceus* is *pūniceus*, and the latter orthography might be expected for Plautus, if the statement of Lindsay above referred to be correct. But in the present passage the diphthong has probably not been reduced, and that *poeniceo* should be read here is indisputable. At first sight this passage would seem to prove that the pronunciation as well as the orthography would be *poeniceus*,

[1] On the assumption that both *oi* and *ou* in the SC. de Bacch. are archaisms standing for an actual pronunciation *ū*, it would be possible to regard PLOVS (which occurs three times) as a mistaken restoration for **plois* **ploes* (cf. *couro* for *coero*, *CIL* I. 1419) and so bring it into line with PLOIRVME, *CIL* I. 32, and *ploeres*, Cic. *De leg.* iii. 3. 6.

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poenicus, *poenio*, *moenio*, *commoenis*, *oenus*, etc. It has been brought out by L. Buchhold[1] that paromoeosis was at its height in Plautus and Ennius and that this practice has given us much evidence regarding pronunciation and orthography in our author. Yet in his fondness for punning Plautus sometimes even went so far as to use exceptional or archaic forms; cf. *Capt.* 67:

iudices iustissumi
domi duellique duellatores optumi.

Here *duelli* and likewise *duellatores* were archaisms even for the time of Plautus; *duelli* isn't even found in a single MS for this passage. Yet Plautus' fondness for like sounds leaves no doubt as to the reading. So *Amph.* 1058:

corrumpta sum atque *apsumpta* sum,

where I believe Fleckeisen is perfectly correct in reading *corrumpta* against *corrupta* of the MSS. *Mil.* 1407:

dispennite hominem divorsum et *distennite*.

Here the reading *dispennite* reported by Nonius for *dispendite* carries with it the change of *distendite* of the MSS to *distennite*. So in Ennius *Epig.* ii (*CPL*, Ennius *Sat.* 1. 66) we should probably read with Bergk:

Nemo me *dacrumis decoret* nec funera fletu
faxit.

We must not then close our eyes to the possibility that *poeniceo* in *Pseud.* 229 may have been given an archaic pronunciation by Plautus for the sake of closer similarity to *Phoenicium*.

The other passage is *Poen.* 990, 991:

Nullus me est hodie *Poenus Poenior*.

Poenior is the correction of Bothe; the MSS read *punior*. *Poenior* would seem to point to *poenio*, *poenicus*, etc., but here, as in the passage from *Pseud.*, the form is shown to be exceptional, being in fact a coinage for the nonce, and standing therefore altogether by itself.

[1] *De paromoeoseos (allitterationis) apud veteres Romanorum poetas usu*, Lips. 1883; cf. E. B. T. Spencer *Adnominatio in the Plays of Plautus with Special Reference to Questions of Pronunciation and Orthography*, Rome, 1906. Unfortunately Mr. Spencer's investigation leaves much to be desired.

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Plautus has left us no statement regarding his orthography of *oe–ū* as he has about his use of *ei–ī*. Cf. *Rud.* 1305, 1306; *Truc.* 262–64. The evidence for his pronunciation of *oe* must be gathered principally from instances of assonance, the most important being *Mil.* 324:

Sc. abi, ludis me, Palaestrio.
Pa. tum mihi sunt manus inquinatae. *Sc.* quidum? *Pa.* quia *ludo luto.*

This is one of a great many instances where Plautus puns a long with a short vowel and I cite the following:

Amph. 1: Ut vōs in vostris voltis; cf. 1006.
318: exossatum ōs; cf. 342.
498: uxore ūsuraria.
As. 142: pāne in pannis.
568: fideli infidus.
Bacch. 362: crucisalum me ex Chrȳsalo (= crūsalo); cf. 687.
490: mălis mālim modis.
Merc. 83: āmens amansque.
161: ā portu apporto; cf. *Ep.* 595; *Mil.* 316; *Rud.* 1225.

It may be noted that generally (but not always) when Plautus puns a long and a short vowel *in arsi*, there is a double consonant or its equivalent after the short vowel. *In thesi* he is freer in his treatment both of sounds and of quantities. This passage from *Mil.* 324 is not conclusive for the identity of the quality of the sounds compared until confirmed by other evidence, and this is found in *Bacch.* 129:

Non omnis aetas, *Lyde*, *ludo* convenit

a passage that, as far as the quality of the sounds compared is concerned, is to be grouped with

Bacch. 362: Crucisalum me ex Chrysalo,
687: in cruciatum Chrysalum,
1183: Chrysalus . . . . excruciem.

Together they prove that at this period Greek *υ* was represented in Latin by *u*, so that in 129 the sounds compared are both *in arsi* and identical in both quality and quantity, and would be repre-

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sented phonetically by *Lūde*, *lūdo*, and etymologically by *Lūde loedo*. In other words, the sound of the *oe* (< *oi*) in *loedo* (> *lūdo*) had been reduced to *ū*. I cannot here agree with Lindsay *LL*, p. 248, who separates *Bacch.* 129 from *Bacch.* 362, 687, 1183, and would represent the phonetics of *Lyde*, *ludo* by *Lüde*, *lüdo*. I hold therefore that in *Mil.* 325 the pronunciation is faithfully represented by *lūdo*, *luto* and in *Bacch.* 129 by *Lūde*, *lūdo*.

Hoffmann, in *BB* XXVI. 137ff., denies the possibility of *lūdus*, *lūdo* ever having come from the I.-E. stem *loid-* (cf. v. Grienberger *Wiener Sitzungsber.* CXLII. VIII. 151), which he says could have resulted only in *leid-* > *līd*. To make good his contention he finds it necessary to treat the epigraphic evidence for *loed* (*loid*) as of no value, and the instances of its occurrence as pseudo-archaisms, interdependent in error. Accordingly he takes *lūdo* from an I.-E. stem **ĝhleu-d-*, cf. χλευ-άζω. If the conclusions of Hoffmann and v. Grienberger are correct, then the puns *ludo luto*, *Lyde ludo* have no bearing on the question of the *oe*-diphthong in Plautus. Had they known of these puns they would probably have treated them as confirmatory of their own conclusions (and to complete their case they would only have been obliged to disprove the original *oi*-diphthong in *ūtor*, *cūro*, etc., as well).

But the conclusions of Hoffmann are to be rejected for the following reasons:

a) His objection to the phonetics *loid-* > *lūd-* is not valid; cf. Walde, *s. v.* "*ludo;*" Sommer, pp. 88, 91; and I am not aware that Lindsay has changed his view of the etymology of *lūdo* given in *Lat. Lang.* 248. Furthermore, if the stem **leub-* (ἐλεύθερος) gives **loub-* > *loib-* > *leib-* > *līb-*, why should not according to Hoffmann (since in his argument he ignores the labial as a factor in this development) **ĝhleu-d* give *loud-* > *loid-* > *leid-* > *līd-*?

b) To deny the development of *lūdo* from *loido*, is to exclude all possible connection of these words with Osc. *luisarifs:* cf. Buck *Gram. of Osc. and Umbr.*, art. 138 and p. 248, No. 21.

If the reduction of *oi* to *ū* was already an accomplished fact in the time of Plautus in *lūdo*, it is reasonable to suppose that the reduction had become uniform throughout this whole category; and *Amph.* 498 *ŭxore ūsuraria* seems to confirm this view, as

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this phrase was probably pronounced *ŭssor(e) ūssuraria.*[1] *Trin.* 181, 182:

> Neque adeo hasce emi mihi nec *ūssurae* meae:
> Illi redemi *rūssum*

is of doubtful value on account of the distance of *ussurae* and *russum* from each other. Here may be quoted *Most.* 209:

> *Cūr* obsecro non *cūrem*?

and *Poen.* 354:

> *Qur* ego id *cur*em? nam qui istaec magis meast *cur*atio?

as reasonably sure proof of the reduction of *oe* to *ū* in *cūro*, etc. The value of the two quotations is not impaired by the fact that *cūr* does not contain I.-E. *ū* (yet cf. J. Schmidt *KZ* XXXII. 405, and Persson *IF* II. 248), or by the fact that the orthography in the time of Plautus may have been *quor*. The latter form, however, rests only on the express testimony of Velius Longus *GL* VII. 77. 9K, and lacks epigraphic confirmation under the Republic, whereas in *CIL* I. 1454. 1 (time of the Gracchi) we have QUR = *cūr*. Etymologically the quality of the *u* in *cūr* is the same as in *fūr;* cf. Gk. *φώρ*, and Lorenz' note on *fūrinum . . . . forum*, *Pseud.* 790. Quintilian i. 7. 26 (cf. i. 4. 10, 11) has told us that by the teachers of his boyhood *seruus*, *ceruus*, etc., were still spelled *seruos*, *ceruos*, in order that the gemination of the *u* might not cause them to be pronounced *serūs cerūs*. *Cūr* was probably pronounced in the same way in the time of Plautus as in the time of Augustus, and nothing was to be feared from the simplified spelling of *quor* > *quur* > *qūr* or *cūr*. The spelling *quor* cited by Velius Longus and used by Varro was etymological, and conservative, and theoretical, and not representative of its pronunciation, which was *cūr* even for the time of Pl. Here might be quoted Velius Longus *GL* VII. 58. 4K, to the effect that words like *primitiuus*, though spelled *-uos* until in the eighth century of the city, were pronounced *-uus* and not *-uos*. Combining this fact with Bersu *Die Gutturalen*, p. 53, where, on the basis of such spellings as OQUOLTOD (= occultod) *CIL* I. 196, of 186 B. C. and

[1] For the weakened pronunciation of *x* to *ss* cf. the MSS in *Ep.* 248; *Rud.* 729; *Stich.* 163, 175, 272; *Truc.* 913, 940; *Pseud.* 1107 *luxantur*, *lustrantur*. Nonius 40, 24 M, and the development of *x* in Romance.

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quom (= prep. *cum*) *CIL* I. 34. 3, end of the sixth century of the city, he proves that in Republican Latin labialized gutturals before *u* (< *o*) were unknown, we have still further proof that *quor* was pronounced *cūr* even by Plautus. Cf. Lindsay *LL* iv. 137. 3, p. 300.

The instances in Plautus in which an original *u*-sound is punned with an original *oi*-diphthong are unfortunately not more numerous than those already cited, unless we include here the very attractive interpretation of *Aul.* 562 f. by Prescott in *C. P.* II, 335 f., which is possible only on the hypothesis that *coera* had already been reduced to *cūra*.

Above has been presented the evidence for believing that the *oe* (*oi*) which we find monophthongized to *ū* in Classical Latin had already under Plautus been thus reduced in pronunciation. Admittedly the evidence is inconclusive, but the hypothesis has the virtue of explaining the phenomena met with in a more satisfactory way than the opposite view put forth, e. g., by Brugmann *KVG* I, p. 84, where he says, "*oe* galt zur Zeit des Plautus." Here he means pronunciation as well as spelling. Whether the Romans were swift enough innovators in spelling reform to have made the change in orthography also is doubtful, but I should be inclined to use the orthography *punio*, *munio*, *communis*, *plures*, *curo*, *utor* except where there seem to be special reasons for doing the contrary.

The instances cited on pp. 2 ff. may be considered individually. Whenever any of them are rejected, it is only their diphthongal pronunciation that is denied. *Noenum*, *Aul.* 67, *Bacch.* xxiii; *Poenus Poenior*, *Poen.* 991; *Phoenicium poeniceo*, *Pseud.* 229, may be accepted for reasons previously stated. In addition to these there is much to be said for Fleckeisen's *moenit* (before *moenia*) *Mil.* 228, both because of the assonance and because of the dignified nature of the passage. There is less to be said for his *moeni* 223, as there is no assonance there. In the remaining passages, where the MSS give *oe* for *ū*, they should not be followed except for special or additional reasons, and it must be admitted that these special or additional reasons are likely to be more or less subjective: e. g., *moenitum*, *Bacch.* 926, stands in a

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passage that has a heroic tone and might gain in impressiveness by the diphthongal pronunciation. The same reasons could be adduced for *Cist.* 540; *Pers.* 554, 559; *Pseud.* 384, 585*a* (=384). However, it seems unreasonable that we should read *moenitum* in *Pers.* 554, and *moenita* 559, unless we extend the *oe* also to *muro* 559, and emend *munitum muro* to *moenitum moero* 553, and *murus* to *moerus* 560. The Triumvirate editors have admitted *commoenibo* against the MSS in *Rud.* 934. Their reading of *moeris* for *vostris*, *Truc.* 2, is not felicitous. No special reason seems to exist for *circummoeniti*, *Capt.* 254, *moenia* (=*munera*), *Stich.* 695, *inmoene*, *Trin.* 24, *oenus*, *Truc.* 102.

I now come to the consideration of the readings of category III, namely, those in which *oe* is said to be the transcription of Greek *υ*: *lagoenam*, *Curc.* 78;[1] *Antamoenides*, *Poen.* cast of characters. The Greek originals of these words are respectively λάγυνος and Ἀνταμυνίδης; cf. K. Schmidt in *Hermes* XXXVII. 356. The precarious position of *oe* as a transcription for *υ* may be gathered from Schuchardt's discussion of it, *Vokalismus* II. 278–87. The case for such transcription is not supported by inscriptional evidence, but rests on a few MS readings, and on the very doubtful readings in a single passage in a single grammarian—Maximus Victorinus *GL* VI. 196. 3K: "Quae sunt litterae peregrinae? y et z. Quare peregrinae? Siquidem a nobis propter Graeca nomina adsumptae sunt, ut puta *Hylas*, *zephyrus*. Quae si adsumpta non essent, *Hulas* et *sdepherus* (*sdephurus?*) diceremus." Here *hoelas* (*sic*) is given only by one MS, Goth, and by *ς*, while *sdephoerus* is the conjecture of Ribbeck *RM* XII. 431. Schuchardt *loc. cit.*, argues in favor of these two readings. Ritschl *Bonner Sommerkat.* 1856 had denied that *oe* could be used as transcription for *ŭ*, but had admitted that it was the regular transcription for *ū*. The question of chronology, however, must be considered, and I have no hesitation in rejecting the grammarian's statement (reading

[1] It may be that Fleckeisen is right in reading *lagaenam* (from λάγηνος; cf. *scaena* < σκηνή) making thus a better pun on *leaenam* of the preceding line. If so, its discussion is outside the scope of this paper. But on the whole, I cannot help regarding the reading *lagaenam* as improbable on the ground of the questionable standing of λάγηνος, and even with *lagunam* the pun is by no means a bad one.

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Hoelas and *sdephoerus*) as applied to Plautus. For in our poet's time *v* of Greek loan-words in Latin was pronounced *u*, as *turannus*, *sucopanta*. This is so well established as not to require proof here. Consequently if these words—*lagoenam Antamoenides*—are to stand thus in our text of Plautus, they are to be pronounced as though spelled with *ū*, or, putting the matter in another way, with the *oe* that in the time of Plautus had been monophthongized to *ū*. So it is that K. Schmidt *loc. cit.*, reads *Antamūnides*, and Vendryes *Recherches sur l'histoire et les effets de l'intensité initiale* 284 regards the form *lagoena* as a reversed form of writing *ū*.

When then did the transcription of *v* by *oe* come into vogue? Ribbeck *JJ* LXXV. 317 holds that it came in with Accius, and in frg. 122 we find *Froegiae*. This view of Ribbeck's is disproved by Schuchardt II. 287: "Hätte Accius wirklich *oe* für *v* eingeführt, und wäre diese Schreibung schon im 7. Jahrhundert d. St. gang und gäbe gewesen, so würde uns gewiss inschriftliche Belege derselben nicht fehlen"—a process of reasoning which, by the way, is equally fatal when turned against the conclusions of Schuchardt himself.

We are safe then in concluding that the transcription of *v* by *oe*, if ever practiced, did not take place until imperial times, and did not affect the text of Plautus except so far as this was corrupted by having such forms as *lagoenam* and *Antamoenides* introduced into it. The fact that for Plautus' time *oe* was not used for *v* is still further evidence against Lindsay's interpretation of the sounds *Lyde*, *ludo*, *Bacch.* 129, where he holds, *LL*, p. 248, that *ludo* still has a diphthongal pronunciation of *oe* approaching the sound of *v* in *Lyde*.

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THE LATIN ACCUSATIVES *MĒD*, *TĒD*, ETC.

By Edwin W. Fay

Brugmann's note on the Latin accusatives *me*(*d*), *te*(*d*), *se*(*d*) (*IF.* 23, 210) develops a quite successful attack on the current theory that the final *-d* was picked up by the accusative from the ablative forms *med*, etc. This everyone will admit: the accusatives are, in all probability, prior to the period of *samdhi* fluctuation between *mēd* and *mē* in the ablative. But when we are asked to derive *mēd* (acc.) from *mē*+*ed* (cf. Avestan aṭ quasi '-γε,' cited by Bartholomae in his *Wörterbuch* but once with a pronoun, viz.: *θwąm aṭ* 'te quidem'), the ice is too thin, I think, for cautious treaders. The truth is, in my opinion, that the *-d* of the accusative was picked up from the ablatival long before the ablatival *-d* became "inconstant" in sentence phonetics. Let us suppose for the first person pronoun, say, that we had in Italic proper representatives of the forms for accusative, instrumental, and ablative, as they appear in Sanskrit: then we should have acc. *mē*, instrum. *mē*, abl. *mĕd*, the last still alive in the enclitic *-met* which, from *ego-met* (*memet*), went over, first presumably to *nosmet*, whence it spread to other person forms like *tumet*, *semet*.[1] In the general syncretism of ablative and instrumental in Latin, *met* (*med*[2]) and *mē* yielded an instrum.-abl. *mēd;* and the accusative *mē* became, I suggest, involved in the morphological history of the homophonous instrum. *mē*. And be it said in passing that the reason advanced by Brugmann for the upgrowth of the new Umbrian and Oscan accusatives *tiom* 'te,' *siom* 'se,' viz., the liability to confusion between acc. **mēd* and abl. **med* (unfortunately not repre-

[1] I am not oblivious of other explanations of the enclitic *-met*, none of which seems to me satisfactory: *egomet* is 'I from (of, by) myself, of my own motion,' where *-met* exhibits much the same semantic development that is now currently assigned to *sĕd* 'by himself' > 'apart,' an explanation which I personally begin to take *cum grano*, for *sĕd* as a pre-verb (in *sēditio* = quasi 'Weggang') may mean 'away' and be cognate with ὁδός.

[2] Bugge's canon as to final *-d* in all secondary verb endings in the Italic languages carries with it the corollary that, semantic interference apart, final *-t* and *-d* became, by *samdhi*, indistinguishable at an early period.

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sented in the extant Oscan-Umbrian remains) is no better a guess than the assumption that *tiom*, etc., are new forms made to avoid the confusion that existed between inherited acc. *tē* and instr. *tē*, etc.

As regards the merging of accusative and instrumental-ablative into the form *mēd*, good syntactical evidence of case-rivalry may be offered, not merely for the *utor* category, adduced by Audouin (*Déclinaison*, p. 273), but specifically the evidence of verbs of "sacrificing." Nor does Audouin, by his reference to Bréal, *Tab. Eug.*, p. 63, do justice to this category when he cites (*loc. cit.*) Umbrian *buf treif feitu* 'tres boves facito' in contrast with *vinu feitu* 'vino facito.' It were worth mentioning that in Umbrian, by some stylistic allocation, names of animals are put in the accusative with 'facere,' other offerings in the ablative; while in Latin we find the ablative with both classes of objects (cf. Plautus *St.* 251, *quot agnis fecerat?; Act. Frat. Arval.*, *ap.* Dessau *Inscript. Lat. Select.* 5034: "ture et vino in igni in poculo fecit").[1]

Now if we take up the particularly old inscription instance of acc. *med* to which Brugmann appeals, we shall see, upon examination, that even here, on the Praenestine fibula (Dessau 8561), in the legend *Manios med fhe fhaked Numasioi*, *med* is ambiguous as to its case. Here, if Numasioi is the name of a person, as, to the best of my knowledge, has been universally supposed hitherto, *med* must be an accusative. But after all, the fibula

[1] Further material for illustrating the case-rivalry may be listed here: *sacrufico*, abl., Plaut. *Epid.* 175, "sacrificas ilico Orco hostiis," but "pecora rite sacrificare," Livy xli. 18, "ignavam suem s.," Ovid *Fasti* 4. 414; cf. Plautus *Poen.* 451 "s. ullum turis granum;" *immolare:* in view of the original meaning of this verb = 'to pour meal on' (cf. particularly Henzen *Acta Frat. Arval.*, p. 93, 94), the ablative of the thing offered is especially cogent evidence for the vigor of the ablative construction with verbs of "sacrificing;" examples, to say nothing of literary instances which may be turned up in the lexica (see particularly *Ateius Capito*, *ap.* Macrob. iii. 10. 3; and cf. Horace *Carm.* i. 4. 12), are: (*Acta*, cf. Dessau, 5047) "immolavit suovetaurilibus maioribus . . . . verbeces immolavit xvi;" Dessau 108, "immolatio Caesari hostiâ" (on a calendar); *ibid.* 112, "tres libertini hostias singulas immolent." Further note *adolere mactare* with accusative; *operari* with general objects in the accusative, but a cognate instrumental, *sacris; litare* with the accusative, but cf. "sacrâ litate bove" (Ovid); "hostiâ maximâ *parentare*" (Cicero *Leg.* 2. 54); "ea mihi cottidie | aut ture aut uino aut aliquî semper *supplicat*, | dat mihi coronas" (Plautus *Aul.* 23). In Greek the case rivalry is much less in evidence, but Homer may be cited for *σπένδειν οἶνον* in contrast with *σπένδειν ὕδατι*. The examples of *ῥέζειν* with the dative are questioned. On Sanskrit *hu-* with the instrumental see Speijer as cited below, p. 305, n. 3.

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may have been a votive offering, and Numasioi the name of the divinity attested by the three following inscriptions:

D. 3147, Nu]misio Mar[tio] | M. Terebonio C. l. | donum dat liben[s] meritod.

D. 3148, ... onius Q. f. | Numisio Martio | donum dedit | meretod.

D. 3149, Marti sive | Numiterno | Achilles Aug. lib. | proc., et Ulpia Nice | eiu[s] d. d. | l. d. d. d.

Cf. Dessau's note: "idem numen in tribus his titulis N. 3147–3149 significari apparet, praeterea inauditum." But I see no good reason why the Numasios of the Praenestine brooch may not be identical with this "Numisios inauditus," and the fibula a votive offering to him. Nor do I see that we run any risk of being anachronistic in supposing that, in the early period of the Praenestine fibula, a soldier wore a brooch, even if we lack literary evidence for the history of the period. The literary evidence for the brooch (*περόνη*) worn by the Homeric warriors is complete. And the brooch was quite specifically a part of the Athenian uniform for war. Thus Lycurgus, describing a state of panic, when the old men had to be formed into a "home-guard," writes (*Con. Leoc.* 40): *ἰδεῖν ἦν καθ' ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ γήρως ὁδῷ περιφθειρομένους διπλᾶ τὰ ἱμάτια ἐμπεπορπημένους*. The use of fibulae as a sort of military insignia in the time of the Scipios is clear from Livy xxx. 17. 13 (cf. also xxvii. 19. 12), where, recounting the "decorations" sent by the senate to Masinissa, he writes: "munera quae legati ferrent regi, decreverunt sagula purpurea duo cum fibulis aureis singulis."[1] On the Praenestine fibula, the decorative crossbars of the bow accentuate the general likeness of the brooch to a sword in a sheath, the crossbars serving to bring out the motif of the guard of the hilt (cf. for the guard figures 3606, 3607 in Daremberg et Saglio, *s. v.* "gladius"). Such a decoration were most suitable to a soldier's brooch; and such a brooch, taken among the *spolia* of an individual soldier, were surely not unsuited to form

[1] This use continued into later imperial times. In the time of the Caesars tribunes were permitted to wear fibulae of gold (cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *s. v.* "fibula," p. 1103), so that one may wonder if the epaulette of modern uniforms is not, in a Darwinian sense, the representative of the earlier fibula. To be sure, in the time of Aurelian the use of the golden fibula was extended to common soldiers also.

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a part of his thank-offering to a Martian deity like Numasios.[1] In fact, fibulae figure among the Cesnola finds at Kourion, and Newton (*Essays on Archaeology*, p. 316) regards them as belonging to a collection of *ex votos*. An early fibula, not unlike the Praenestine, with an Etruscan inscription running similarly down the sheath (figured in Daremberg et Saglio in No. 2997, as ours is No. 2994), shows us that there was store of fibulae in Italy to form a part of the spoils of war.

Of course I foresee immediate objection to the definition of *fhe fhaked* by a 'sacruficavit' so vague as to amount to 'donavit.' But this use of *facere* is, after all, no vaguer than the use of τιθέναι for ἀνατιθέναι, e. g., in Euripides' *Phoenissae*, 575:

> θήβας πυρώσας τάσδε Πολυνείκης θεοῖς
> ἀσπίδας ἔθηκε;

cf. also the inscription on the gold wreath from Armento (Guhl u. Koner[5], p. 230): κρειθωνιος ηθηκη τον στεφανον, though I think the origin of *facere* = 'sacruficari' is to be sought in the locution *sacrum facere*, with ellipsis of *sacrum*.

Here let us glance at an early inscription "in margine vasculi aenei prope Nemi repertum" (D. 3236): "Cn. Q. et med Diana." Here there is no doubt but the object is an offering to a divinity, but we are left in doubt whether *med* is acc. with ⟨"dedit"⟩,[2] or

[1] The following citation from Guhl u. Koner's *Das Leben d. Griechen u. Römer*[5], p. 656, is in point: "fibulae . . . . bei den Männern hauptsächlich zur Verknüpfung der Enden des Sagum und Paludamentum auf der rechten Schulter . . . . unter allen Schmuckgegendständen diese Fibulae vorzugsweise häufig an einst bewohnten Stätten sowie auf Schlachtfeldern aufgefunden. . . . . " Be it added here that a fibula presented to Numasios may have been intended for use in dressing his statue for war.

[2] The ablative is not to be excluded even if the verb in ellipsis be "dedit." Thus in "aidiles vicesma parti Apolones dederi" (D. 3216), Hübner ("Röm. Epigr." in Müller's *Hdbch.* I[2], p. 691) construes *parti* as ablative. For the ablative, cf. also Vergil

> *Aen.* vii. 245: "hōc pater Anchises auro libabat ad aras"
> *Geo.* ii. 192: "qualem ⟨laticem⟩ pateris libamus et auro."

In Homer the dative (= instrumental) of the vessel used in an offering, Ψ 196, η 137.— If the verb in ellipsis be "fecit," i. e., *sacrum fecit*, we may compare from the *Acta Fr. Arv.* (D. 5039), "in mensa sacrum fecerunt ollis" where, obviously, *ollis* is a plain ablative of means; but, as later in the ritual they prayed to these *ollae* (*ollas precati sunt*, cf. Wissowa, *Realencycl. s. v.* "arvales fratres," II, p. 1476) "sacrum fecerunt ollis" carries the additional force of "ollas consecraverunt," which accounts for the subsequent worship of the jars. That, last of all, these were broken and thrown away is nothing but a corollary to their consecration: having been made temporarily the depositaries of divinity the jars were ⟨broken and⟩ thrown down the slope to prevent

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acc.-instrum. with ⟨"fecit"⟩,[1] and *et* might be a graver's mistake for the abbreviation *fe* of his copy (cf. No. 3471 on p. 307 below).[1]

It remains to consider whether *fecit* actually reached a general meaning like 'donavit'[1] or 'supplicavit' (cf. Plautus *Aul.* 23, *supra*, p. 302), with the construction "alicui aliquâ rê,"[2] and we may begin with general analogies, first by quoting Plato (*Euthyphro* 14 C): τὸ θύειν δωρεῖσθαί ἐστι τοῖς θεοῖς. So Vergil (*Aen.* iv. 453) designates the *tus* and *vinum* Dido was offering as *dona;* further note in the New Testament, Matt. 5:23: ἐὰν οὖν προσφέρῃς τὸ δῶρόν σου ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον. . . . . A similar generalization of the root *yaj*[3] took place in Sanskrit, where *yajanti* 'colunt, decorant' (deum aliquâ rê) passes over to the sense of 'donant.'[4]

Passing to take a glance at the particular usage of *facere* "sacruficare" in the inscriptions, it is not certain that "facere alicui aliquâ rê" is found; but it will be worth our while to look at a classified list of examples[5] which lead to a provisional conclusion in favor of the admissibility of this construction. And the theory on which the list has been constructed accords with the notion already advanced that *facere* = *sacruficare* has developed

any subsequent pollution, including, doubtless, the pollution of accidental breaking: "ollas precati sunt et osteis apertis per clivum iactaverunt." Did not the "ollarum precatio" involve, at the end, a *deprecatio*, a *deconsecratio* implicit in *iactatio per clivum*?

[1] Cf. mactat (1) 'immolat,' (2) 'donat' (so Lewis and Short, *s. v.* I and II, A).

[2] "Alicui aliquâ rê parentare" is Latin of record.

[3] Cf. Speijer's *Sanskrit Syntax*, § 45 Rem., where the 'proper' construction and the definition of *yaj-* are laid down; and note the statement relative to *hu-* with the instrumental (as well as the accusative) of the offering.

[4] The passage cited by the smaller *Petersburg Lexicon* is *MBh.* 13. 31. 10:

saṁyag yajanti ye ceṣṭiḥ kṣāntā dāntā jitendriyāḥ
satyaṁ dharmaṁ kṣitiṁ gāçca tān namasyāmi yādava,

to which the commentary runs: "satyaṁ dharmaṁ ca yajanti: pūjayanti; kṣitiṁ gāçca yajanti ('bona bovesque sacrificant'): brāhmanebhyaḥ prayacchanti ('sacerdotibus donant')." Another passage, not cited in the lexica, is *Āçvalāyana Grhyasūtra* 1. 1. 4: "samidham evā 'pi çraddhadhāna ādadhan manyeta yaja idam iti namas tasmāi ['qui] sarmenta tamen credens [in ignem] imponens [fuerit], putet sacrufico (= dono) hoc, honor [sit] illi [deo]'": here we may deny the sense of *dono*, if we will, but the passage will still have a value as exhibiting the range of offerings.

[5] The list lays no claim to being exhaustive and is based on a somewhat cursory inspection of the inscriptions given by Dessau. Nor have I had access to the Corpus so as to make the best use of the materials offered by Dessau.

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from the locution "sacrum facere," with subsequent suppression of *facere;* and, as *opem tulerunt* continued to exist alongside of *opitulati sunt*, so, I think, [*sacrum*] *facere* continued alongside of *sacruficare.*

A. alicui deo aliquâ rē sacrum facere:

tibi [= Iovi (Iunoni)] hoc (hac) bove mare (feminâ) pulchro (-â) sacrum fiat . . . . tibi (Apollini) viiii popanis . . . . sacrum fiat (Dessau 5050, vss. 106, 122, 141 = Acta. Sacr. Saec. celebratorum a. u. c. 737, d. Iun. 1–3).

We find the active, with the merely accidental omission of the receiving god, in the following, also a (refact) inscription of the time of Augustus (D. 112):

sive quis ⟨Augusti numini⟩ hostiâ sacrum faxit. . . . .

The full example wanted, but with *sacruficium* in place of *sacrum*, is found in Dessau 5050, 115:

s[a]crificium fecit deis [I]lithyis libeis viiii, ... pthóibus viiii . . . . Ilithyia . . . . tibi viiii pthoibus sacrum fiat.

B. 1. sacrum facere alicui deo, re sacra omissa:

D. 3527 Herculei | sacrum | C. Marci C. l. Alex. fecit . . . .
3505 Bonae deae | conpoti | sacrum | fecit[1] | Antonia . . . .
3956 deae Telluri | sacrum | M. Aurelius | Threptos | fecit
3988 deo amabili | sacr. | Aelia Ehorte | fecit
8065 d. m. | sacrum | Deanae et | memoriae | Aeliae | . . . . | fecerunt.

2. idem quod 1, verbo facere in breve coacto:

3276 Deanae sacrum | . . . . | —, fecer.
3432 Herculi Iovis sacrum | C. Voltilius Alexander fec.
3433 Herculi | Primigenio | sacrum | . . . . | Paetus f.
3460 Herculi | barbato | sacrum | M. Hellius | Secundus | . . . . | f. . . . .
cf. 3459 Herculi ! lapidari | Alman[t]i | censes | p. (= posuerunt).
8066*a* Dianae sacr. | Quintae | parentes fecer.

3. idem quod 1, verbo facere omisso:

3995 Vi divinae | sacrum | C. Vettius C. f. | Gavolus
(*in latere*) Vi divinai | sacrum |
(*in alio latere*) Vi divinae | sacrum | [2]
5996 C. Hosidius Mar | cianus cum suis | Pantheo | sacrum

4. idem quod 1, verbo sacrum omisso:

[1] Note the juxtaposition of *sacrum* and *fecit.*

[2] In this inscription the nominative *Gavolus* attests [*fecit*]; in the shorter legends *sacrum* may be nominative as in 3989: "lucus | sacer | deae | Satrianae." The old spelling *divinai* reveals the utter inconsequence of the archaisms in the inscriptions.

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3101 *Iunone* Loucinai | *Diovis;* castud[1] facitud
6127 Q. Lainio Q. f. praifectos pro trebibos fecit[2]
3463 Herculi | iussu, Silvani | dei | Cn. Sentius Corpus | fec.[3]
3471 dibus | Herculi | e.t. | Silvano | f. e.[4] | Primus | . . . . | v. s. l. m.

So far, and no trace of the ablative of a thing presented, *ex voto*,[5] with *sacrum facere*. In most cases the object on which the inscription was found is the speaker, and scholars naturally supply *aediculam*, *vasculum*, etc. (better perhaps were *mē*[*d*]) and interpret *fecit* as ἐποίει or as *faciendum curavit*. The formal ambiguity between dative and ablative goes further to obscure the apparent cases of the ablative of the thing offered which I am about to present:

C. facere c. ablativo rei sacrae donatae:
D. 3747*a* Numisi | Aug. s. | C. Iulius | Chryso|gonus | voto fecit.

Here *voto* may be dative = *in votum*, or ablative = *illā rē quam voverat fecit*.[6]

3626 Onesimus Aug. lib., | proc., | fecit imaginibus et | Laribus cultoribus | Fucini.

[1] The interpretation of *castud* as an adverb = *caste* is doubtless correct, however much it would suit the contention of this study to render it as "re casta."

[2] This very old inscription was found on the lip of a bronze vessel, and may be compared with No. 3236 above (p. 304). If we supplied *med*, it would be uncertain whether *med* were accusative or ablative.

[3] In this inscription and the next, it may be that some word like *aediculam* is to be supplied with *fecit:* that depends on where the titulus was mounted, whether on an *aedicula*, or on an object suitable for an *ex voto*.

[4] The mode of writing *et* and *fe*[*cit*] on this inscription throws light on the emendation of *et* to *fe* proposed for No. 3236 (see p. 304).

[5] I have no convenient list, for the Roman cult, of *ex votos*. I have made the following slight collection from Dessau: candles to Aesculapius (3851); silver cup to Apollo and the nymphs (3876*a*), cups to Jupiter (3182), to Hercules (3429); cymbals (tambourines, dish, scissors) to Magna Mater (4106); ears (models of) to Aesculapius (3853); a fur (skin) to Diana (3260); lamp to Bellona (3806); mirror to Venus (3182); gold necklace to Aesculapius (3855); rings and jewels to Iris (4422); golden serpents to Mercury (3192); tankard and vase to Jupiter (4317): also note how in the *Plutus* (840 ff.) of Aristophanes Dicaeos came to offer to Aesculapius (? in lieu of the proper *vasa* = σκευάρια) his old cloak (τριβώνιον) and clogs (ἐμβάδια).

[6] Probably for [*sacrum*] *fecit*, but possibly for [*donom*] *fecit* = *donavit*. Cf. D. 3679 P. Tullius Felus | fecit oficinator | insule Vitaliane donum fecit—where, with *donum fecit*, we might supply the object presented in the ablative. This construction of *voto fecit* does not differ from that found in *CIL* XIV. 3525: aditus ambitus [sit] funerio | sacrificio faciundi | causa.

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Here Dessau's annotations are: "Imagines in titulo . . . . sine dubio sunt imagines domus divinae. Lares et imagines Caesaris saepe una colebantur. . . . . Onesimus in aedicula sacraverat donoque dederat collegio cultorum dei Fucini imagines Caesaris et Larum." The interpretation of *imaginibus* in this inscription depends on a question of fact: (1) utrum Onesimus ⟨aediculam⟩ imaginibus fecit (fac. cur.);" (2) "an aediculam iam factam imaginibus donatis ornavit (orn. cur.)." For the second interpretation of the facts we might appeal to the next inscription in Dessau, viz.:

3627 P. Flavius . . . . | cultoribus domus divinae | et Fortunae Aug. Lares | Augustos d. d.

[Thanks to a recent acquisition by our University library of a set of the *Corpus*, I now have access to the inscription as published in *Corpus* IX 3887. The marble plaque containing the titulus is about the size of the average sheet of foolscap, and is quite as likely to have been fastened under or over a niche in the wall of an aedicula already built as above the entrance to such an aedicula. (For a concreter realization of aedicula and niche cf. Fig. 106 in Mau-Kelsey's *Pompeii, Its Life and Art*².) The situation, as I imaginatively reconstruct it, was something like this: Onesimus, procurator of the Fucinus drainage-works, presented (on retiring?) *to* the keepers of the works—organized somewhat grandly as *cultores* ⟨*dei*⟩ *Fucini*—[*with*] a set of imperial busts for a niche in their official dwelling or board-room. The busts may have been in miniature, and there is nothing to show that a separate aedicula was built for them nor, if there was a separate aedicula, that it was the gift of Onesimus. As for the construction, the double dative as defended by Mommsen is scarcely less unique than the combination of the ablative of the thing presented with the dative of the receiver, which is the construction that I would see here.]

At the end of our examination, we cannot claim to have found a more conclusive proof of the construction "facere(=donare) alicui deo aliquâ rê votivâ" than we started with in *A* above ("sacrum facere alicui deo aliquâ rê"). But how few of the

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inscriptions reveal to us the object of the formula [*sacrum*] *facere;* and should we supply, as the probable object of most of them, *me* or *hoc*, we still hang in an ambiguity as between ablative and accusative. Still, we are in safe bounds grammatically when we construe "Manios med fhe fhaked Numasioi" (D. 8561) as "Manius hâc rê votivâ ⟨sacrum⟩ fecit Numisio ⟨Martio⟩;" and "Cn. Q. et med Diana" (D. 3236) as "Cn. Q. hâc rê quoque (?) Dianae ⟨sacrum fecit⟩."

But there remain unquestionable early instances of *med fecit* where the sense *ἐμὲ ἐποίει*[1] is indubitable. There can be no doubt that in "Novios Plautios med Romai fecid" (D. 8562) we have an indubitable artist's signature to a work of art; and there are artists' signatures also in several of the following numbers (8563–69).[2] We also have *med feced*[3] as an artist's signature on the Vasculum Dresselianum (D. 8743), but I shall undertake elsewhere to show that this object, while perfectly genuine, was a "latebra scribendi deliciarum causâ facta" and, as the work of a "scurra urbanus" who either was, or was connected with, a competent *grammaticus*, may be dated anywhere between Lucilius, say, and Quintilian. (Cf. *Am. Jr. Phil.* XXX, 121 f.)

At a later time, also, the literal sense of *fecit* (or = *faciendum curavit*) is equally clear, e. g., in

3642 Genium | Clodi Romani | Hermes ser. fec.

3679 P. Tullius Felus | fecit oficinator | insule Vitaliane | donum fecit.[4]

And now to come back to our starting-point, the case-rivalry of ablative, i. e., instrumental, and accusative with the verb *facere* (1) '*ποιεῖν*' (2) 'sacruficare'—fading in precision till it reaches

[1] We actually have *epoei*, cf. Dessau, *ad num.* 8604.

[2] One of these, in three different versions, may be noted for the object *te:*

8566*a* [R]etus Gabinius C. s. | Calebus fecit
b Retus Gabinio C. s. Calibus fec. te
c Retus Gabinio C. s. Calebus feci te.

[3] As to *ted endo* (*anglice*, 'to thee-ward'), the *-d* may be (Ritschl's) *-d* cognate with *-δε* 'ward.' In *aruorsum ead*, *exstrad*, *suprad*, of the *S. C. de Bacch.* the *-d* may come from *ad*, postponed as in the Italic dialects. For the double *ad* in *aruorsum ead*, cf. Sp. *con migo* '*cum mecum*.'

[4] One wonders whether *donum fecit* may not be a reinvigoration of simple *fecit* = quasi '*donavit*.'

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(*ἀνα-*)*τιθέναι*, *donare:* we have found that it is consistent with general semantics and general syntax, as well as with the special syntax of *facere* in the Italic languages, to interpret "med" in "Manios med fhe fhaked Numasioi" (D. 8561), and in "Cn. Q. et med Diana" (D. 3236), as instrumental of the thing presented; while in early artists' signatures like *med fecid* we see that *med* is certainly accusative. But in *med sacrum fecit*, where *med* might syntactically be ablative (from instrumental), the liability to interpret it as accusative, appositive to *sacrum*, was very great.

So much for the syntax of record. It is not in disaccord with the syntax of morphological reconstruction as follows: *mē* functioned in early Latin both as accusative and instrumental; *mēd* was a blend of instr. *mē* and abl. *mĕd;* but, in the blending, acc. *mē* was involved along with instr. *mē*.

The scurrile locution *suâ rê facere* (Petronius 47. 4; 66. 2[1])—starting, perhaps, in the jest of some Rabelais, Aristophanes, Petronius of the slums (or of the *beau monde*)—applies the construction of [Terrae?] aliqua re [sacrum] facere to one of the euphemistic senses of facere (cf. Petron. 62. 4). This low phrase can have nothing in common with Plautine *tua re feceris* (*pace* Lindsay *ad Cap.* 296; Buecheler *ap.* Lowe *ad* Petron. 62, 47, 4), wherein *tua re* (= *abs te*)[2] is a simple separative, in an archaic locution developed before the syncretism of ablative, instrumental, locative made the addition of differentiating prepositions necessary. The same idiom survives in *meâ rê fert*, and I am entirely in accord with Lindsay's rejection (*Syntax of Plautus*, p. 3) of the other explanations now in vogue. For the semantic development from the separative—rather than, with Lindsay, from the associative—observe the locutions *a me facit, stat, est*, listed in the *Thesaurus* I, p. 22 C.

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[1] Readers of this passage will recall the digestive virtue now ascribed to whole wheat (= *autopyrum*) bread. Nor will they feel it necessary to cut out *causa* as a gloss on *re*, but rather retain it as a verbal redundancy (cf. the *Thesaurus* III. 700. 62), such as occurs in *auto*pyrum *de suo sibi*.

[2] Cf. abs te in *Rudens* 1101, and Sonnenschein's note.

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NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ARCHAEOLOGISTS

The attendance at the second International Congress of Archaeologists held in Egypt in April of this year far exceeded that of the Congress at Athens four years ago, the enrolment reaching 860. French scholars were in the majority; Germans and Austrians together formed the next largest body. Russia, Greece, Italy, and other European countries were well represented. But the attendance from England and the United States was very small and only three papers in the English language were presented, two of these by residents of Egypt.

Preliminary sessions were held in Alexandria April 7 and 8. Here the papers were concerned with Alexandrian art. The formal opening of the Congress took place April 10 in the opera house of Cairo. M. Maspero, director of the *Service des antiquités* of Egypt, and chairman of the local committee, presided. The address of welcome was made by the khedive. This was followed by greetings to the congress conveyed by M. Cavvadias, of Athens, in behalf of the Permanent Committee of the International Archaeological Congress; Signor Breccia, director of the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, representing the Italian government; Professor Crusius, of Munich, speaking for the Bavarian Academy; and M. Babelon, representing the French Institute. Finally Mr. Arthur H. Smith, of the British Museum, ably discharged the difficult task of speaking for the universities of the world!

The meetings for the presentation of papers were held on three successive mornings, April 12, 13, and 14, the Congress convening in six sections. These sections with their presidents were: I, Prehistoric Archaeology, M. Leite de Vasconcellos, P. Wolters; II, Classical Archaeology, P. Cavvadias, E. Reisch; III, Papyrology, L. Mitteis, M. Vitelli; IV, Religious Archaeology, Monseigneur Duchesne, A. H. Smith; V, Byzantine Archaeology, Theodore Ouspensky, G. Lambros; VI, Numismatics and Geography, E. Babelon, Prince Soutzo. Sections I, II, IV, and V met in the Savoy Hotel, where the business office of the Congress was situated, sections III and VI in another part of the city at the newly founded Egyptian University. As the sections met simultaneously it was impossible, even for the most strenuous, to hear many of the papers.

Meeting in this land, under the auspices of a committee composed of Egyptologists, the Congress naturally gave special attention to the relations of Greece and Rome with Egypt. The old question of the degree and kind of indebtedness to Egypt incurred by the Aegean peoples of

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the Bronze age was renewed — with the usual result, the acknowledgment of stimulus and artistic motives derived by the north from Egypt and warm defense of the originality and superior artistic endowment of the Aegean peoples. Such papers were M. A. J. Reinach's *Les rapports de la Crète et de l'Égypte à propos des sarcophages de Haghia Triada* and Dr. G. Karo's *Über mykenische und aegyptische Waffen*. More that was new and definitely informing was contained in the papers discussing Egyptian objects and imitations of Egyptian objects found in distant countries, such as that by M. Pierre Paris entitled *Antiquités fausses d'Égypte en Espagne* and M. B. Touraïeff's paper, *Sur les objets égyptiens et égyptoïdes trouvés dans la Russie méridionale*. The commercial relations between Egypt and the Greek colonies of the Black Sea in the seventh and sixth centuries B. C. and again in the Hellenistic age were traced by Herr E. von Stern, of Odessa. Purely Egyptological was Professor Georg Steindorff's account of the funerary temple of Chephren, excavated this season by the Sieglin expedition; the ground-plan of this imposing pyramid temple is now clear in all its main features and it is established that, like the gateway of the same precinct (the so-called temple of the Sphinx), the temple was without relief decoration, depending on the beauty of the granite and alabaster surfaces for its effects. In the Byzantine section one of the most interesting addresses was that of the learned head of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople, Theodore Ouspensky, on the recently uncovered mosaics of the Church of St. Demetrius in Salonica. Mr. J. Quibell's account of the Monastery of St. Jeremias at Sakkara, which he is now excavating for the *Service des antiquités*, was of keen interest. The site is still marked on the maps, "Roman Village," but in two seasons' work the monastery church, the cells of the monks, the refectory, and the burial chapel have all been uncovered. The buildings are not earlier than 480, one of the known dates in the life of the founder, St. Jeremias, and there is evidence in graffiti that by the tenth century they had fallen into disuse. Especially noteworthy and varied in design are the numerous carved friezes and capitals found in the ruins of this monastery. Taken all in all, however, the communications of members of the congress were somewhat disappointing and there was a general feeling that the congress justified itself rather in the benefit of personal intercourse with colleagues from various lands and in the acquaintance gained with Egyptian monuments.

Monsieur Maspero and other Egyptologists were untiring in conducting small parties through the Egyptian Museum, elucidating its wonderful treasures. Max Herz-Bey and his associates of the Arabic Museum performed a similar service in the mosques of Cairo and in the Arabic Museum. Excursions were also organized under expert leadership to the Coptic churches of Cairo. The pyramids of Gizeh were seen under

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unusually happy conditions in that a very large company of mounted police kept the annoying Arabs entirely in the background. On the afternoon of the 13th, the khedive received five hundred of the members of the congress at the Abdin Palace, democratically shaking hands with each of his guests. His Highness further entertained the congress the next day at tea at the Barrage, the journey thither being made in the khedive's private yachts. Warm appreciation is due the members of the local committee for the time and strength they have devoted to the congress; even now, when the sessions have closed, many of them are taking the wearisome journey to the south to guide members of the congress who, despite the lateness of the season and consequent heat, wish to have a glimpse of the monuments of Upper Egypt.

The closing general session was held April 15 in the Egyptian University. Rome was chosen as the next place of meeting. Regulations formulated by the Permanent Committee along lines suggested in 1905 were read, article by article, and adopted. One of the changes from the original plan of organization is the introduction of a special section, "Archaeology of Oriental Countries."

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CAIRO
April 16, 1909

THE SIMPLE PAST CONDITION WITH POTENTIAL INDICATIVE IN APODOSIS

This form of conditional sentence is recognized in various discussions of the Greek conditional sentences, for example, by implication in the *Greek Moods and Tenses* of Goodwin, § 403, and explicitly in the Kühner-Gerth *Ausführliche Grammatik* in a remark appended to the discussion of the unreal conditional sentence, Paragraph 574, Anmerk. 2. Goodwin and the others who discuss the matter give, so far as I have been able to observe, no example of this construction which does not imply a denial of the protasis. The only example given in Kühner-Gerth which apparently shows this combination "eines realen Indikativs im Vordersatze mit einem irrealen oder potentialen Indikativ im Nachsatze" is Dem. 19. 153 *εἰ γὰρ ἦσαν, ὡς ἦσαν τότε, Φωκεῖς σῷ καὶ Πύλας εἶχον, ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὑμῖν οὐδὲν ἂν εἶχεν ἀνατείνασθαι φοβερόν, δι' ὃ τῶν δικαίων ἄν τι παρείδετε.*

The Kühner-Gerth translation of *εἰ ἦσαν . . . . καὶ Πύλας εἶχον* is *si erant . . . . habebant.* This is seen to be manifestly wrong if the passage is examined in its context. The sentence means "if the Phocians were (now) or had remained unharmed as they then were, Philip would not have been able to intimidate you." It is an unreal condition, as the whole passage following in which Demosthenes discusses what might have been (*ἔμελλε*) shows. Weil in his note on this passage translates: "si enim essent ut tum erant." Voemel also in his Latin translation

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writes "si enim essent Phocenses incolumes ut tum erant et Pylas tenerent, ille nullum vobis terrorem incutere potuisset." Dareste's translation is "car si les Phocidiens fussent restés debout comme ils étaient," etc. Reiske remarks: "malim *εἰ γὰρ νῦν ἦσαν*, nam oppositum adverbium insequens *τότε* postulat." To which Schaefer replies: "non postulat, quippe *νῦν* latet in modo conditionali *ἦσαν*." The Kühner-Gerth interpretation is not logical and indeed the writer adds, to help out the connection of thought, "wenn er es auch versucht hätte." This would of course be the real protasis and *εἰ ἦσαν*, etc., would be relegated to the position of a causal clause "considering the safety which then existed and the fact that they possessed Thermopylae." So according to their own interpretation the sentence does not illustrate the Kühner-Gerth statement that the combination of simple past protasis and unreal apodosis is possible.

In Latin there would be no ambiguity. The sentence "si essent Phocenses incolumes" denies at once the continued safety of the Phocians, whereas in Greek the protasis in question may be (1) a simple past condition; (2) a condition contrary to fact in present time; (3) a condition contrary to fact in past time. As soon as the potential indicative in apodosis is united with it, it involves a denial of the continued safety of Phocis.

A progression toward clearness of statement is seen in the development of the conditional sentence in Greek from the Homeric Greek, which in unreal sentences employs the optative, the mood of imagination, and only puts the question as one to be considered without emphasizing the fact that the possibility suggested in the protasis belongs to the past and is no longer possible. There is but one instance in Homer (if there is one—see Munro and Goodwin on the passage, *Od.* iv. 178), where the indicative is used in a present contrary-to-fact sentence. In Latin "si fecissem," in German "wenn ich es gethan hätte," in French "si je l'avais fait," in English "if I had done it," the opposite statement "non feci (feceram)," etc., is distinctly implied, but even in the developed Greek expression *εἰ ἐποίησα* is ambiguous until the apodosis is also expressed.

A sentence which apparently shows the combination alleged by Kühner-Gerth to be possible is found in Lysias vii. 20: *Καὶ ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἂν ἀπολογίαν ὑπέλιπες, αὐτὸς δὲ εἰ μέν σοι ἐχθρὸς ἦν, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἦσθα ἄν με τετιμωρημένος, εἰ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἕνεκα ἔπραττες, οὕτως ἐξελέγξας οὐκ ἂν ἐδόκεις εἶναι συκοφάντης, εἰ δὲ κερδαίνειν ἐβούλου, τότ' ἂν πλεῖστον ἔλαβες.*

This sentence is peculiarly instructive because of the fact that of the three protases and the three apodoses two of the protases and all the apodoses are contrary to fact. Nicomachus was not an *ἐχθρός* of the speaker and so gratified no grudge against him by the supposed act, his motives were not those of a citizen wishing the welfare of his city and he had exposed himself to the charge of *συκοφαντία*. His object, however, *was* gain as is stated in paragraph 39.—*Νικόμαχος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πεισθεὶς τῶν ἐμῶν τοῦτον*

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τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀγωνίζεται, οὐχ ὡς ἀδικοῦντα ἐλπίζων ἀποδείξειν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀργύριον παρ' ἐμοῦ λήψεσθαι προσδοκῶν. The feeling of unreality is, of course, hovering about the whole sentence and the alleged occasion of all the conditions contained in these protases is denied. Nicomachus did *not* desire to make money *under those circumstances*, insomuch as those circumstances never existed. The sentence is similar to Dem. iv. 1 cited by Professor Goodwin in *Moods and Tenses* 510, 511.

I should deny, then, the existence in Greek of the combination of a simple past condition of the so-called "logical" form and a potential indicative apodosis where the condition is not dependent in thought on some hypothesis expressed or implied by virtue of which the truth of the simple condition under those unreal circumstances is denied.

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PROPERTIUS II. xii. 18

Si puer est alio traice puella tuo

I have to suggest an emendation of this celebrated corrupt passage, which appears to have a good deal of intrinsic probability, but which is rather disconcerting to those who maintain the general integrity of the MSS tradition for Propertius. When, in my text of 1901, I conjectured

Si puer est, animo traice, puella, tuo

(taking *animo . . . . tuo* as a dative of place whither) what partly moved me was the desideration of something to restore the ordinary idiom of the Latin pentameter, a distribution of the substantive and epithet pair between the two hemistichs. I do not now defend that reading, nor touch the question whether *traicere* could ever suffer a crasis analogous to that of *detcere* and *retcere*. For the desired idiom in metrical structure can be got by a change that is paleographically very slight, namely, *trāite* for *traice:*

Si puer est *alio tramite* puella tuo

So far we have a (hypothetically) sound core amidst the corruption, from which one may extend the repair of the verse.

Next, for the beginning: *si pudor est* in V is, I believe, a clever conjecture by a humanist, satisfactory in sense, but highly unlikely to have been corrupted into *si puer est*. The word *est* is probably sound: a third-person verb, conflicting with the apparent run of the sentence, is not a likely interpolation. What I conjecture that the copyist of N (and whatever other coeval representative of the tradition there may have been besides N) had before him, is

su per est alio tramite.

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I presume the page was mutilated at this line: if Mr. Richmond's inquiry into the pagination of this archetype should lead him to conclude that by its position the line was peculiarly liable to mutilation, that would be a welcome confirmation; but, after all, a hole, or a blot, or a fault in the texture of the skin may occur anywhere. However, if *si puer est* was an attempt to make meter, and sense—of a sort—out of *su per est, su per est* itself was evidently the relics of an original

Quod superest, alio tramite

trames is a favorite word with Propertius:

et datur inculto *tramite* dura quies —I. xviii. 28.
qua facit assiduo *tramite* vulgus iter —III. xvi. 26.
Clitumnus ab Umbro
tramite —III. xxii. 24.

and lastly

et si forte meo *tramite* quaeris avem —III. xiii. 44.

Three of these passages show *tramite* in the (natural) metrical position with regard to its epithet, which I seek to introduce in II. xii. 18. They also show that the word is not of precise significance, though it is idiomatic (so three times in Virgil) of hill country; in Ovid *Fasti* iii. 13 it means the slope of a river bank; but from the instance

qua facit assiduo tramite vulgus iter

it appears that *alio tramite* can be merely a poetical variation for *alio loco, alibi.*

What, then, does the poet invite Love to do "for the future, in other walks"? The most currently accepted emendations bring in *bella* or *tela;* but the double metaphor of wings and warfare has been exhausted by the artful chiastic pair of couplets 13–16:

in me *tela* manent, manet et puerilis imago:
sed certe *pennas* perdidit ille suas;
evolat, ei! nostro quoniam de pectore nusquam,
assiduusque meo sanguine *bella* gerit

If the (premiss or) question is

quid tibi iucundum est *siccis habitare* medullis?

we may expect the figure of *thirst* and of *locality* to appear in the (conclusion or) invitation.

Now, Sannazaro, in general a most sedulous ape of Propertius, in a poem which contains plenty of other manifest imitations, has this line:

i precor atque alio flumine *pelle sitim*
—*Elegiarum*, lib. i. v. 12, ad Iulium Senensem exulem.

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It would be like Sannazaro to soften down *alio tramite* into *alio flumine;* but Propertius did not scruple to translate Leonidas'

καὶ εἰ πετεεινὰ διώκων
ἰξεύτης ἥκεις τοῦθ' ὑπὸ δισσὸν ὄρος —*A. P.* ix. 337.

by

et si forte *meo tramite* quaeris avem —III. xiii. 44.

For the matter of sense, just as *alio tramite* suits *habitare*, so *pelle sitim* is a natural enough sequel to *siccis medullis;* paleographically, one must suppose either that *sitim* was perverted into *situo*, and then *si* excised as meaningless; or that *si* accidentally disappeared by puncture or erasure. The phrase *pellere sitim* is defended by Stat. *Theb.* v. 1: *postquam pulsa sitis.* In suggesting, then, that Propertius wrote

quod superest alio tramite pelle sitim

I am aware that large postulates are necessary—grave damage to the archetype, and stupid patching by copyists: for *puella* can only be accounted for as an aftergrowth upon *puer*, error upon error. But there are places, even in authors whose texts rest on sound tradition, that call for fire and steel.

Sannazaro's elegy[1] must have been composed before 1501, for he writes not as an exile himself. But what manuscript of Propertius may he have worked upon?

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GLASGOW
February 2, 1909

ΚΛΟΤΟΠΕΥΕΙΝ

νῦν δὲ μνησώμεθα χάρμης
αἶψα μάλ'. οὐ γὰρ χρὴ κλοτοπεύειν ἐνθάδ' ἐόντας
οὐδὲ διατρίβειν· ἔτι γὰρ μέγα ἔργον ἄρεκτον.
—Hom. T. 148 ff.

It is unnecessary to refer to the ancient and modern attempts to explain this word, since nothing satisfactory has been offered. I suggest χρὴ (ἐ)κτολυπεύειν.

Let us first consider the form. We get by this change, instead of a monstrosity for which no plausible etymology can be suggested, a good epic word; for, though the compound in ἐκ- is not used by Homer, it is found in Hesiod *Sc.* 44. The change was produced by a metathesis of τ and λ, and κλοτυπεύειν was further changed to κλοτοπεύειν through the analogy of ὑπερ-οπεύειν. The association with ὑπεροπεύειν is confirmed by

[1] The edition I quote from is by Peter Horst, Coloniae MDCCCLXXXVII.

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Hesychius' κλοτοπευτής· ἀλαζών, though a supposed connection with κλέπτω also had influence in suggesting this interpretation. It is more probable that the variant κλυτοπεύειν arose from the desire to replace the unknown κλοτ- by the familiar κλυτ-, than that it came directly from 'κτολυπεύειν by metathesis of το and λυ. The crasis χρὴ 'κτολυπεύειν is, of course, unusual, and it comes in the middle of the verse; yet for this we have a perfect parallel in the Πηλείδη ἔθελ' of A 277, which can be removed only by substituting the un-Homeric θέλω for ἐθέλω. The crasis in A 277 is more difficult than the one assumed because of the natural pause after a vocative, whereas in our line the double diaeresis after the first and fourth feet renders the lack of the usual pause less marked. It is likely that the crasis was effective in retaining the corrupted form. Other striking cases of crasis in the Homeric text are μὴ ἄλλοι δ 165, ὦ ἀρίγνωτε ρ 375, ἀσβέστῳ· οὐδ' P 89, νίεῖ ἐμῷ ὠκυμόρῳ Σ 458. In comparison with any of these the absorption of an ε in a preceding η is simple.

As to the meaning, what reason can there be for defending ἐκτολυπεύειν here, when in the two passages in which this word occurs (Hes. *Sc.* 44 and Aesch. *Agam.* 1032) it means *achieve* and takes an accusative, while here it cannot mean *achieve* and has no object? In the first place it may be pointed out that διατελεῖν with the accusative also means *achieve*, yet it is frequently used without an object, but with a supplementary participle, like the ἐνθάδ' ἑόντας in this line. διαπλέκειν, the metaphorical use of which closely resembles that of τολυπεύειν, is used with a word of time, expressed or understood, meaning *to live*. διατρίβειν, with or without χρόνον means *to pass the time*, and διατρίβειν in our passage, with its natural suggestion of χρόνον, is co-ordinate with ἐκτολυπεύειν. The commonest object of διατελεῖν, when it takes an accusative, is a word of time; and, when it takes a participle, words of time may be expressed or understood; cf. τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ζόης διατελεῖν τυφλὸν ἐόντα (Hdt. vi. 117). A similar use of ἐκτολυπεύειν, in its sense of *complete*, would be natural.

The question also arises, whether there is any reason to believe that ἐκτολυπεύειν had so completely lost its original color as must be assumed, if it is the correct reading here. τολυπεύειν means properly *to make a ball;* so, with τολύπην, in Aristoph. *Lys.* 587. In οἱ δὲ γάμον σπεύδουσι, ἐγὼ δὲ δόλους τολυπεύω (τ 137), we have a metaphorical use of τολυπεύειν similar to δόλους πλέκειν or ὑφαίνειν; cf. πένθος τολυπεύειν Eur. *Rhes.* 744. There is in the present tense of τολυπεύειν no derived idea of *completion*, such as has often been assigned to it. It is a verb of durative action, and in the present tense the end of the action is not in view. δόλους τολυπεύω is *I wind away at wiles*, and in τ 137 the contrast with σπεύδουσι suggests that emphasis is laid upon the slowness of the action, the growth of a ball in winding being very gradual. The aorist tense, on the other hand, looks to the completion of the action, and like our *wound up, rounded off*, ἐτολύπευσα very naturally implies *I completed.* Thus in the Odyssean

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phrase ἐπεὶ πόλεμον τολύπευσε (α 238, δ 490, ξ 368, ω 95) the meaning is *after he had got through the war*. Here there is no such metaphorical meaning as in δόλους τολυπεύω. The subject of the verb is not the *weaver* or *contriver* of the war; he is not even the one who *brought to an end* the war; he is simply one who has *been through* the war *to the end*. Though the aorist of τολυπεύω naturally implies *completion*, in the phrase ἐπεὶ πόλεμον τολύπευσε the word was selected for the sake of the sound-play. We should read ἐπεὶ πτόλεμον (cf. Ω 7, 8) τολύπευσε,[1] for the repetition, τολ—τολ, is evidently intentional, and the three π's add to the effect. In Ξ 85 ff.—οἷσιν ἄρα Ζεὺς ἐκ νεότητος ἔδωκε καὶ ἐς γῆρας τολυπεύειν ἀργαλέους πολέμους—neither the aorist meaning *complete*, nor the natural metaphorical use, seen in δόλους τολυπεύω, is admissible. The meaning is nothing more than a weakened *be engaged in*. Whether the simple verb had really lost its original color to this extent, or whether in Ξ 86 we have merely an echo of the familiar Odyssean phrase, our material does not allow us to decide. But if the simple verb had reached this stage, the meaning I am assuming for the compound is easily intelligible.

The compound ἐκτολυπεύειν does not mean, as has often been supposed, *to unwind*. ἐκ- here has its frequent idea of completeness. It gives to the durative verb the same terminative effect as we have found in the aorist. Hence there has naturally developed the meaning *to achieve, complete*, and the literal meaning of the simple verb has been weakened or entirely lost. Neither in Hes. *Sc.* 44 nor in Aesch. *Agam.* 1032 can it be positively asserted that the idea of *winding* is present at all. It would be as natural, then, to use ἐκτολυπεύειν with a word of time as διαπλέκειν or διατελεῖν, and as natural to omit that word, especially in connection with διατρίβειν, and have a supplementary participle. The meaning thus given to our passage, *we ought not to stay on here and waste time*, is perfectly satisfactory. While many have sought in κλοτοπεύειν some such sense as *to waste time in talk*, others have suspected a resemblance in meaning to διατρίβειν (cf. Faesi). It is common enough for the word following οὐδέ to repeat and emphasize what precedes: cf. οὔ τις ἐδυνήσατο ποιμένα λαῶν οὐτάσαι οὐδὲ βαλεῖν Ξ 424.

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[1] In six out of seven instances in Homer τολυπεύειν is used with πόλεμον (the seventh is δόλους τολυπεύω, where there is also a sound-play). The same pun is used in Aristoph. *Lys.* 587 f.:

> οὔκουν δεινὸν ταυτὶ ταύτας ῥαβδίζειν καὶ τολυπεύειν,
> αἷς οὐδὲ μετῆν πάνυ τοῦ π(τ)ολέμου;

Without the pun the connection is none of the clearest. Recognizing it, we may translate, "What a shame it is for these women to be making these rolls, who are not on the regimental rolls at all."

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MARGINALIA ON THE HELLENISTIC POETS

Apollonius Rhodius i. 672.—Seaton's edition of the *Argonautica* is admirably conservative. It is surprising, therefore, to find the editor accepting in this verse an emendation which has never been supported by valid arguments, but rather weakly, I think, accepted by Wellauer and Merkel, whom Seaton follows. The passage describes (668 ff.) the nurse Polyxo and four maiden attendants:

> αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα φίλη τροφὸς ὦρτο Πολυξώ,
> γήραϊ δὴ ῥικνοῖσιν ἐπισκάζουσα πόδεσσιν,
> βάκτρῳ ἐρειδομένη, περὶ δὲ μενέαιν' ἀγορεῦσαι.
> τῇ καὶ παρθενικαὶ πίσυρες σχεδὸν ἑδριόωντο
> ἀδμῆτες λευκῇσιν ἐπιχνοαούσῃ ἐθείραις.

But all the MSS in the last verse read ἐπιχνοάουσαι. For these *old* maids of the traditional reading I think a plea should be interposed. The note of Wellauer contains a statement of the conviction of various scholars from Brunck on that the maidens must be young, and reports various efforts to rejuvenate them; of these efforts (note that χνοάζων ἄρτι λευκανθὲς κάρα, Soph. *O. T.* 742, should in a measure protect the adjective λευκῇσιν) Wellauer accepts the dative participle recurring to Polyxo, a suggestion privately communicated by Passow. But why need they be young? Is not the picture as effective if Polyxo is surrounded by four "assessors" as old as she? To be sure, παρθενικαὶ ἀδμῆτες is normally used of young maidens, and so consistently in Apollonius, but if it were so used consistently through Greek literature I should make a plea for the old maids whom MSS, scholiast, and artistic fitness protect even without my plea. It is true that the old maid was subjected to some undignified abuse in ancient as in modern times; so much is clear from Suidas *s. v.*, "γραῦς σέριφος" (ἡ ἐν παρθενείᾳ γεγηρακυῖα, ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῆς ἀρουραίας ἀκρίδος, ἣν καλοῦσι γραῦν σερίφην καὶ μάντιν, with which cf. Theocr. x. 17). But for all this, the old maid, if of considerable antiquity, is not beneath the dignity of the drama, and probably not out of place in the epic; the Ἐρινύες as αἱ ἀεὶ παρθένοι (Soph. *Aj.* 835), αἷς οὐ μίγνυται θεῶν τις οὐδ' ἄνθρωπος οὐδὲ θήρ ποτε (Aesch. *Eum.* 69, 70), and possibly other venerable figures in myth and religion, like the Vestal virgins in Roman worship, may have reflected upon her their own venerable austerity. The burden of proof rests with those who accept the emendation. I may only make the suggestion that as a matter of style it is not likely that, after Polyxo is introduced with a detailed account of her senile infirmities (668–70), her four attendants would be presented to us merely as παρθενικαὶ ἀδμῆτες with a further reference to the old age of Polyxo. The contrast between youth and age would, of course, be effective, but the symmetry of the description would be destroyed.

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Theocr. i. 140.—Students of Theocritus, and especially of the Daphnis legend, have felt some uncertainty as to the construction and meaning of ἔβα ῥόον in the words describing Daphnis' death:

τά γε μὰν λίνα πάντα λελοίπει
ἐκ Μοιρᾶν, χὠ Δάφνις ἔβα ῥόον. ἔκλυσε δίνα
τὸν Μοίσαις φίλον ἄνδρα, τὸν οὐ Νύμφαισιν ἀπεχθῆ.

K. F. Hermann (*De Daphnide Theocr.*) wished to refer the words to an actual dissolution (cf. Theocr. vii. 76), a reunion with the water-nymph of the old Sicilian legend, and the note in the Servian commentary on Vergil *Ecl.* v. 20, combined with German legends akin to the Daphnis legend (*Proc. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* XXXIII [1903]. 105) would seem to confirm Hermann's theory. Unfortunately, the Greek will not bear this interpretation. The current view that the words mean "went to the stream of Acheron" is undoubtedly correct, but the construction of the accusative and the whole idea should be illustrated, not by Eurip. *Hipp.* 233; Soph. *O. C.* 378; Prop. iii. 18. 9; Ovid *Amor.* iii. 9. 27; *Trist.* iv. 5. 22, and other passages mentioned, for example, in Fritzsche's large edition, but by a convincing passage in Theocritus' contemporary, Apollonius Rhodius i. 644, which so far as I am aware has escaped the notice of commentators and of students of the Daphnis legend. The poet digresses to describe the herald Aethalides, whose memory was unfailing whether he was on earth or in the other world:

οὐδ' ἔτι νῦν περ ἀποιχομένου Ἀχέροντος
δίνας ἀπροφάτους ψυχὴν ἐπιδέδρομε λήθη.

For other examples of the construction in Apollonius cf. Merkel's note (p. 33) on the verse. All that is wanting is proof that in Theocritus ῥόον=ῥόον Ἀχέροντος. This can hardly be doubted, though parallels would be welcome.

Theocr. [?] *xxi. 48.*—The description of the fisherman in this passage is very difficult to understand; Wilamowitz reads:

τὼ χέρε τεινόμενος, περικλώμενος εὖρον ἀγῶνα,
πῶς ἀνελῶ μέγαν ἰχθὺν ἀφαυροτέροισι σιδάροις.

Without considering other difficulties I wish only to note that the MSS in 48 read εὐρὺν ἀγῶνα; Musurus, apparently, is responsible for εὖρον; modern editors (Cholmeley is an exception) usually accept the emendation, or choose a different verb. But editors seem not to have noticed that εὐρὺν ἀγῶνα is protected in a measure against emendation by Apollonius Rhodius iv. 1604:

ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀνὴρ θοὸν ἵππον ἐπ' εὐρέα κύκλον ἀγῶνος
στέλλῃ, ...

As a mere phrase it is further supported by ἴζανεν εὐρὺν ἀγῶνα (*Iliad* xxiii. 258), though the context in Homer is quite different.

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Theocr. [?] *xxvii. 59–60.*—In these verses the maiden pretends to resist her lover's advances:

—τἀμπέχονον ποίησας ἐμὸν ῥάκος. εἰμὶ δὲ γυμνά.
—ἄλλην ἀμπεχόνην τῆς σῆς τοι μείζονα δώσω.
—φῄς μοι πάντα δόμεν· τάχα δ' ὕστερον οὐδ' ἅλα δοίης.
—αἴθ' αὐτὰν δυνάμαν καὶ τὰν ψυχὰν ἐπιβάλλειν.

On μείζονα in 60 Hiller has the following note: "als Gattin wohlhabenden Besitzers (vss. 39, 42, 44) wird sie ein stattlicheren Gewand tragen als dasjenige in welchem sie jetzt ihre Ziegen und Schafe weidet." This interpretation does not seem to be intentionally euphemistic! Surely there can be no reasonable doubt that the μείζων ἀμπεχόνη is the lover himself? The thought is close to that of *Anacreontea* 22. 7: ἐγὼ χιτὼν γενοίμην | ὅπως ἀεὶ φορῇς με; perhaps the interpretation of the dream in Artemidorus v. 64 is less apposite: ἐσήμαινε γὰρ αὐτῷ ὁ χιτὼν τὴν περιπλεκομένην αὐτῷ γυναῖκα . . . . The *sermo amatorius* appears in the technical use of δώσω, δόμεν, δοίης: cf. Friedrich's note on Catullus 110. 3 (p. 543). And ἐπιβάλλειν in 62 is chosen (for which ἐπιδιδόναι might be expected?) not without thought of such a usage as ἐπὶ δὲ χλαῖναν βάλεν αὐτῷ, *Odyss.* xiv. 520.

Kock C. A. F. ἀδέσποτα 1322 = Lucian, Alex. 25.—The passage in Lucian reads: ἐρομένου τινὸς τί πράττει ἐν Ἅιδου ὁ Ἐπίκουρος; 'μολυβδίνας' ἔφη 'ἔχων πέδας ἐν βορβόρῳ κάθηται.' The quotation, being of iambic measurement, has been included among the comic fragments. πέδαι are properly χαλκαῖ in Greek, and little force seems to be added to the expression by making them μολύβδιναι. On the other hand μολυβδίνους ἔχων πόδας would be much more to the point, especially if the satire (no longer from a comic poet, for the sentence is not metrical) were directed at Epicurus' high living and gouty feet. The weighting of feet and of shoes with lead is well supported, as in the case of the slender poet Philitas in Athen. 552 B (cf. Aelian *V. H.* ix. 14): ὃς καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἰσχνότητα σφαίρας ἐκ μολύβου πεποιημένας εἶχε περὶ τὼ πόδε ὡς μὴ ὑπὸ ἀνέμου ἀνατραπείη, and especially in *Anacreontea* 28. 3: ὁ δ' Ἔρως ἔχων μόλιβδον | περὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ποδίσκοις | ἐδίωκε καὶ κίχανεν. Leaden weights, to be sure, are not an exact parallel to leaden feet; the only exact parallel that I know is unfortunately itself an emendation, Plautus *Epid.* 627:

di inmortales! sicin iussi ad me ires? pedibus plumbeis
qui perhibetur prius venisset quem tu advenisti mihi.

The MSS read *pulmunes* for *plumbeis*, which was known to Weise (*Lex. Plaut.*, p. 533) and revived by Brix (*JHB.* CI [1870]. 767). The slow-footed in Plautus are *podagrosis pedibus* (*Merc.* 595). Some stock character is suggested by Plautus' *qui perhibetur:* Epicurus would match very well the references to Zeuxis and Apelles in the preceding vs. 626. But emendation supported by emendation is notoriously bad form in textual criticism.

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ΣΥΓΓΕΝΗΣ 'ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΣ

Pind. *Pyth.* v. 15:

> τὸ μὲν ὅτι βασιλεὺς
> ἐσσὶ μεγαλᾶν πολίων,
> ἔχει συγγενὴς
> ὀφθαλμὸς αἰδοιότατον γέρας
> τεᾷ τοῦτο μιγνύμενον φρενί.

I have for many years told my classes that the meaning of these much-debated words is simply this: "Thine eye from birth hath this prerogative (power) of honor and reverence wedded to thy soul."

This yields a suitable parallel or antithesis between the inherited and the newly acquired (*μάκαρ δὲ καὶ νῦν . . . . ὅτι*) honors of Arcesilaos. The eye is the seat and source of the divinity that doth hedge a king and the awe that he inspires. Soph. *Antig.* 690: *τὸ σὸν γὰρ ὄμμα δεινὸν ἀνδρὶ δημότῃ.* Tennyson *Morte d'Arthur:*

> Authority forgets a dying king,
> Laid widow'd of the *power in his eye*
> That bow'd the will.

Cf. also, though not quite the same, Eurip., fr. 457: *αἰδὼς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι γίγνεται τέκνον*, and Wilamowitz on Eurip. *Herakles* 132.

For the postulated use of *συγγενής, from birth*, cf. Eurip. *Herakles* 1293: *συγγενῶς δύστηνος ὤν*: Pind. *Nem.* v. 40, *Isth.* i. 40: *ποτμὸς . . . . συγγενής*. The power in the eye born with a king or his from birth is only a slight extension of the connate months, hair, fate, and character of familiar Greek usage. This is, I presume, the view of Professor Gildersleeve though he perhaps would not approve my special interpretation of *ὀφθαλμός*, which, however, seems to be in part taken for granted by Christ.

EMENDATION OF CRATES *EPIST.* XIX

The writer is comparing Odysseus who is not with Diogenes who is the true cynic sage. He speaks of Diogenes (Hercher, p. 212) as *τὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ θαρροῦντα, τὸν μηδέποτε εὐχόμενον ἐλεεινὸν ἐς τιμὰς ἐλθεῖν.* The Didot Latin version tries to render this: nunquam honoribus ornari ob miseriam optabat. But the text is corrupt and we must read *ἔς τινας*. The personated Crates is alluding to Odysseus' prayer in *Odyssey* vi. 327: *δός μ' ἐς Φαίηκας φίλον ἐλθεῖν ἠδ' ἐλεεινόν.*

PAUL SHOREY

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BOOK REVIEWS

Cicero, Divinatio in Q. Caecilium, in C. Verrem Lib. IV. Cicero's Rede gegen Q. Cäcilius und das vierte Buch der Anklageschrift gegen C. Verres—für den Schulgebrauch herausgegeben von HERMANN NOHL. Dritte, verbesserte Auflage. Leipzig: G. Freytag; Wien: F. Tempsky, 1907.

This is the third edition of Nohl's text of these speeches. The editor is known as an expert maker of schoolbooks, and the volume before us marks a distinct advance on what has gone before. The text of the Fourth Verrine need not detain us long. Four passages are cited in the Preface in which a change has been admitted since the publication of the second edition in 1897: §54, where Nohl follows Eberhard in reading, without any MS authority, *illigabant—includebant;* §71, where he rightly recants his deletion of the last sentence in the section; it stood in his first edition (1885), was deleted in his second (1897) and is now restored in his third (1907); §101, where he now admits *ornandi* (for *orandi*)—a reading about which there should never have been any doubt; and §128, where he now prints *aprinum caput*, instead of *porcinum caput* (Georges) as in his previous editions. This conjecture is assigned to Schlenge, whose real name appears to have been Schlenger.

The Preface also gives a short list of variations from the text of Nohl's first edition of Book IV. The editor seems to be wrong in eliminating *item* in §5, against the evidence of all the codices; in accepting *homo* in §40; in deleting the words *permotus illa atrocitate negotii* in §100 (wrongly cited as §99); and in reading *arguitur*, §104, in place of *coarguitur*. On the other hand, the opportunity of a new edition should have been taken to restore to the text *et amplissima* after *locupletissima*, §25, and *de patellis, pateris, turibulis*, §48. Nohl seems to be in error in reading *declararunt*, §107, for the MS *declarant;* also in rejecting *praeclare* after *picta*, in §122.

But from the point of view of recent criticism of the Verrines, it is in his treatment of the *Divinatio* that Nohl's work will be found to be least satisfactory. His text is simply a reprint, without any change, of what he published in 1885. He retains, for example, *Qui* in §2 instead of *Quare*—evidently not understanding that the reading of D (Par. 7823) is now accepted as of first-class importance, this MS having been copied from S (Par. 7775) before its mutilation. For the earlier books the tradition of SD is as authoritative as is that of the Regius for Books IV and V.

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In the same way he prints *Q. Caecili*, §22, instead of *Caecili; et tuam* (the reading of the utterly discredited G[1]) in place of *tuamque*, §35; *huiusmodi*, §38; *te dicturum*, §59; *praetore tuo*, §60; *facesseris*, §45; *more . . . . religione*, §46; *alterum*, §53; *aegrotanti*, §70. He also retains the impossible *suspicionem* at §31; and *quam qua ipse vult* (instead of *quam qua ipse vult uti*) at §25.

When will German editors cease to vex the learner by superfluous commas? In Nohl's first page there are about a dozen that could well be spared: e. g., *id, quod facio, probabit; factum est, uti; ita sim versatus, ut; si quis . . . . eorum, qui adsunt, forte miratur.* And could anything in the way of punctuation be less intelligible to a beginner than the following (§36): *Compone hoc, quod postulo, de argento, de reliquo videro?*

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Libanii Opera. Recensuit RICHARDUS FOERSTER. Vol. I, *fasc.* 1–2 Orations I–XI, 1903; Vol. II, Orations XII–XXV, 1904; Vol, III, Orations XXVI–L, 1906; Vol. IV, Orations LI–LXIV, 1908. Leipzig: Teubner. M. 46.60.

Of the professional rhetoricians of the fourth Christian century Libanius of Antioch stands easily first. Themistius, his distinguished contemporary, was a learned man and a serious student of philosophy, who, though he wrote much that was sophistic, was no more willing than Isocrates to be labeled a sophist. Libanius, on the other hand, was no philosopher, but a sophist of the better type, who had an excellent working knowledge of the Greek classics, could use them, that is to say, as literary ornament and as a storehouse of ideas, echoed their language on every page, and is readable today, for those who can read him at all, mainly in view of the peculiar pleasure derived from the detection of originals. No editor could hope, even if it were worth his while, to furnish a complete list of such references, and Foerster, like other Teubner editors of this type of literature, has limited himself to pointing out the more obvious sources, leaving us most of the pleasures of the chase.

Libanius had studied at Athens, and practiced in turn at Nicomedia and Constantinople, but preferred, in the end, his native Syrian town where he opened his school in 354. He devoted himself to instructing young barbarians, playing always a dignified rôle as the champion of Hellenism, openly loyal, even under Christian emperors, to the gods of Greece. The premature death of his pupil Julian, in whom were centered all the hope of the Hellenists, embittered the latter half of his long life. Yet though he continually paraded his grief for Julian and his dislike of Christianity, he was treated with singular indulgence by Julian's Christian

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successors. The fall of paganism was followed by a gradual decline in Hellenic studies, and Libanius laments that Rome and the Roman school of law at Berytus are now among the many serious rivals to that rhetoric which had once been the pride of Antioch. One wonders if his own determined ignorance of Latin may not have been one of the reasons why the young men of Antioch sought more up-to-date teachers. Libanius is sorry for his colleagues, those four professors who had been appointed to lead their students ἐπὶ τὴν γνῶσιν τῶν ἀρχαίων, whose fees are paid irregularly or not at all, who must sell their wives' jewelry to pay the baker, and, last infirmity, are reduced to the society of one another and to two topics of conversation, their poverty and the decay of classical studies. Libanius was a practical man, and he saw that nothing would stop the decline of rhetoric at Antioch unless its teachers would combine against the caprice of students who visited one course after another and paid for none, and the weak indulgence of parents who no longer, as in the good old days, maintained that home discipline which is the safeguard of the teacher. What he was trying to organize, in his oration περὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν was really a sort of university which should do away with the humiliations of individual competition. He was himself keenly alive to the prestige of large classes. None of his pupils, a motley tribe of Thracians, Armenians, Cappadocians, Carians, and the like—he gives an account of them in Oration LXII—became professors, partly because it did not pay, either in money or reputation (p. 445), partly, no doubt, because he preferred, like Jowett, to train public men to fill important posts in the empire. He had a private income, but worked harder than his colleagues, had as many as fifty pupils at one time, could boast that he had written more than any man of his day, and was always ready to make speeches to the emperor on local affairs, or the impositions of provincial governors. Antioch relied on her sophist to turn his rhetoric to any useful purpose.

If a revolt of the citizens against taxes had incensed Theodosius, or their native levity had irritated the somber Julian, Libanius would plead for clemency in terms that drew tears—nothing lay too deep for the tears of Theodosius. If the bakers of Antioch, who formed a well-organized and highly sensitive trade-union, fled as one man to the hills, which was their regular and expressive protest against a fall in the price of bread, Libanius must cajole them back to their ovens. To restore the coast cities that earthquakes had devastated was one of the more frequent duties of the emperors of that age. When Nicomedia was destroyed by an earthquake in 358, Libanius, who in general is fond of the vocabulary of earthquakes, wrote his famous monody, really an appeal for funds, in which he closely imitated his admired Aristides on Smyrna, copying his verbal antitheses and other affectations, and especially his scolding of Poseidon, the Earthshaker. For the pious Julian seems to have been the only em-

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peror who could stay Poseidon in his course, and we owe to Libanius the picture of the young reactionary standing alone in his garden all day, his head bare to the falling rain, while the skeptical courtiers looked on under cover, and Julian prayed, and not in vain, to Poseidon to spare Constantinople, then in imminent danger.

When Foerster's edition is complete, students in need of a dissertation subject might do worse than turn to Libanius. Such studies would naturally be directed to his style, for the accuracy of his account of his own times will no doubt remain in dispute. Wilamowitz, who has little patience with Libanius or his tribe, thinks that the coloring of the rhetorician makes all that he wrote untrustworthy, while Foerster, after a close intimacy of forty years, refuses to admit anything of the sort.

Reiske's edition of Libanius in four volumes (Altenburg, 1791–7) has hitherto been the only accessible (though not always easily accessible) text for the Orations and Declamations, while for the Letters (1,607 in number), the student has had to depend on the rare folio of Wolf (Amsterdam, 1738). Foerster, who has labored for forty years on the text, is by no means at the end of his task. His fourth volume concludes the Orations,[1] but three volumes of Declamations are to follow, and nothing is said about a future edition of the Letters. It is not always easy to decide whether a composition of Libanius is an oration or a declamation; Foerster has, however, taken more pains than Reiske to keep them distinct.

There are nearly five hundred MSS of Libanius, dispersed in the libraries of Europe, Asia Minor, Palestine, and Egypt, all of which Foerster has examined, for the most part in person, though occasionally by proxy. His method in this edition is to indicate in the preface to each oration the main roads of the MS tradition, each MS being described in the order in which it occurs, and he has reserved much for the promised *Epilegomena* which will include such studies of Libanius as may illuminate, not only one whom Photius called the κανὼν καὶ στάθμη λόγου Ἀττικοῦ, but other contemporary writers as well. Foerster, like Reiske, does not arrange the Orations in chronological order, since to do so with precision he considers impossible, but more than once he discusses the date of a composition, especially where he finds himself in disagreement with Sievers. In following the order given by the best MSS he departs in several cases from Reiske's arrangement. Jacobs, Boissonade, Cobet, and Sintenis had already broken ground with critical work on Reiske's text and Reiske's great work was doomed to be superseded by the fact that he was himself able to revise only a part of it, and must leave the rest to his wife, who, poor lady, under the name of Reiskia,

[1] The footnote in Vol. IV, p. 23, which announces that the *Apologia Socratis* agmen orationum huius voluminis claudet, stands uncorrected, though, in the end, Foerster reserved the *Apologia* for the beginning of Vol. V.

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figures in nearly all Foerster's prefaces and never with words of praise. She receives no credit for what must have been an unspeakably tedious job, and is scolded at every turn for her *incuria*, her lack of *diligentia* and *religio*, though if ever a woman proved that she possessed the two latter qualities one would say it is the Reiskia. To her, justly, no doubt, are put down all the faults, to her husband all the merits of his edition—*paulo properantius ut facere consueverat* she played her part, not knowing that she was to prove a warning to the wives of philologists.

The advantage of Foerster's instalment method is that he can reply to his critics, whose reviews he answers in a critical preface to Vol. III. He has been blamed for making his edition too long and too short, for admitting too many of his own readings into the text and not enough. He devotes fifty-three pages to the discussion of contested readings, making only the slightest concessions to his critics, of whom Herwerden, Asmus, and Croenert are the most important. His defense of a reading is usually grounded on his knowledge of the *sermo Libanianus* on which he has certainly earned the right to dogmatize.

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March, 1909

Greek Historical Writing and *Apollo*. Two lectures delivered before the University of Oxford by ULRICH VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF. (Translation by GILBERT MURRAY.) Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908. Pp. 45. 2*s*.

No summary can do justice to the infinite riches in a little room presented by these lectures. Still less is it possible to criticize the countless philological and historical *obiter dicta* thrown out by the way.

Historical science, the historical imagination, and critical methods of research are hardly a hundred years old, being later even than Gibbon. No Greek conceived of them. Yet the Greeks are the originators of history as of science and philosophy. Athens might have developed a true critical science of history had time been granted. "But the Athenian Empire collapsed . . . . and on the ruins there arose that phantom growth of rhetoric and sophistic which renounced the search after truth and honesty, and which brought to shipwreck first the learning and then the whole civilization of antiquity." Much of later Greek historical writing, however, is good reading if we accept it frankly as historical romance in the manner of Scott—though without his love for local color. Yet after all it seems the difference is not so great. For we too "when once Dryasdust has done his work within us . . . . use our free formative imagination." And Science will supersede Mommsen as Tacitus and

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Gibbon are superseded. But the investigator may find consolation in the thought that though his own work dies and Truth is relative, he hands on the torch—of method.

Apollo is neither the heavenly fiddler of Raphael, nor the sun, nor can his essential character be derived from the life of nature. We can only see that he is a non-Hellenic eastern divinity at first conceived by the Greeks as a power of evil to be propitiated. Leto exists in Greece only as coming in his train. His sanctuaries, under his name, Delos, Ptoion, Delphi are comparatively late. At Delphi in the interval from Hesiod to Pindar the Apolline religion glorified by Otfried Müller, Curtius (and Matthew Arnold) was developed. It is the religion of Pindar and of Sophocles, but not of the other great Athenians nor of Homer. It is the religion of conservative and Dorian Hellas, the religion of γνῶθι σαυτόν and σωφροσύνη and εὐνομία, but not of ecstasy, hope, progress, and democracy. The Athenians must needs transcend it, and to Euripides it was an abomination. But we, after our science has endeavored to trace the many and diverse Apollos of local cult and legend, may and must revive in our hearts and realize in our lives the Apolline religion of Pindar and Sophocles.

It is perhaps pedantry to cavil on a detail amid so much truth and suggestiveness. But would Professor Wilamowitz unless θέσιν διαφυλάττων seriously maintain that Apollo's originally destructive character is proved by Achilles addressing him as "most deadly of the gods?" Achilles' words are (*Il.* xxii. 15) ἔβλαψας μ' ἑκάεργε θεῶν ὀλοώτατε πάντων—"thou hast balked me far-darter, most mischievous of the gods." Obviously this is a mere example of the petulant irreverent familiarity on which Ruskin comments so amusingly. Menelaus says the same of Zeus in *Il.* iii. 365, and Asius in *Il.* xii. 164 calls Zeus φιλοψευδής because of the disappointment of his own expectations. Similarly it may be doubted whether the description of the gods rising up in fear at the approach of Apollo in the beginning of the Delian Hymn is much more than a slight exaggeration of the honorific motive of *Il.* xv. 85 where the gods rise up to do reverence to Hera.

PAUL SHOREY

Briefwechsel zwischen August Böckh und Ludolph Dissen, Pindar und Anderes betreffend. Herausgegeben von MAX HOFFMANN. Leipzig: Teubner, 1907. Pp. 233. M. 5.

This book possesses considerable value for the student of Pindar, but it is particularly interesting for the picture it gives of the golden age of German classical scholarship—the age of Böckh and Hermann and Welcker. The letters of Dissen in the collection far outnumber those of

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Böckh, and present a most engaging view of the Göttingen professor's character, with his modest estimate of his own powers, and his profound and affectionate admiration for his friend. "Wenn ich einen Brief von Ihnen erhalte," he writes, "dann mache ich erst allemal eine Pfeife an, und recht wie zu einem herrlichen Genuss setze ich mich dann zurecht, Ihren Brief zu lesen." The affection of Böckh for Dissen seems no less genuine, but it is expressed with more reserve, as comports with the Olympian nature of the man. So, too, though Gottfried Hermann and his school are the *bête noire* of both the friends, yet here, as well, Böckh is calmer and more moderate in his expressions of antipathy. Dissen's life-long struggle with ill-health, leading to his premature death at the age of fifty-three, lends a pathetic interest to his letters. One is at times painfully reminded of the correspondence between Erwin Rohde and Friedrich Nietzsche, in which the declining health of the latter is sadly mirrored in the gradual exchange of attitude, by which Rohde becomes the adviser and oracle, in place of his more brilliant friend. We learn, too, to estimate more correctly the relative importance of the contributions of Böckh and Dissen, respectively, to the great Pindar commentary. In difficult questions, the decision usually rests with the sounder judgment and wider range of Böckh, but insight, originality, and penetration into the poet's inner meaning, are often on the side of Dissen. Throughout the book, the reader feels the new impulse that was stirring among German scholars, during the early part of the last century. The spectacle of two young men, both much under 30 years of age, addressing themselves confidently (and successfully) to the difficult task of laying a new foundation for the Pindaric study of the future, in face of the recent and much-admired work of Heyne and Hermann, is one of the most inspiring in the history of classical philology. The detailed discussion of Pindar, in these letters, began in 1819, and continued till 1830. Dissen then published his independent edition "des göttlichen Dichters," and was deeply wounded by Böckh's coolness (as he felt) in reviewing the new book. The wound was healed through the good offices of K. O. Müller, but the correspondence never again became so active as before.

The thoroughness with which the two joint-editors debated the interpretation of difficult passages may be illustrated by their treatment of *N.* 7. 77 ff., where the Muse is asked to prepare for Sogenes a garland of gold, ivory, and coral. Dissen must satisfy himself as to the precise form and structure of the garland, as the poet conceived it. In his first draft of the commentary, he suggests that the ivory was used for the leaves of the wreath, but in the note which accompanied his MS (October 27, 1820), after citing the words of a letter from Welcker ("aus denen ich nicht viel machen kann") he admits that he is uncertain as to the ivory leaves, and would prefer to think of the whole garland as made of gold, with ivory inlaid, if he could only satisfy himself as to how this was done. Böckh

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replies (November 11) that he, too, doubts the white leaves. He agrees that gold was the chief material used, with perhaps berries of coral, and flowers of composite structure. He deprecates, however, too close an inquiry into the nature of the wreath, and thinks that the precious materials may indicate only the unusual value and permanence of the gift. On November 22, Dissen accepts most of what Böckh has suggested, but prefers to set his friend's contribution *after* his own, "weil man doch das beste nicht zuerst sondern zuletzt auftischt." In the following April Dissen again refers to Welcker's views, but adds "die Antiquare haben freilich eine eigene Fertigkeit allerlei zu combiniren, was am Ende keinen sicheren Halt hat." Finally (September 26, 1821) he notes the fact that Sogenes was the *first* Aeginetan to win the Nemean Pentathlon, as proving that Böckh was entirely right in his explanation of the materials as symbolic. He now prefers to rest the whole interpretation solely on Böckh's authority, and "will keine symboliker und Archäologen weiter zu Hülfe rufen. Denn ich habe immer schon Angst gehabt dass dieses Volk viel Spuk mit der Stelle treiben werde, nach dem die Sache in Anregung gekommen, obgleich früher sie alle darüber hinweggegangen sind, als wenn gar nichts zu erklären wäre." The explanation of the garland finally appeared, both in Böckh's edition of 1821, and in Dissen's of 1830, in a form combining the views of both scholars. Fennell, Christ, and Schroeder ignore the whole question!

The book is provided with sufficient indexes, and the editor has contributed copious notes, explaining the persons and events referred to in the text. A brief sketch of the lives of the two scholars should have been added, sparing the reader a reference to the editor's previous life of Böckh (1901), or to Pökel.

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The Athenian Family. A Sociological and Legal Study, Based Chiefly on the Works of Attic Orators. By CHARLES ALBERT SAVAGE. Baltimore, 1907. Pp. 137.

This monograph, which is described by the author as a "dissertation, wide in its scope and somewhat general in its character," contains chapters on: "Religious Feeling in Athenian Private Life," "The Attitude of the State toward the Family," "The Position of Women during the Period of the Attic Orators," "Marriage," "Parents and Children," "Adoption and Leading Aspects of the Athenian Inheritance System." These are large subjects to be treated adequately in one hundred and thirty-seven pages. Professor Savage justly anticipates criticism of his incomplete bibliography. Probably the most serious omission is Beauchet's *Histoire du droit privé de la république athénienne*, which

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treats in detail the chief phases of family life. Caillemer's articles in Daremberg et Saglio would have proved extremely useful to him. For example, a perusal of Caillemer's articles on "Dower" and "Divorce" would have undoubtedly led him to modify, if not reject, the view that "immoral behavior" on the part of a wife resulted in the forfeiture of her dower (p. 68). This is true of Homeric and post-classical Greece. But there is no evidence for this rule in the period under discussion. Indeed we are told explicitly in the speech against Neaera that the law required the return of the dower. Professor Savage displays familiarity with a wide range of Greek authors, and his citation of their opinions in connection with the various phases of family relationships, as well as the constant use of illustrative cases, adds greatly to the interest of the book. Not so commendable, however, is the habit of giving expression to his own opinion regarding customs and conduct by the free use of adjectives.

Under the caption "Husbands Give Their Wives to Others" he cites a case of a transfer *inter vivos*. As a further illustration he mentions the practice, said to be common among Athenian bankers, of inserting provisions *in wills* that widows are to marry certain specified persons. He seems to be under the impression that these are also transfers *inter vivos* (p. 62). As a "striking illustration of the lightness with which the marriage bond was dissolved," he cites the divorce of Phano by her second husband, Theogenes, the king archon, "because he realizes that she is not a free citizen woman of Athens" (p. 61). Apparently he forgets his own earlier statement (p. 46) "that every Athenian was forbidden by law to marry a foreigner." One will search the Attic orators in vain for a more justifiable divorce, whether one adopts ancient or modern standards. Not only was the young woman a foreigner (ξένη), but she had been divorced by a former husband for following in the footsteps of her notorious mother, Neaera. Moreover, Theogenes acted under strong pressure from the Areopagus: he was able to escape punishment only by promising to divorce his wife at once.

The most effective chapters in the book are those dealing with "Parents and Children" and "Adoption." In other respects, the book seems calculated to appeal rather to the general reader or to the student of sociology. The work is well written and is practically free from typographical errors.

R. J. BONNER

On the Interpretation of Empedocles. By CLARA ELIZABETH MILLERD. The University of Chicago Press, 1908. Pp. 94. $0.79 postpaid.

This dissertation presents a well-documented and competent review of the present state of critical knowledge and opinion respecting Empe-

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docles, and is as a rule distinguished by an excellent balance of judgment in dealing with conflicting exegetical theories. It has two virtues somewhat rare in special monographs—an avoidance of the temptation to read too much meaning into the author treated, and a willingness to leave uncertain points unsettled. These virtues are, if anything, pushed to an extreme; the writer gives us much careful analysis, but no very vivid hypothetical unification and reconstruction of the Empedoclean view of the universe.

In maintaining, against Windelband and others, that Empedocles did not clearly and consistently conceive of the elements as qualitatively unchangeable or of μῖξις as a purely mechanical combination, the writer appears to be justified by the texts cited; though the interpretation makes it necessary to ascribe to Empedocles, even for his period, a high degree of philosophical ineptitude. The most elaborate and valuable part of the study deals with the much-discussed question of the number of phases in the world-cycle and the relation to these of Love and Strife. The view adopted is essentially that of Burnet: there are four distinguishable stages: (1) The period when each element "flocks by itself," in complete freedom from μῖξις; (2) the period of increasing Love, leading to the genesis of the world through the intermixture of the elements; (3) the "indefinite homogeneity" of the Σφαῖρος, when μῖξις culminates in a complete interpenetration of the elements; (4) the period of increasing Strife, when a world is again generated through the separation of the elements from this unity. Periods (1) and (3) are, for opposite reasons, "acosmic;" our world belongs to period (4). The evidence for this interpretation Miss Millerd reviews somewhat more fully than previous writers; nothing very material, however, is added to Burnet's convincing argument, except a pertinent citation from Theophrastus, *De sens.* 20. On the other hand, the author repeats an error of Burnet's in assigning the "whole-natured forms" of Fr. 62 to a different period from that of the hybrid monsters of Fr. 61. These τύποι οὐλοφυεῖς seem to be the same as the hermaphrodites of Fr. 61, 3, 4. The cognate passage of Aetius (*Plac.* v. 19) is also, I think, wrongly interpreted. Aetius is classifying the types of "births" recognized by Empedocles; the four classes, which evidently represent stages in a single evolutionary sequence, are: (*a*) detached limbs; (*b*) limbs united into bodies, but unco-ordinated; (*c*) coherent organisms, but without sexual differentiation; (*d*) complete organisms, capable of sexual reproduction. The third (*c*) are Empedocles' οὐλοφυεῖς.

One point of primary consequence—the meaning of the term φύσις, especially in the title Περὶ φύσεως—the writer treats rather inadequately and inconclusively. She holds, *contra* Burnet, that φύσις does not mean "the primary substance," but "becoming" or "the formation of things;" that "the search for the primary substance is by no means the main interest of pre-Socratic thinkers;" that περὶ φύσεως might almost be ren-

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dered "the world-story." A similar view, as she does not note, has been expressed, with much fuller argument, by Woodbridge (*Phil. Rev.* 1901),—and is implied in the recent studies of Heidel; but it is, I am convinced, erroneous. Miss Millerd cites only one of the three *loci* in which Empedocles uses the word; and she neglects to remark Aristotle's quotation of that passage in the *Metaphysics* (Δ 1015 *a* 1) in a context unfavorable to her interpretation of it. She calls attention to Plato's undecisive language in *Laws* 892 C, as sanctioning her theory; but makes no mention of the all-important passage a little earlier (891 C), where Plato, criticizing the general tendency of the physiologers, says explicitly: "One who talks in this fashion conceives fire and water and earth and air to be πρῶτα τῶν πάντων, and these he calls τὴν φύσιν." That passage will need much explaining away—even if there were not many others—before the proposed rendering of φύσις can be regarded as justified. One could wish that Miss Millerd, who is evidently well qualified by learning and judgment for such work, had gone to the bottom of the question she raises on pp. 18–20, and given us a thorough semasiological survey of the usage, both technical and literary, of the term in question. Nothing is more greatly needed at the present stage of the study of the pre-Socratics.

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La metrica di Orazio comparata con la Greca e illustrata su liriche scelte del poeta. Con una Appendice di Carmi di Catullo studiati nei loro diversi metri. Nuova trattazione di ETTORE STAMPINI. Torino: E. Loescher, 1908. Pp. xlviii + 104.

The comparative study of Greek and Latin meter is of course not new. It goes back to the Roman metricians. But seldom since their day has Latin meter been so rigorously made to conform with the Greek as in Stampini's work. The author holds that our views about Latin meter should be changed to meet the advances made in the study of Greek meter, especially as exemplified in Masqueray's treatise (*Traité de métrique grecque*, Paris, 1899). The long introduction, besides the usual information, gives all the Latin and Greek technical terms, as well as the musical equivalents. While Stampini has thus made use of all the latest ideas about Greek meter, he has ignored the one great advance that has been made in the study of Latin meter—the recognition of a relation between metrical ictus and word-accent. He knows of it, for he says that the frequent coincidence of word-accent and metrical ictus is due to the laws of word-accent in Latin—in other words, that it is entirely accidental, not intentional. He goes so far as to say that the Latin poets produced this coincidence unwillingly (*indipendentemente dalla volontà stessa*).

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Even those who were most faithful to their Greek models, asserts Stampini, could not imitate them in their intentional contrast of metrical ictus and word-accent. This is an impossible hypothesis. Plautus and Terence admittedly did strive for harmony of the two kinds of stress. Just as their language is colloquial, so we may call their verse colloquial. The same is true of many of the thoroughly colloquial poems of Catullus. But even in the most exalted passages of Vergil and Horace there are laws of agreement—or at least of non-contrast—between metrical ictus and word-accent. The reason for the difference between Greek and Latin is obvious: the word-accent of the former was a pitch-accent; of the latter, essentially a stress-accent. In Greek, as far as the word-accent is concerned, it does not matter where the metrical ictus comes, just as in music the stress may come on a high or a low note. But in Latin we are dealing with two kinds of stress, which must be made to harmonize as well as possible.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Helladian Vistas. By DON DANIEL QUINN, PH.D. Yellow Springs, Ohio. 1908.

This volume from the pen of a former rector of the Leonteion at Athens is exactly what its title implies, a series of sketches. The author, being a genuine lover of things Grecian, is impelled to write of scenes and topics that are dear to his heart. Thus we have such headings as "The Akropolis of Athens," "The Vale of Tempe," "In Arkadia," "The Kingdom of Odysseus," "Kephallenia," and so forth. He is obviously writing for the cultured reader or prospective traveler, rather than for the student; but he differs from some recent popular writers on Greece in that he seems really familiar with all of the places and most of the themes to which he invites our attention. Some of the essays are very readable. Perhaps the most enjoyable chapter is "The Flower of the East" (*Zante, Zante, Fior di Levante*), although "Mega Spelaeon" proves almost equally attractive. Dr. Quinn is now pastor of St. Paul's, Yellow Springs, Ohio, and Professor at Antioch College; and the volume bears the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop of Cincinnati.

F. B. R. HELLEMS

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO

Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte. Von TH. ZIELINSKI. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1908. Pp. 453. M. 7.

The present volume is a revision, many times enlarged, of a little work published eleven years ago under the same title. The author's

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object is to set forth the dominating influence of Cicero in three pivotal periods of European history—the development of Christianity, the Renaissance, and the French Revolution. The first one hundred and forty-four pages, treating of Cicero's life, style, and philosophy as well as his place in pagan Rome, serve as an introduction to the real subject. In all of the three periods mentioned Professor Zielinski finds Cicero's influence of tremendous importance; but he draws an interesting distinction. The years that saw the growth of Christanity found in Cicero only the philosopher, the moral thinker; the Renaissance grew to know him as a personality, an inspiration toward individualism; the third period, *die französische Erklärung*, discovered in the philosopher's negative side a source for skepticism, and discovered also the orator and political scientist. The danger of our author's symmetrical outline is obvious, inasmuch as it is too perfect; but it is suggestive and valuable.

In the nature of things, men will differ about the general plan of such a work. For instance, it would seem to many of us that the influence of the famous *novus homo* on English history may have been exercised much more powerfully through the great statesmen and proconsuls than through Whichcot and Wilkins; and yet Cicero's place in English political history is left unmentioned. However, Professor Zielinski was compelled to adopt some limitations, and has chosen to follow the lines indicated above. Judging the book as it stands, one finds a few questionable conclusions. It is delightful, as well as instructive, to be reminded of Galileo's striking statement of his indebtedness to Cicero. But it is surely fanciful to suggest that the invention of printing may have been due to the well-known passage in the *De natura deorum* (ii. 93), dealing with the possible fortuitous combinations of *formae*. Obviously this particular instance does not interfere with the general validity of our author's treatise; but it may serve to indicate the desirability of caution at various points.

The book of the eminent St. Petersburg scholar represents a most laudable aim—a vertical section through the strata of European history, as he words it himself in language that incidentally recalls his persistent use of terminology drawn from natural science. It is carefully planned and executed. Yet this larger edition brings a little shadow of disappointment to one who remembers with great pleasure its tiny predecessor. There are no new wide horizons, and our gratitude for the additional information is tempered by the increase in the bulk of the volume. It remains, however, a welcome and valuable contribution to European *Kulturgeschichte*.

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The Riddle of the Bacchae. The last stage of Euripides' Religious Views. By GILBERT NORWOOD. Manchester University Press, 1908. Pp. xix + 188.

Verrall's *Euripides the Rationalist* is the prototype of this book. After an introduction in which the author expresses the opinion that the poet's religion is the only problem with regard to him left unsolved, and gives the plan of the present volume, he proceeds to discuss the following topics in succeeding chapters: The attitude of Euripides toward the popular religion, traditional difficulties in the *Bacchae*, the palace-miracle, the part played by Dionysus in the *Bacchae*, Pentheus, new minor difficulties, the explanation, Euripides' opinion of the Bacchic deity and of his religion, objections to the new theory. Then follow four appendixes: Supposed parallels to the palace-miracle, the miracles in the second messenger's speech, Dr. Verrall's work on Euripides, bibliography of writings on Euripides. An index completes the volume.

The bibliography, printed alphabetically, is the most complete yet published, and will be valuable to all students of Euripides.

The new solution of the "riddle" is found in the chapters on "The Palace-Miracle," and "The Explanation." The Lydian Stranger (Dionysus) has been captured by the King's servants and imprisoned in the royal stables. A call from within is heard by the chorus and recognized by them as that of Dionysus. The chorus think that they hear an earthquake, claim to see the stone architrave starting asunder and the flame arising from Semele's tomb, and prostrate themselves in awe of these manifestations of the power of Dionysus. Dionysus comes out and tells the chorus what has happened inside, among other things that "he hath flung the dwelling to the ground and it hath fallen in *complete* ruin." "This is a lie, the palace does not fall down, cannot fall down, and is not believed to fall down by anyone, except the deluded Maenads" (chorus). What then is the explanation? Simply this: the chorus have been "hypnotized" by the Lydian enchanter and are so completely under his power that they imagine what they describe! The audience knows that the palace has not fallen, in fact it could not have fallen *completely* because Dionysus, Pentheus, and others afterward come out of the palace doors as if no obstruction had fallen in their way so as to prevent their exit in the perfectly normal manner. The marvelous fall of the palace by the might of Dionysus, which the audience expect according to the legend familiar to them, does not happen. It is a colossal "joke," yet "an object lesson in the history of religion, a searchlight directed full upon the mists of error." So the audience are expected to infer from the vain imaginings of the frenzied chorus and the lies of the Lydian Stranger that the poet would teach that there is no god Dionysus; he is as unreal as the fall of the palace, which did not occur at all.

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The Lydian Stranger, who claims to be Dionysus, is explained to be a product of the Orient, "a foreign wizard skilled in spells," versed in that mysterious influence which we now call hypnotism, but designated as "magic" in earlier ages. Modern hypnotists would be interested in knowing the way in which the wizard of Lydia exercises his hypnotic influence. The sound of his voice, recognized immediately by the chorus, seems sufficient to put them under the spell instantaneously. The rapidity of the process and the apparent uniformity of susceptibility on the part of all the fifteen choreutae (all are equally affected) would cause admiration and despair to modern hypnotists. Is it possible now to advance a new argument for the study of Greek (at least of the *Bacchae* and Euripides), in order to discover the lost hypnotic art of the Wizard of Lydia? Who says that Greek is not practical and up-to-date!

But there is no desire to trifle with Norwood's interesting book, but only to show one of the possible sequences of his theory, if tenaciously followed up. And there are others. The most that he says about the religious views of Euripides will be accepted by most scholars. He exalts rather than depreciates the art of the poet, and wishes to be fair and judicial toward the views of those who differ with him. It is only when he is under the hypnotic influence of his new theory that he fails to enchant all. It may be said of him, as he himself says of Verrall about another matter: "Dr. Verrall is pushing subtlety too far." But his book should be read by all students of Euripides.

C. F. CASTLE

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Studies in Greek Allegorical Interpretation. By ANNE BATES HERSMAN. Chicago: The Blue Sky Press, 1906. Pp. 64.

This Chicago dissertation by Mrs. Hersman falls into two divisions. Part I gives a sketch of allegorical interpretation before Plutarch; Part II deals with Plutarch, more especially with his treatment of the Isis myth.

The author has apparently well digested the principal modern discussions of Greek allegorical interpretation and presents in Part I a most useful synopsis of the subject, referring to the chief ancient sources and giving a "partial list of works consulted" which will serve as an outline bibliography. It would be unfair to complain of incompleteness here, since the essay purports to be nothing but a sketch. Yet it is proper to say that the collection of materials is by no means exhaustive. Thus Aristotle deserves a fuller treatment; e. g., there is, I believe, no reference to his interesting interpretation of Homer's Okeanos, *Meteor.* A9. There are also certain significant aspects of Greek thought to which one might have desired some references though a full discussion would

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have been out of place. The relation of Greek philosophical thought in the sixth and fifth centuries to the mythical or theological attitude on the one hand and to the opinions of the *profanum vulgus* on the other, is one of those points. Cf. Hecataeus, fr. 332 Müller; Anagoras, fr. 17, Empedocles, fr. 8 and 9, Diels, and Hippocrates Περὶ ἀέρων, p. 64 Kühlewein. Another such question is that relating to Plato's use of μῦθος alongside the philosophical λόγος. In this connection Plato *Soph.* 242C is of the greatest interest.

The discussion of Plutarch's own attitude and practice in Part II is excellent and conducted with skill. To the classical student of Plutarch the information on hieroglyphics and Egyptian etymologies on p. 63, derived from Professor Breasted, will be welcome. It is to be regretted that the author of this interesting dissertation did not more carefully word her references to secondary sources, some of which are hardly intelligible. The far too numerous typographical errors may be chargeable to the "accidents and misfortunes in the printing press" (p. 2) which delayed publication nearly a year.

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Kurzgefasste griechische Schulgrammatik. Nach Curtius-v. Hartels *Schulgrammatik* bearbeitet von FL. WEIGEL. Wien: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1907. Pp. 162. K. 2. h. 50.

This excellent little book, clearly and concisely written, is a revision of the author's abridged edition of 1906, shorter by 14 pages and much improved, though one change will hardly meet with approval, viz., the placing of the present and imperfect of contract verbs immediately after the present and imperfect of λύω and before the conjugation of the remaining tenses of λύω.

Dialectic forms are nowhere given, the dual is omitted in all paradigms, and rules of syntax are made very brief whenever similar rules occur in Latin grammar. This contributes materially toward abridgment. Great prominence is given to the stem in all inflections, and thereby apparent irregularities are explained. Cross-references abound, and three good indices are appended.

All scholars will not agree with the author (§ 155) that verbs of teaching, asking, etc. take a double *outer* object. Pedagogically it is not advisable to introduce the student to expressions in which ἄν is omitted (§ 200) before those sentences in which it is used (§ 211) have been explained. From the author's classification of conditional sentences (§ 211) no student could divine the truth that of the four commonly recognized classes it is only the so-called logical conditions that have a distinct form when general from that which they have when particular.

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Finally, minatory and monitory conditions are not mentioned, though the modal force of the future indicative here has been fully set forth by Professor Gildersleeve.

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Aeli Donati quod fertur Commentum Terenti. Vol. III. Pars Prior Eugraphi Commentum Continens. P. WESSNER. Leipzig: 1908. M. 8.

This volume with its clear print and good paper will be welcome to those who have hitherto relied on the edition of Klotz. The Preface gives two pages to Eugraphius, and twenty-two to the manuscripts and editions. The text occupies pp. 3–331 with a critical apparatus indicating the variant MSS readings and an occasional conjecture. We may well believe that this will be the final edition of the commentary, for very small would be the reward even by the establishment of a perfect text, as the commentary has no great value, though in connection with it are raised three interesting questions in regard to the author, the relation of the work to the commentary of Donatus on Terence and of Servius on Vergil, and of the two families of manuscripts to each other.

The frequent occurrence of *quod*-clauses instead of the accusative with infinitive indicates a late authorship for the work, and it is safe to infer from resemblances in language that Eugraphius lived after Donatus, perhaps after Servius. He is placed by Wessner at the close of the fifth or at the beginning of the sixth century. From his name we may infer that he was of Greek origin, and this inference is strengthened by the fact that there are a few touches not found in Donatus indicating familiarity with Greek subjects: On *Eun.* 476 he refers to both Homer and Plato; on *Eun.* 85 corrects the statement of Donatus by a reference to Menander; on *Hec.* 600, *volgus quod male audit mulierum*, he comments "Graeca locutione positum 'male audit mulierum;'" on *Eun.* 769, *Phorm.* 844, and *Heaut.* 124 he emphasizes the difference between the *comoediae palliatae* and *togatae;* on *And.* 137 calls attention to the μετάθεσις αἰτίας; on *Eun.* 40 to *haec quae dicunt Graeci* πράγματα; on *Heaut.* 242 to *quod* πάθος *Graece dicitur.* But especially noticeable is the comment on *And.* 621. Donatus says "Nam mitiores eos reddimus, quibus ultro operae pretium pro delictis nostris offerimus;" and Eugraphius "Et ab Atheniensibus haec lex fuerat constituta ut damnatis poenae proponerentur, ut eligerent quam vellent, et si leviorem eligerent, graviore afficiebantur."

The design of Eugraphius is clearly stated at the beginning of his work, "Cum omnes poetae virtutem oratoriam semper versibus exequantur, tum magis duo viri apud Latinos, Virgilius et Terentius. Ex quibus, ut suspicio nostra est, magis Terentii virtus ad rationem rhetoricae artis

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accedit, cuius potentiam per comoedias singulas ut possumus explicabimus. ac prima nobis ea sit, quae et pueris semper est tradita." We infer from this that he had before him the annotations of both Donatus and Servius, and that he designed producing a work differing from theirs in scope and in method. And this difference is akin to that between *Virgils epische Technik* by Heinze, and the great annotated editions of Vergil.

Eugraphius refers to his predecessors only by indefinite pronouns, and on *Eun.* 85 he begins "quidam intelligunt," and then states and rejects the views of Donatus himself.

Some of the comments seem to be modifications of the words of Donatus, yet with this seeming dependence there are equally marked evidences of independence. He reiterates his view of the function of the prologues of Terence; has comments on many lines not touched on by Donatus; and at many points gives different definitions, e. g., on *And.* 663 *disturbat; Eun.* 231 *decrepiti; Hec.* 440 *caesius* (also on *Heaut.* 1062); *Phorm.* 746 *effutire; Ad.* 409 *lacrimo prae gaudio.*

His independence is also seen in the matter of quotations. Of the fifty-eight in Eugraphius, thirty-six are not in Donatus. The latter has all quoted by Eugraphius on the *Hecyra*, one out of twelve on the *Eunuchus*, and none of the six on the *Adelphoe.* The quotations also seem to indicate that Eugraphius was independent of Servius, who quotes from Terence in his comments on ten of the lines of Vergil quoted by Eugraphius. One is quoted on *Heaut.* 228, and seven others both by Donatus and by Eugraphius. One, quoted on *Phorm.* 44, is not found in Donatus, but as the line from Terence is quoted by Servius on G. 1,302, and by Junius Philargyius on B. 5. 74, we may assume that the line from Terence as well as the lines from Vergil were common property of interpreters. In one other place, on *Ad.* 377, Donatus and Eugraphius quote different passages from Vergil, and for different purposes. It would seem from these quotations that both Servius and Eugraphius drew from Donatus—Servius for his quotations from Terence, and Eugraphius for his parallels in Vergil.

The commentary of Donatus is a composite work, and like the work of Servius received many additions especially in matter of definitions. But these hold a very subordinate position in the comments of Eugraphius which were left comparatively untouched while the definers were occupied with the work of Donatus.

So far as the language is concerned we shall refer to only one point. On the basis of their references to archaisms the commentaries may be divided into two classes. The *Commentary* of Donatus and the *Scholia Dan.* regularly use *veteres;* Servius and Eugraphius, though the occurrences in the latter are but few, *antiqui.* While this indicates nothing as to the relation of Eugraphius to Servius, it at least shows that the *Commentary* of Donatus and the *Scholia Dan.* were produced at a time

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when the writers of old were regularly called *veteres*, and that the *Commentary* of Eugraphius, because of its rhetorical character, never came under the same influences, and as a result its integrity was fairly well maintained.

This indicates that the MSS of family β better represent the work of Eugraphius than those of family α, and the homogeneity in the language, especially the use of *adiecit*, and its synonyms, shows the validity of the conclusion.

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Life in Ancient Athens. By T. G. TUCKER. New York: Macmillan, 1906. Pp. xiii + 323. $1.25.

The present volume is the ninth in the Gardner-Kelsey series of Handbooks of Archaeology and Antiquities. It is not a book for specialists since the author advances no new theories regarding Greek life and supports none of his statements by citations. Instead of that we have an uninterrupted narrative dealing with facts about classical Athens which every younger student of ancient history should know and which the general reader will not find devoid of interest.

The book discusses briefly the general features of Athens, its inhabitants and buildings, the private life of man, woman, and child, the army and navy, religion, theater and festivals, city government, funeral customs, and Athenian art, and at the end draws some comparisons between ancient Athenian and modern life.

The author's statements of fact will for the most part be received without question. It is a misstatement, however (p. 32), that the Turks used the Parthenon as a powder magazine (see Michaelis *Der Parthenon*, p. 62); nor are we certain that the platform of the same building (p. 38) has a curving outline for optical reasons. Perhaps, as has been suggested, the stylobate is curved to allow the rain-water to run off.

The old story that the mother of Euripides was a seller of vegetables is found on p. 123. Cf. Wilamowitz *Herakles* I. 8f. for arguments against the tradition, which was emphatically denied even in antiquity.

The figure on p. 163 should be entitled "Woman with Distaff" rather than "Girl with Distaff." It seems to have been a custom for married women to appear with their hair hanging loose, as is the case here, while a girl would use the net (σφενδόνη). Space is lacking to discuss in detail this thesis, which I owe to Professor Loeschcke, but the following examples may be cited at random from a large amount of material: (*a*) figures of Hebe *passim*; (*b*) the Lapith maiden on Apollo's left in the west pediment of the Zeus temple in Olympia; (*c*) the Danaids in the

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Hades vase, Baumeister 2042A; (*d*) the newly found statue of a Niobid, *Muench. Sitzb.* 1907, II (her hair is done up in a net, whereas the well-known mother of this group has hair falling over her shoulders); (*e*) the illustration on p. 162 of the book under review, "Marriage Procession to Fetch the Bride;" (*f*) the Demeter of Knidos; (*g*) the well-known Medea vase, Baumeister 980.

The statements regarding the tragic mask should be revised as indicated by Mr. Allen in the *Classical Quarterly* for July, 1907.

The chapter on Athenian art is wholly inadequate, because it presumes some knowledge of the monuments in beginners; because it is composed so largely of negative and general phrases; and because it contains many misconceptions on the part of the author. On p. 279 we are told that "all Greek paintings of the higher kind have naturally disappeared." Now this, together with the following statements, while partially true, conveys an altogether erroneous impression of the means at hand for a knowledge of Greek painting. To be sure, practically all Greek paintings on flat surfaces from the greatest period of Greek art have disappeared but we have a large amount of Greek sculpture, which is Greek painting in the round. Their color is gone, but every relief and every statue "from the Lion Gateway to Trajan's Column" is a first-hand document for Greek painting of the highest kind quite as much as for sculpture, bearing a relation to the frescoes and easel paintings of antiquity comparable to that which the modern sketch or photograph does to the finished painting. As for the Etruscan and Pompeian paintings, the beautiful new "Denkmaeler d. Malerei" by Paul Hermann is sufficient answer to our author's charge that they are "insignificant." Vase paintings, we are told, "are either not pure Greek or do not represent the higher efforts of masters." Just why Greek vases should be said to be often not pure Greek is not apparent, unless reference is here made to the Italo-Greek vases. That they do not represent the higher efforts of masters is true in the sense that the ancients did not look upon vase painters as leaders in art. It is, however, unfair to thrust aside on such grounds the work of men like Brygos and Euphronios, who certainly have every claim to be called masters in their sphere, and whose works preserved to us elicit our unstinted admiration and teach us much about the general branch of classic painting.

That there is no symbolism about the Greek gods is a statement (p. 297) to be accepted with caution in view of the minotaurs, sphinxes, harpies, argos, nikes, etc., which are constantly recurring in Greek mythology and art. Neither are archaeologists agreed that (*ibid.*) the first objects to be carved were gods. (Cf., e. g., Furtwaengler *K. Glyptothek Katalog*, p. 47.) Finally in this connection the denying of scientific methods to the Greek artist (p. 299) is directly contrary to ancient evidence regarding the practice of at least Polykleitos and Lysippos.

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One should not infer from these criticisms that the book is not worth reading. The author has accomplished what he set out to do, that is, to write a readable account of daily life in ancient Athens, which should be free from archaisms of English style and, at the same time, be reasonably true to the facts in our possession.

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Plato: The Apology and Crito. Edited by ISAAC FLAGG. New York: American Book Co., 1907.

In his introduction Professor Flagg discusses in an interesting manner the meaning of dialectic and Socrates' employment of it. The biographies of both Socrates and Plato are relegated to the index, which is a distinctive feature of this edition. It treats with some fulness all the proper names, as well as terms and phrases pertaining to Athenian law and other antiquities, e. g., *βουλή, αἱρεῖν*, together with "certain words characteristic of Plato's mode of expression or of the simple Socratic doctrines enunciated in the dialogues," and needing further elucidation than can be afforded in footnotes. To these are added a number of words which appear in idioms or demand close and repeated observation on the part of the student, e. g., *ἀλλά, μέλλειν, μή, πάσχειν*. The articles on *δαιμόνιος, δικαστής, δίκη, εἰδέναι*, and *λόγος* are particularly full. Long quantities are indicated in the lemmata. To include, however, such words as *μοχθηρία, ποίημα, πονηρία*, where the terms are simply defined in a word, is, perhaps mistakenly, to encourage the pupil to substitute the index for his lexicon.

Grammatical references are not found in the notes and very sparingly in the index. To those on p. 188 should be added B. 569. 2.

The notes on each paragraph begin with a helpful summary of the thought in lucid and picturesque English. Professor Flagg's interpretation of *πέπεισμαι* 37A as "I am determined" (see note on 37B and index *s. v. πείθω*, end), seems questionable; cf. GMT. 685.

The typography of the volume leaves much to be desired. Besides numerous misprints, there is an excessive number of broken types, frequently so badly broken as to render the letter absolutely illegible.

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Classical Philology

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PROPERTIUS AND THE ARAE PERUSINAE

A NEW INTERPRETATION OF ELEGY I. XXI

BY A. L. FROTHINGHAM

The close and poignant connection of the boyhood of Propertius with the conflict of the Perusian War, its proscriptions and confiscations, is well-known. In II. i. 29: *eversosque focos antiquae gentis Etruscae*, the destruction of Perugia is lamented, and in I. xxii: *Si Perusina tibi patriae sunt nota sepulcra, Italiae duris funera temporibus*, etc., he points to the terrible loss of life in this civil conflict, which centered about his birthplace and from which his family suffered loss of life and property. It was brought about in 41 B. C. when the parties of Mark Antony and Octavian made use of the antagonism and discontent then rampant among both soldiers and citizens on account of the wholesale confiscations of property in Italy and its assignment to the numerous veterans discharged after Philippi.

It is in the closing episode of this struggle, the wholesale execution called by Seneca *Arae Perusinae*, that I find the theme of the obscure elegy I. xxi:

> Tu, qui consortem properas evadere casum
> Miles ab Etruscis saucius aggeribus,
> Qui nostro gemitu turgentia lumina torques
> Pars ego sum vestrae proxima militiae.
> Sic te servato, ut possint gaudere parentes,
> Ne soror acta tuis sentiat e lacrimis:

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Gallum per medios ereptum Caesaris enses
Effugere ignotas non potuisse manus:
Nec quicumque super dispersa invenerit ossa
Montibus Etruscis, haec sciat esse mea.

Postgate's translation is perhaps representative of the modern consensus as to its meaning. I shall discuss it before proposing my own.

Thou that art hasting to escape thy comrade's fate,
Soldier that comest wounded from Etruscan lines,
Who turnest at my moans thy swollen eyes
I am the nearest portion of thy army.
Guard well thyself that so thy parents may have joy
Nor let my sister gather from thy tears the deeds that have been done,
That Gallus rescued from amid the swords of Caesar
Could not escape from nameless hands,
And whosoever finds bones scattered upon Etruscan mountains
These let him know are mine.

The universally accepted interpretation has been this. The poem is put in the mouth of a certain Gallus, supposed to be a relative of the poet. He had been involved in the Perusian War, in which he fought, had escaped the swords of Octavian's soldiers, but afterward fell a victim to an attack of some banditti or brigands, presumably as he was fleeing from Perugia. The companion of his flight is a wounded soldier who is succeeding in effecting his escape from the banditti, and Gallus as he flees addresses him and asks him to conceal from his sister the sad manner of his death and to let it be known (to her?) that any bones that may be found scattered on the Etruscan hillsides are his.

A few current variants from Postgate's translation may be noticed. The substitution of *quid* for *qui* at the beginning of l. 3, helped by another meaning given to *torques*, turns it into a question: "Why dost thou turn away thy swollen eyes?" In l. 6 the *soror* like the *parentes* is sometimes taken to be the sister of the soldier, not of Gallus, who would in that case be regarded as her betrothed. That she was the betrothed of either the one or the other would not only explain his wish that she should not know the sad details of his death, but it would also explain why Gallus

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apostrophizes this particular *miles*. The *ignotas manus* of l. 8 is the foundation on which the banditti theory has been built.

As for the closing lines, in which Gallus is supposed to claim as his own any and all the bones that may be found strewn on the Etruscan hills, it seems to me that a moment's reflection on so absurd a claim would have saved Propertius from the stigma of such a sentiment. What he says is exactly the reverse, as will appear later. The only marked variant, however, from Postgate's version of these lines is due to using *quaecumque* in place of *quicumque* and referring it to Gallus' sister: "And let her know that all the bones she may find on the Tuscan hills are mine." This seems going from bad to worse. To translate *nostro gemitu* in l. 3 by *my* moans is unjustified and contrary to the poet's simple directness. The moans were those of a crowd of men, as I will show. Finally, after reading the rendering of l. 4, "I am the nearest portion of thy army," and trying in vain to understand what these words are supposed to mean, an unbiased critic may be allowed to feel that the efforts of pure philology at unraveling both text and context have been so unsuccessful, that one may be excused for approaching the subject again mainly from the historical and critical points of view.

The objections to the usual scenario of the poem are also quite evident. It had been suggested that the poem was written to be inscribed upon a cenotaph erected to Gallus, whose bones had never been found for burial. But as it is not a general apostrophe to any passer-by, but one addressed to a single wounded soldier, at a special moment, such an explanation has been recognized as impossible. Now if we accept the current interpretation that Gallus and the soldier while fleeing together were attacked by brigands, we are obliged to suppose (1) that the soldier is deserting Gallus in a cowardly manner; (2) that though companions in arms and in flight Gallus is obliged to call upon him for recognition at that moment of separation. The absurdity of this supposition is evident when we remember that as Gallus gives a message to the soldier about his sister, they must be well-known to each other, and that were the soldier leaving him to die he would hardly be speaking to him in these terms.

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But it is possible to show that, from the historical point of view, such a flight from Perugia as is here supposed was quite improbable, even impossible. Had Propertian critics informed themselves as to the circumstances of the siege of Perugia, especially as it is recounted in Appian,[1] they would hardly have offered this interpretation. Flight from the city was quite out of the question during the course of the siege. Octavian had surrounded Perusia by a continuous wall of circumvallation, about seven miles in extent, protected by a ditch 30 feet deep and of the same width, while it was strengthened by 1,500 wooden towers only 60 feet apart and by numerous redoubts. Not even a dog could have passed through. When the besieged army of Lucius Antonius, weakened by famine and decimated by fierce but futile assaults on these ramparts, had surrendered at discretion, the soldiers were allowed to come out from Perugia into the open space between the circumvallation and the walls of the Etruscan city. There a general and absolute pardon was granted by Octavian both to the veterans and to the new levies.

We must conclude that before the surrender there was for a soldier no chance and after it no need to flee from Perugia: the assumption on which the common interpretation of the elegy is based falls, therefore, to the ground.

What death scene, then, can we evoke in place of this discarded hypothesis?

Perusia surrendered early in March. While Octavian pardoned the soldiery and the mass of the inhabitants he marked many others out for execution. To all prayers for pardon his one reply, according to Suetonius, was, "You must die." He adds: "Some writers say that 300 members of the two orders (Senators and Knights), chosen from those who had surrendered, were slaughtered as sacrificial victims before an altar erected to Caesar on the Ides of March."[2] Almost these exact words are used by Cassius Dio,[3] even to the mention of the number 300, though he appears not to include the senators among them. These Senators and Knights were probably among those Romans who accompanied Lucius Antonius when he left Rome and belonged to the Republi-

[1] Appian *B. C.* v. 48. [2] Suetonius *Augustus*, § 15. [3] Cassius Dio xlviii. 14.

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can and Antonine factions; some of them personal enemies of Octavian and Caesar. Appian gives the names of some of the more prominent among them. He also says that among those condemned to death were all but one of the decurions or members of the Town Council of Perusia. As to the manner of their death Appian says nothing, but Cassius Dio confirms Suetonius, saying that they did not die an ordinary death, but that of sacrificial victims, which means that they were not only executed but that their bodies were offered up as a burnt offering to appease the manes of Caesar. It was a primitive Roman idea that human blood was grateful to the manes of the deceased, and though human sacrifices were then forbidden by law, there are other examples besides this of their virtual practice.[1]

The Ides of March came only a few days after the surrender, and it was natural to put Caesar's enemies to death on that day. It was the fourth anniversary of his assassination, but the first one on which young Octavian held the power and the opportunity to exercise vengeance. We can readily reconstruct the scene. The altar built on the slopes or on a knoll of the hillside around Perusia. Around it the prospective victims were grouped in a hollow square, their hands tied and fastened together as a chain gang, perhaps to a balustrade. Just such a scene is depicted most dramatically on the porphyry sarcophagus of the Vatican called the Tomb of Helena where the Roman cavalry are spearing the victims. There is, then, a free space around the victims, a sort of wide passage-way into which the troops told off for the execution could enter and perform their ghastly office as they passed three times around the altar.

To insure this free space a barricade of some sort was probably erected or else a living wall of soldiers. Beyond this line we can imagine the crowd of spectators, the disbanded soldiers of Lucius, the citizens, soldiers and camp-followers of Octavian, all awed or saddened, as the case might be, in anticipation of the bloody hecatomb.

We must not imagine it to have been a wild, disorderly orgy

[1] Valer. Max. ii. 4–7. In 95 B. C. human sacrifices had been interdicted by decree of the Senate. But they continued in the form of gladiatorial contests.

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of slaughter, such as had taken place not many years before, when nearly twelve thousand inhabitants of Praeneste were massacred by Sulla, after surrender, and when several thousand Marian prisoners taken at the Colline Gate were shut up in the Villa Publica at Rome and Sulla turned his soldiers loose among them.[1] On the contrary, the sacrifice at the *ara* of Caesar was invested with the sacredness of a religious rite when these men were killed *more hostiarum*, as Suetonius puts it, like the animals in the Suovetaurilia sacrifices. It may have been done in a sort of processional march as the infantry and cavalry filed past, doing homage to Caesar's manes, ending with an immense bonfire to consume the bodies, as was done in the setting fire to the great imperial funeral pyres in the *Ustrina* of the Campus Martius at Rome, which this ceremony must have closely resembled.

It was before the slaughter began, or perhaps, if we think of the *nostro gemitu* of the third line of the elegy, just during its initial stages, that our elegy is spoken. I would read it:

Oh, soldier who, hastening from a fate like mine
Art come, wounded, from the Etruscan ramparts
At our moans[2] why turn away thy swollen eyes?
I myself stood close beside your soldiery.
May'st thou be saved, provided thou mak'st my parents rejoice;
And dost not let my sister gather from thy tears the deeds that have been done:
How Gallus, after being saved from Caesar's swords,
Could not escape these unknown hands;
And let no one, finding bones scattered on these Etruscan hills,
Believe that they are mine.[3]

We must think of the soldier as one of the disbanded levies of Lucius Antonius, somewhat recovered from his wounds, who is about to return to his home and as he passes stands among the spectators of this scene, gazing across the vacant space at the

[1] Livy lxxxviii; Appian *B. C.* i. 93, 94.

[2] If a suggestion of Professor Shorey that *nostro gemitu* might mean "with groans for me" were adopted, the line might read:

Who, with groans for me, turned away thy swollen eyes.

[3] I am indebted to Professor Shorey and Professor Abbott for several suggestions embodied in the translation, especially of the fifth and last lines

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groups of victims around the altar. Among these was Gallus, but the soldier has not yet seen him; so Gallus calls to him, and the first part is devoted to the apostrophe and claim for recognition. The reason for the use of *nostro gemitu* is now plain, as well as the grief in the soldier's swollen eyes.

But Gallus himself was not a soldier or he would have been pardoned: that is what we may conclude from l. 4, which indicates that he was a sympathetic citizen but not actually a member of the army, though he may have taken part in the fighting. He may have been one of the *decurions* of Perusia. To this we have no clue.

In the second part of the elegy Gallus congratulates his friend on his safe return and asks him to conceal from his parents and from his sister—perhaps the soldier's betrothed—the fact that he was not killed in the fighting, but met death in this gruesome fashion at the hands of unknown executioners, and that his bones mingled with those of all the other victims scattered around the altar could never be distinguished for the rites of burial. In these last lines the *nec* supplies the negative which gives the proper meaning to the sentence, the opposite to that which has always been attributed to it. Unless we presuppose this hecatomb of the *arae Perusinae* and this mass of unrecognizable burned remains, to be covered soon after, perhaps, by a common mound of earth, we can get no adequate meaning to this climax of the elegy.

With the circumstances and scenario I suggest the elegy becomes a powerful bit of repressed but dramatic expression. Every detail falls into place; every obscure expression is clarified. The demands of both linguistics and common-sense are not only satisfied, but our aesthetic faculty is pleased.

I am, of course, aware of the objections that can be urged against the mere reality of the sacrificial scene of the *arae Perusinae*. Some modern critics doubt that it ever happened. They cannot deny the fact of the executions, for this is too strongly certified by classic texts: they balk, apparently, at the sacrificial form of them. But what of the Greeks and Gauls as well as others sacrificed in the Forum Boarium?[1] What of the two legionaries

[1] Livy xxii. 57; Pliny *N. H.* xxviii. 3.

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of Caesar sacrificed to Mars in the Campus Martius?[1] What of the killing of the British prisoners at the games and ceremonies in honor of the British triumph of Claudius?[2] What of the 2,500 Jewish prisoners put to death at Paneas by Titus in honor of Domitian's birthday, and the still greater number at Berytus a few days later, in honor of the birthday of Vespasian?[3]

That the Perusian executions were bloody is shown by the very passage in which Seneca praises Augustus for his later clemency,[4] for he brackets them with the two other bloodiest episodes of the civil war for which he was responsible, the battle of Actium and the destruction of Sextus Pompey's fleet. As to the sacrificial form given to the execution, the sarcophagus of Helena to which I have alluded, is sufficient proof that it continued to be practiced in the form I have supposed, for some two centuries longer, until the age of the Antonines.[5]

If this interpretation of the elegy is correct, we have in it for the first time contemporary evidence as to the *arae perusinae*. That of Seneca was almost a century later than the event; that of Suetonius, about a century and a half; that of Dio, over two centuries and a half, though based upon earlier authorities as they all were. This gives the elegy far more than poetic value. That the poet was guarded in his reference to this catastrophe in which his relative perished, was of course a political necessity. He lived under Augustus, and if he had no occasion to fear for his life through an accusation of *lèse-majesté*, as would have been the case under Nero, Domitian, *et al.*, any impolitic reference to this early Augustan act of cruelty would have made him a *persona non grata* among his Roman patrons.[6]

PRINCETON
March, 1909

[1] Cassius Dio xliii. 24. [2] Cassius Dio lx. 30. [3] Josephus *Bell. Iud.* vii. 3. 1.

[4] Seneca *De clem.* i. 11. 1: "fuerit [Augustus] moderatus et clemens nempe post mare Actiacum romano cruore infectum, nempe post fractas in Sicilia classes et suas et alienas, nempe post Perusinas aras et proscriptiones."

[5] See my paper on "The Sarcophagus of the Empress Helena," read in January, 1909, at Toronto, at the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute. In it I explained for the first time the subjects of its reliefs and the real date of the sarcophagus.

[6] The various texts referring to the Perusian execution with critical commentary can be found in Groebe's appendix to Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*[2] I, pp. 474 ff., as a commentary to Drumann's, p. 300.

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THE MEANINGS OF ΚΥΤΟΣ

By James Turney Allen

Since the days of Crastenus and of Henri Estienne the tradition has continued apparently unbroken that κύτος signifies, in the first instance, "hollow," hence, "any hollow object." "Omne id quod cavum est, cavitas," etc., says the *Thesaurus;* "Höhlung, Hohlraum," repeat Schneider, Passow, and their more recent successors; "(1) hollow; (2) urn, vase, etc.; (3) anything that contains or covers," say Liddell and Scott.[1] Yet in spite of this uniformity, a review of the history of the word points unmistakably to quite another meaning as the original or fundamental signification.

In the first place, an examination reveals the fact that the "omne" of the *Thesaurus* and other definitions is entirely too broad. Instead, κύτος is a word of restricted application. It is never used of any object of an irregular or angular shape, such as a cave, grave, chest, or room, as κοῖλος repeatedly is, but only of objects having a curved or rounded contour (see below). And the reason for this is made plain by a consideration of, secondly, its etymological connections. For whatever may be its ultimate relation to κοῖλος, *cavus*, etc. (see Prellwitz, *s. v.* κυέω), κύτος apparently is most closely related to the group of words which contains most prominently κυεῖν, κύος, and κύημα, κῦμα, all of which contain the notion of "swelling, bulging." To these Prellwitz adds, more or less doubtfully, κύαμος, κῦδος, κῦρος, and others. Cf. Skr. *çvā*, *çū*, "to swell, grow large by swelling." κύτος, then, should signify "bulge," "bulging, swelling object."

The correctness of this conclusion is verified by, thirdly, those passages which resist satisfactory interpretation on any other assumption. The earliest of these is found in the description of the shield of Hippomedon, Aeschylus *Septem* 495 f.:

[1] Cf. Ast. *Lex. Plat.*: "pr. quod aliquid continet et complectitur;" Ellendt-Genthe *Lex. Soph.*: "quidquid capax est et rebus continendis;" Pape *Gr. Wörterb.*: "übl. was Etwas in sich fasst, aufnimmt (κύω), Höhlung, Raum, Wölbung."

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ὄφεων δὲ πλεκτάναισι περίδρομον κύτος
προσηδάφισται κοιλογάστορος κύκλου.

"The bulging convexity of the hollow-bellied orb [is] enwreathed by serpents [and] serves [*ὑπέστρωται*, Schol.], is, as it were, attached [*προσ-* cf. *προσμεμηχανημένην*, 541, also 643] as a foundation or base thereto."

The notion that *κύτος* = *κοιλότης* (Ahrens)—"Both *κύτος* and *κοιλογάστωρ* strictly express concavity, as if the shield was thought of from the point of view of the bearer" (Flagg *Ed. Sept. ad. loc.*)—introduces redundancy and confusion into the passage. Dindorf's rendering *clypeus* leads to results no less unsatisfactory. Verrall's interpretation: "a frame (*κύτος*) surrounding a circle hollow-within," etc., rests upon a misunderstanding of the scholium, *κύτος· τὸ χώρημα τῆς ἀσπίδος*, and is certainly impossible. *κύτος* cannot mean "frame," "rim."[1]

Another passage apparently hitherto overlooked, is found in Hegesias (frag. 3 [Mueller]), quoted by Dionysius Halic. *De comp. verb.* 18. 126, in the description of the siege of Gaza by Alexander the Great:

τὸν μέντοι Βαΐτιν αὐτὸν ἀνήγαγον ζῶντα Λεόνατος καὶ Φιλωτᾶς. ἰδὼν δὲ πολύσαρκον καὶ μέγαν . . . . ἐκέλευσεν (sc. Ἀλέξ.) *διὰ τῶν ποδῶν χαλκοῦν ψάλιον διείραντας ἕλκειν κύκλῳ γυμνόν. Πιλούμενος δὲ κακοῖς περὶ πολλὰς τραχύτητας ἔκραζεν. . . . . τὸ δὲ στόμα καὶ τὸ κύτος τῆς σαρκὸς* (so F; *γαστρός* PMP) *ὑπέφαινε Βαβυλώνιον ζῷον ἕτερον ἀδρόν.*

The meaning of this is unmistakable, in spite of Reiske's (*Ed. Dion. Hal.*): "ipso autem abdomine et ventris cavitate." *κύτος* here signifies "roundness," "fulness," "bulge;" and this is evidently its original signification. The meaning "swell" does not develop from the meaning "hollow," whereas the reverse order is both natural and undeniable. A close modern parallel is the English "belly" (liter. "inflated" or "swollen thing," from *belgan*, *balg*, "be inflated, swell") with its several meanings "swelling," "bag," "husk," "trunk" (of the body), "abdomen," "cavity," "interior," etc. Another, though less extensive parallel is found in "bowl" (rt. **bŭl*, "swell, be swollen"). The latter is

[1]Some assume a lacuna either before or between the two verses quoted above. Wecklein (Weck. Zomar.) quite gratuitously suggests a loss of five lines. The lacuna, if there be one, need not involve more than a single verse. In any case the meaning of *κύτος* is certain.

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the meaning of κύτος in Aesch. *Agam.* 322: ὄξος τ' ἄλειφά τ' ἔγχεας ταὐτῷ κύτει, and the same meaning recurs whenever the word is used of an urn (Soph. *El.* 1142), pot (Antiph. *ap.* Athen. 449D), tripod (Alcman, frag. 33), basket (Eurip. *Ion.* 39), shield (Eurip., frag. 21), etc. κύτος νεώς is the "bulge," "bilge," "belly," of a ship (not strictly, "hold"). Cf. "bilge" (of a cask) and "bouge," the bilge or swelling part of a cask, hence (Eng. dial.) "cask." Bulge, bilge, and bouge, and also bag are from the same root as belly and bowl. Taken together these words repeat the history of κύτος.

Lastly, the derived meanings of the word point to the same conclusion. Some of these are given by Hesychius, as follows: σῶμα, ὄγκος, χώρημα, βάθος. In scholia one meets occasionally also with πλάτος (e. g., *ad Septem* 495) and κοίλωμα (e. g. *ad LXX, Ps.* 65:8; see below). Hesych. also has κύτη· μεγέθη; cf. Theodoretus *Therap.* 41:3 (Gaisf. 112): ὅταν γὰρ ἴδωμεν τῶν οὐρανῶν τὰ κύτη καὶ τῆς γῆς τὸ εὖρος καὶ τῶν πελαγῶν τὰ μεγέθη, κ. τ. λ. To these one should add such meanings as "sac," "shell" (cf. "bag," above), as of the womb, Philoponus *In libr. de gener. animal.*, Comm. ii. 4 (Hayduck, p. 97): τὸ κ. τῶν ὑστερῶν; Aristophanes *Hist. animal.*, *Epitome* ii. 30: τὸ ὅλον κύτος, contrasted with ὁ τράχηλος τῆς μήτρας; of a spider's cocoon, Arist. *Hist. animal.* v. 27 (555*b*): ἐν κύτει στρογγύλῳ; of the shell of the Cephalopoda, Arist. *De part. animal.* iv. 9. 1: ἐκτὸς δ' ἔχει τό τε τοῦ σώματος κύτος, ἀδιόριστον ὄν, κ. τ. λ.;[1] cf. *ibid.* iv. 9. 4. One may compare A.-S. *bean-belgas*, "husks or shells of beans," Dan. *bælg*, "shell, belly." A similar meaning is found in such passages as Plato *Tim.* 44A: τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἅπαν κύτος, i. e., the body; cf. 44B: ὅταν [ψυχὴ] εἰς σῶμα ἐνδεθῇ θνητόν; cf. Germ. *Magensack.*

All of these significations develop naturally from the idea "swell;" while several of them (as σῶμα, ὄγκος, μέγεθος) cannot

[1] Bishop Taylor absurdly translates: "have that cavity [the belly] externally situated." One is reminded of the good bishop's rendering of Paus. v. 11. 8: ταῖς δὲ ἔστιν εἰρημένα ἐφ' ἡμιόνου τὴν θεὸν [sc. Σελήνην] ὀχεῖσθαι καὶ οὐχ ἵππου, καὶ λόγον γέ τινα ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμιόνῳ λέγουσιν εὐήθη—"and some say she was riding on a stupid mule"! But his labors were sufficiently abused even in his own lifetime, as he himself testifies (Pref. to trans. of Paus., 1824), and lest his shade rise to "intimidate such literary bullies" and "expose their malevolence in a copious appendix," *requiescat in pace!*

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be explained otherwise.[1] The traditional view fails utterly to account for them. A clear case is found in Dan. 4:8 (11), in the description of the tree which the prophet saw in his dream: *καὶ ἡ ὅρασις αὐτοῦ μεγάλη, ἡ κορυφὴ αὐτοῦ ἤγγιζεν ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὸ κύτος αὐτοῦ ἕως τῶν νεφελῶν, πληροῦν τὰ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.* This is the LXX version. The text of Theodotion reads: *καὶ τὸ κύτος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ πέρας ἁπάσης τῆς γῆς.* In vs. 19 (22) the LXX has *καὶ τὸ κύτος αὐτοῦ ἅψασθαι τῶν νεφελῶν* (Theod., *εἰς πάσαν τὴν γῆν*). What word in the original Aramaic *κύτος* here represents or was supposed by the ancient translators to represent remains still undetermined,[2] but so much at least is clear: it is innocent of any suggestion of "hollowness." Another instructive example occurs in Arist. *De part. animal.* iv. 9. 7, of the Cephalapoda:

πόδας μὲν οὖν πάντα ἔχουσι ταῦτα ὀκτώ, ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν σηπίαι καὶ αἱ τευθίδες βραχεῖς, τὰ δὲ πολυποδώδη μεγάλους· τὸ γὰρ κύτος τοῦ σώματος ["mass," "bulk," wrongly translated by Ogle, "the body with its sac"[3]] *αἱ μὲν μέγα ἔχουσιν, οἱ δὲ μικρόν, ὥστε τοῖς μὲν ἀφεῖλεν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, πρὸς δὲ τὸ μῆκος τῶν ποδῶν προσέθηκεν ἡ φύσις, ταῖς δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν λαβοῦσα τὸ σῶμα ἤὐξησεν. διόπερ τοῖς μὲν οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὸ νεῖν χρήσιμοι οἱ πόδες ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ βαδίζειν, ταῖς δὲ ἄχρηστοι· μικροὶ γάρ· τὸ δὲ κύτος* [(bulk of) body] *μέγα ἔχουσιν.*

This meaning, "trunk of body," "body," developed early (Soph. *Trach.* 12, *ἀνδρείῳ κύτει*), and plainly from the idea "bulge" rather than that of "hollow." Thus the meaning "cavity" is quite out of the question in Plat. *Tim.* 45A: *διὸ πρῶτον μὲν περὶ τὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς κύτος, ὑποθέντες αὐτόσε τὸ πρόσωπον,* and is not necessary in *ibid.* 69E: *διοικοδομοῦσι τὸ τοῦ θώρακος αὖ κύτος* ("the cavity of the thorax," Jowett, questionably; "i. e., the chest," L. and S., wrongly) with which one should compare Arist. *De animal. hist.* i. 7 (491*a*. 29):

τῶν μερῶν εἰς ἃ διαιρεῖται τὸ σῶμα τὸ σύνολον, κεφαλή, αὐχήν, θώραξ, βραχίονες δύο, σκέλη δύο. τὸ ἀπ' αὐχένος μέχρι αἰδοίων κύτος, ὃ καλεῖται θώραξ [cf. *De*

[1] The connection of English "bulk" with *belgan*, "swell" (Fick, Skeat) appears to be doubtful (see Murray).

[2] The Aramaic is חֲזוֹהִי, "the sight thereof." Cf. Vulg. "aspectus illius," etc. This is reproduced in *ἡ ὅρασις κ. τ. λ.* Ewald *Prophets of O. T.*, Vol. V (Eng. trans.), p. 316, assumes that חזוה = "breadth," and suggests a connection with Hebr. חָזֶה, "breast." This appears to be questionable. See Bevan *Comm. on Daniel* (1892).

[3] Arist. *The Parts of Animals*, trans. by W. Ogle (London, 1882).

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part. animal. iv. 10 (686*b*. 5): *θώραξ, ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς μέχρι τῆς ἐξόδου τοῦ περιττώματος*],

and *idem. De part. an.* iv. 13 (695*b*. 5):

οὔτε γὰρ σκέλη οὔτε χεῖρας οὔτε πτέρυγας ἔχουσιν [sc. *οἱ ἰχθύες*], *ἀλλ' ὅλον ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ κύτος συνεχές ἐστι μέχρι τῆς οὐρᾶς.*

Contrast with this *κοιλία* in, e. g., *idem De anim. hist.* i. 17: *ἡ δὲ καρδία ἔχει μὲν τρεῖς κοιλίας.*[1] The same is true also of *τὸ σύμπαν τῆς πόλεως κύτος* (Polyb. v. 29. 8), and of *τῶν οὐρανῶν τὰ κύτη* ("expanses") quoted above. Compare, further, Synesius *De insomniis* 143C (Mig. *Gr.* 66. 1297): *πόσας δὲ οἶει μεταξὺ χώρας ἐν τῷ κύτει τοῦ κόσμου* (Petavius, "in *concavo* . . . . spatio;" needlessly) *ἑτεροφαεῖς τε καὶ ἑτεροκνεφεῖς, ἐν αἷς ἁπάσαις δίαιταν ἔχει ψυχή, κ. τ. λ.* Josephus *Ant. J.* viii. 4. 3, from a prayer of Solomon: *Σοὶ μὲν γὰρ μικρὸν οἰκητήριον καὶ τὸ πᾶν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τοῦτον ὄντων κύτος* ("reach," "extent") *κ. τ. λ.*, and, absolutely, Synesius, Hymn IV (338A; Mig. *Gr.* 66. 1606): *Σοὶ μὲν ἀγήρως | ἄπονον τροχιὰν | σφαῖρα κυλίνδει· | ὑπὸ σὰν τάξιν | κύτεος μεγάλου | βριαραῖς δίναις | ἑβδομὰς ἄστρων | ἀντιχορεύει*; also Iamblichus (quoted by Simplicius *In Arist. categ. comm.* v [Kalbfleisch, p. 117]): *προωθεῖ γὰρ καὶ προκυλίνδει τρόπον τινὰ δι' ἑαυτῆς τὸ σύμπαν κύτος* (i. e., *ὁ οὐρανός*) *κ. τ. λ.*

As in the case of "belly," however, the transition to the interior is easily effected, and the meaning "hollow," "cavity," emerges, as in Arist. *De part. animal.* iv. 5. 28: *ἢ πᾶν ἂν κατεῖχε τὸ κύτος* (sc. *ἡ κοιλία* [the stomach]), "would fill the whole cavity" (Ogle) of the spheroid body of the Echinus. The additional connotation, "size," "capacity," appears in Alciphron iii. 7 (Schepers III. 4): *οἷα γὰρ οἷα οἱ λακκόπλουτοι εἰργάσαντό με ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν περιττὰ πίνειν καὶ πλείω ἢ κατὰ τὸ κύτος τῆς γαστρὸς ἐσθίειν ἀναγκάζοντες.* A passage of more than ordinary interest is LXX, Ps. 65:8: *ὁ συνταράσσων τὸ κύτος* (*v. l. ὕδωρ*) *τῆς θαλάσσης*, where the Hebrew text has שְׁאוֹן, "sheon"=

[1] How misleading the current tradition is, is well illustrated by the comment of Hecker on *Anthol.* VI. 305. 3: *κυτογάστορας ἐψητῆρας* (codd. *κυάστορας, κυογάστορας*, Salmasius, text Toupius). Hecker comments, "at quum *κύτος γαστρός* ventrem cavum indicet, apertum est epitheton *κυτογάστορας* nisi plane ineptum, certe valde otiosum esse, quum nemo ignoret ventrem aheni cavum esse. Ideo malui *βουγάστορας*," etc. This conj. is adopted by Deubner *Anthol. Pal.*

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"booming." Evidently the translators mistook this for שְׁאוֹל, "Sheol"[1] = "hollow place," hence κύτος (schol. κοίλωμα, βάθος).

Recasting the definitions of κύτος, then, in accordance with the preceding discussion, they should read somewhat as follows:

κύτος, τὸ (chiefly poetic: frequent also in scientific and in late prose).

A. Properly, "bulge," "swell," hence

B. Used of objects with a bulging or rounded contour. This develops in two ways:

1) with reference to the mass of the object:
   a) body, bulk, mass.
   b) magnitude, extent.

2) with reference to the object as a containing object:
   a) bag, sac, etc.
   b) hollow, cavity.
   c) capacity.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
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[1] For this illuminating suggestion I am indebted to Professor William F. Badé, of the Pacific Theological Seminary, Berkeley. It should be noted that ὁ συντρίψων does not represent the reading of the best Hebrew texts; see Cheyne *Book of Psalms*, Vol. I, p. 276.

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EARLY MEDIAEVAL COMMENTARIES ON TERENCE

By E. K. Rand

In 1893, Friedrich Schlee published what he called a despised and neglected set of scholia on Terence.[1] The manuscripts from which he excerpted them were with one exception familiar sources of the text of Terence: D (= Laurent. XXXVIII, 24), G (= Vatican. 1640), E (= Ricard. M $\frac{IV}{XXX}$ 528), C (= Vatican. 3868). In these manuscripts the scholia are written in the margins or between the lines. Schlee colated besides a Munich manuscript of the eleventh century (CLM 14420 = M) in which the scholia do not accompany the text of Terence but, with the appropriate lemmata, form an independent commentary. Schlee's reason for bringing to light these tolerably unedifying contributions to the interpretation of Terence was that though the work as a whole was put together in the barbaric Middle Ages, the greater part of it, he believed, descended from antiquity,[2] being connected with that ancient and important branch of the tradition represented by MSS D and A. The work was intended, he conjectured, as a school textbook, and as such had its place, seeing that the commentary of Donatus was far too elaborate for such a purpose.

In publishing the scholia, Schlee proposed to winnow out their ancient portions, leaving the mediaeval chaff behind. "Recentiora scholia," he remarks (p. 48), "quae quidem certo cognosci possent omisi omnia; si tamen pauca in tanta multitudine lateant, nemo id non excusabit." Accordingly, he divides the scholia into three classes:

I. Quotations, or amplifications, from Servius and Priscian, from Donatus and Eugraphius, from Festus, Porphyrion, Isidore, and other authors. To these he gives the first place, because

[1] *Scholia Terentiana praef.*, p. v: "quia vilia ab omnibus putabantur, neglecta adhuc iacuerunt;" p. 49: "primus hunc agrum patefeci, in quo nemo adhuc opus fecit, quia messis parum fructuosa videbatur."

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 50; "Sint sane aliquot recentioris aetatis, maior certe pars antiqua habenda est."

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they are most obviously ancient in character. The number of such quotations varies in the different manuscripts. If we assume an original commentary in which some of them appeared, others must have been added sporadically in later copies.

II. A *Commentarius antiquior*, consisting of brief explanations, numerous and minute. "Incredibile . . . . dictu est," remarks Schlee (p. 42), "quot verba, quot sententiae scholiastis interpretatione digna visa sint." These comments were originally headed by a life of Terence, he shows, and are themselves threefold in character (p. 43): "aut verba explicant aut sententias circumeunt aut ad res pertinent." The last of these are few in number and not of much value, though the worst of them, he believes, are to be attributed not to the scholiast but to the scribe. The Latin of these comments Schlee sets in an extremely late period—"postremae Latinitatis" (p. 44). As sources he mentions the Bembine scholia, Donatus, Eugraphius, Festus, Isidore, and others. Schlee believes that the scholia should be attributed to no one author; they "grew up" about the text of Terence. But the brief explanations which head the different scenes show a marked unity, and are attributed by Schlee to a single commentator, who wrote before the ninth century (p. 48). Wölfflin examined the Latinity of the prefatory explanations and sought to prove that they were written before the end of the empire and contained, furthermore, no peculiarities observable in Christian writers. Moreover, by emending what looks like a title on the first page of G, reported by Schlee as COMMENTARII OOPEIVS, he discovered the author in the grammarian POMPEIVS of the fifth century.[1] But as Dziatzko clearly made out this title to be simply COMMENTATIO OPERIS there are no further reasons for associating Pompeius with this work.[2]

III. A *Commentarius recentior*, consisting of comments similar to those described under II, which include, however, longer prefatory explanations and pay more attention to the development of

[1] *Archiv. f. lat. lex.* VIII (1893), 413 ff.

[2] *Jahrbücher für Philol.* XL (1894), p. 477. I am able to verify Dziatzko's statement from a graffiné facsimile of G (the *Andria*) in the possession of the Classical Department of Harvard College.

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the plot than to the exegesis of words. Such comments appear in the later folios of D and E, and come, Schlee believes, from some complete commentary of the eleventh century or later, of which various MSS in Rome, Munich, and Paris give evidence.

To turn first to the *Commentarius antiquior:* Everyone will agree, I am convinced, with Schlee and Wölfflin, that the prefatory explanations are by one author. If so, though it is conceivable that the original work consisted merely of scene introductions, it is more probable that with due allowance for accretions, the bulk of the scholia belongs to the same author. The presence of substantially the same commentary in five or more MSS—for Schlee's list, as we shall see, may be enlarged—hardly argues for a piecemeal origin. Wöfflin's stylistic analyses, too, indicate a unity in the body of the work, and though he distinguishes an original pagan part and a Christian intermixture, one might understand how a later Christian writer could compose simple explanations for scenes in Terence without introducing phraseology peculiarly Christian. Schlee himself pointed to a clear connection between one of the longer comments and the introductory *vita* (pp. 43, 94); scholia and *vita*, so far as this one instance can show, are of a piece.[1]

There is nothing, in short, in the arguments thus far alleged to discredit the supposition of a complete commentary on Terence, composed by a Christian author, containing a preface, with a life of Terence, an introduction to the plays and the scenes, comments long and short on words and subject-matter. Further, as Schlee has pointed to the influence of Donatus, Paulus, Festus, Isidore, Eugraphius, and others, it is likely that some at least of the authors mentioned in Class I were used for the original work. Dziatzko, in his review of Schlee,[2] speaks of the *Com. ant.* and *Rec.* as "aus sehr verschiedenartigen und -wertigen Bestandtheilen zusammengesetzte Kommentare mit einer gewissen einheitlichen Redaktion." As for the date of the *Com. ant.*, the notes borrowed or adapted from Paul the Deacon's revision of Festus are signifi-

[1] Dziatzko *Jahrb. f. Philol.*, p. 475, states that the comment in question is not in M, and presumably only in D. But see below, pp. 362, 369.

[2] *Deutsche Litteraturztg.* (1894), p. 432.

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cant,[1] in case they are an integral part of the commentary, which therefore could not have been put together before the last part of the eighth century. As I show below (pp. 373 f.), however, it is not safe to appeal to the evidence of these glosses.

But waiving this last point we have evidence enough in the character of many of the comments that the work is of mediaeval origin. Schlee admits that in the process of excerpting, he may have allowed a few later bits to creep in; he certainly rejected much, for Dziatzko informs us[2] that hardly a third of the material in M is retained for *Com. ant.* But how Schlee could include the following entries as evidence of antiquity is past comprehension.

Eun. Didasc. (Schlee, p. 94): "Quod Menander primum composuerat fabulam Eunuchi in graeco sermone, deinde vero Terentius in latino sermone, iam dictum est et quod eius recitator fuit Calliopius." The scholiast imagines Calliopius a contemporary of Terence who recited his plays. It is Calliopius who pronounces the final "Plaudite," while "recensui" of the subscription is but another way of saying "recitavi" (Schlee, p. 94). Calliopius, too, delivers the prologues of the *Hautontimoroumenos* (p. 113) and of the *Hecyra* (p. 140); both passages inform us that Terence's faithful reciter was getting old. The *Com. rec.* (p. 165) has the same conception of Calliopius. Seeing that the successful playwright needs three supports, a corrector, a reciter, a defender, Terence has them all, viz., "Laelium . . . . correctorem," "Calliopium declamatorem," "Scipionem defensorem." Such blunders seem an impossibility for the age of Donatus or any period in the later Empire, but they are eminently characteristic of the scholarship of the early Middle Ages.

Another curiosity may be found in the comment on the Didascalia of the *Eunuchus* (Schlee, p. 94): "*Claudi tibiis duabus dextris*] quasi tympanum, genus musicum, dictum eo, quod unam alteri breviorem habeat fistulam ad similitudinem claudi. dextris dicit eo, quod tibiae avium, gruium videlicet, et ceterarum dextrae aptiores loco fistularum habentur et meliores." That Flaccus accompanied Terence's plays on a Pan's pipe, which was

[1] Schlee, pp. 44, 76, and Wölfflin *op. cit.*, p. 414.

[2] *Jahrb., loc. cit.*, p. 469.

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named from its appearance "the limping instrument," and which further was known as a "tympanum," strikes me as information not vouchsafed to antiquity. Nor had Aristoxenus known that the right shin-bone of the crane was preferred for a "tibia dextra."

I will rest this part of my case on these influences, to which various additions will be made in the subsequent argument. We may well wonder what the remaining two-thirds of M contain if such comments as the above impressed Schlee as ancient, or, even, could inadvertently be included by him.

Thus far I have argued in a general way that the *Commentarius antiquior* is a unit. At least it cannot be derived merely from an ancient set of scene explanations plus random accretions. Further analysis, however, reveals a distinctly twofold structure, though of an entirely different nature from that imagined by Wölfflin and Schlee.[1] The twofold nature of the following comments will be obvious at a glance:[2]

Eun. 2. 3. 38 (Schlee, p. 101): "infeliciter] plus est infelicitatis malum quam incommoditatis."—C G Br.

"ista vero infelicitas est, quod mihi evenit, non incommodum malum."—D M.

Phorm. 5. 1. 7 (Schlee, p. 137): "in tuto foret] in securo esset, ne fame periclitaretur."—C G E F Br.

"Ne meretricio operi serviret."—D M.

Ad. Prol. 1 (Schlee, p. 149) "Postquam poeta] more suo in prologo malevolis respondit poetis, qui eius scripturam reprehendere nitebantur, et loquitur de se quasi de alio."—C E F (partly) Br.

"quod in aliis prologis executus est, hoc etiam in isto, ut scilicet perfidis respondere posset."—D M.

Ibid. 2. 2. 31: "labascit] victus est."—C G F Br.; "iam deficit animo."—D M.

Ibid. 4. 4. 18: "efferri] publicari."—F Br.; ("publicare?")—C G; "palam fieri."—D M.

Ibid. 4. 7. 21: "tesseris] locus tabularum aleae.—C G E F Br.; "tabulis.—D M.

[1] This fact has also been noted by Wessner *Bursians Jahresbericht* CXIII (1902), p. 189. See below, p. 368.

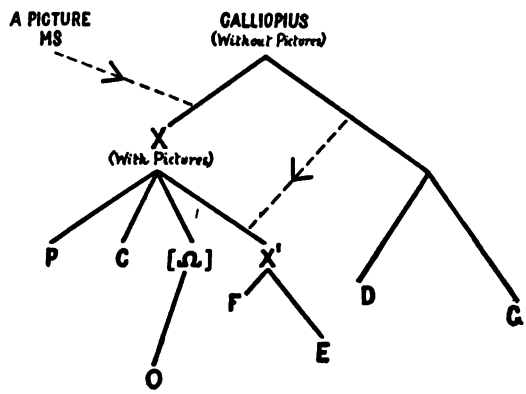
[2] I cite besides Schlee's MSS, the Halensis of Bruns (Br.) and the Ambrosianus (F). See below, pp. 364 ff.

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Ibid. 3. 2: Here we have variant scene explanations, which I will not take the space to quote. Neither version is of a Latinity so strict that one would attribute it to a pagan of the empire rather than to a Christian of the Middle Ages.

It will be noticed in the above illustrations that C G E (with F and Br.) agree in presenting one version, D and M the other. Some twenty instances of this phenomenon occur in Schlee's edition, and in about seventy instances, D and M agree in a comment which appears in only one, and generally in none, of the other manuscripts. All the manuscripts, doubtless, have suffered from accretions, and both D and M seem conflated here and there. Accordingly, to separate the two commentaries, we need full and exact reports of the MSS already treated. Schlee is purposely incomplete, and not always accurate, as Professor Minton Warren showed in his supplementary edition of the *Phormio* glosses in C.[1] Yet even with the material published by Schlee it is possible to distinguish the two works, and to point out their different characteristics.

Before attempting this task, I may call attention to one or two other sources of information with which we may reckon at once. The scholia in the Ambrosianus (F) had been made accessible in



part by Angelo Mai,[2] a work to which Schlee refers (p. 38), but now every scholar may read them for himself, in the facsimile

[1] *Harvard Studies in Class. Phil.* XII (1901), pp. 125 ff.

[2] *M. Accii Plauti fragmenta inedita, item ad P. Terentium commentationes* (Milan, 1815).

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reproduction of F.[1] They are pretty clearly, like the text, in a late ninth- or early tenth-century hand, and thus give us an earlier source than any other MS save C. Moreover, seeing that F and E are doubtless members of the same branch of the tradition,[2] and that E, a fairly late MS, has suffered extensively from accretions,[3] F should help to establish the original condition of the scholia on the E F branch.

Two other sources of information were at Schlee's disposal. Geppert[4] in 1852 published several mediaeval *vitae* of Terence, with the prose arguments for the different plays; the value of this material will be apparent later on.[5] More important still is the edition of Terence by Paul Jacob Bruns, in 1811, in which, to quote his title-page, "textum ad fidem codicis Halensis antiquissimi criticis nondum cogniti edidit . . . . scholia a vulgatis diversa ex eodem codice descripsit." This work, ignored by Mai in his publication of the F scholia in 1815, seems to have escaped the attention of more recent scholars as well—possibly because of that suspicious phrase "ad fidem codicis antiquissimi." Umpfenbach cites a reading or two from Halensis,[6] and Dziatzko[7] refers to the life of Terence edited from the MS by Bruns. No one, to my knowledge, has called attention to the remarkable character of the work, which is not a text of Terence, revised here and there with the help of the Halensis,[8] but is an almost exact reproduction of the manuscript itself. Bruns remarks in his preface (I, p. xxiii): "Codicis textum deserere mihi religioni fuit, et fortasse erunt qui mihi vitio vertant, quod non talia menda, qualia occurrunt pag. 72 v. 24 *queret* pro *quaeret* . . . . *miserae* pro *misere*

[1] In the De Vries-Sijthoff series of facsimiles, Leiden, 1903, with preface by E. Bethe.

[2] Bethe (p. 49) believes that three illustrated MSS were brought to France, and that the history of the illustrations in the MSS has no connection with that of their text. I find nothing, however, in the valuable material amassed by him to discredit the stemma on p. 364, which, I believe, would coincide with Leo's views (*Götting. Gelehrt. Anzeig.* 1903, pp. 997 ff.).

[3] E. g., various notes from Donatus. See Schlee, p. 69.

[4] "Zur Geschichte der terentianischen Textkritik" in *Jahrb.*, Supplementband XVIII (1852), pp. 32 ff.

[5] See below, pp. 380 ff.

[6] E. g., for the line following *Eun.* 5. 6. 9. [7] *Op. cit.*, p. 472.

[8] As Geppert apparently imagined, *op. cit.*, p. 29: "wie im codex Halensis, den Bruns *verglich*."

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. . . . *in animo* pro *animo* . . . . una cum aliis paucis a me revera sublatis expunxerim. Sed accurate codicem repraesentare volui in hac editione."

In the present state of Terentian criticism, these words need no apology. The editor had made accessible, with very few corrections, a not unimportant MS of Terence of the mixed class. Its text is decidedly nearer to γ than E is, while it contains the *Andria*, the first part of the *Eunuchus*, and the end of the *Phormio*, which portions are lacking in F.[1]

For our present purpose the Halensis is important in that Bruns edited with the text its scholia too.[2] Moreover, he edited them after the only proper method. Schlee's attempt to sift ancient from mediaeval material proved, as we have seen, both disastrous and futile. As a complete edition of the scholia is at present impossible, next best is a complete edition of an important source. The publication of everything in M, with all its monstrosities and superfluities, would have been of vastly more service to scholarship than illustrative selections compiled, in some cases inaccurately, from various MSS.[3] For the scholia, apart from their pedagogical value, have importance not only as portraying the culture of the time in which they were written[4] but as contributing further material for the criticism of Terence's text. Thus it is plain that the D G and F E branches have suffered from the incorporation of these very glosses. Schlee is aware of this point, but his list of instances (p. 35) needs revision. More-

[1] I am indebted for this estimate of the text of the Halensis to Mr. R. H. Webb of the Harvard Graduate School, who has studied the matter carefully in connection with a forthcoming dissertation. He refers for a similar opinion of the scrupulous methods of Bruns to Ritschl *Opusc.* III. 286.

[2] This fact, neglected by Schlee, did not escape Sabbadini (*Studi ital. di fil. class.* II, 29 ff.), who treated the scholia cursorily, however, as his chief interest was in Donatus. He well observes that the scholia show a general unity in character, betraying a *profonda medievalità* (p. 30). He recognized that they were identical with the scholia published by Mai, and represented a complete set. Wessner likewise notes the importance of the Bruns scholia; see *Jahresbericht*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 189 ff.

[3] For similar remarks see Dziatzko, *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung*, *loc. cit.*, p. 432. He publishes there the exact contents of the first page in M. Schopen *De Terent. et Donat. eius interp.* (1821), p. 49, in remarking "cum istas glossulas viles describendo etiam peiores fecerit Brunsius," apparently charges him with inaccuracy. I believe rather that Bruns preferred not to emend the errors of his MS.

[4] This matter is admirably set forth by Bruns I, p. xxi.

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over, since the alterations effected by the scholia are often minute, we need an account of all their minutiae in order to clear important lines of MS tradition from such excrescences. Did the γ division similarly suffer? Schlee thought the scholia were written for a δ MS, but Watson came to the opposite conclusion.[1] If the MS had the mixed text of F E, these diverse opinions may perhaps be reconciled. Speculation on these matters is premature while the important sources are still so inadequately known, but even now a few predictions may be ventured. The Bruns scholia impress me as the best source yet available for the reconstruction of what will be clearly seen in the subsequent discussion to be the earlier of the two commentaries.[2]

The manuscripts in which this commentary is known to occur and of which we have a more or less complete account are C F E G. Fragments at least occur in C S L N, the MSS of which specimens are reproduced in facsimile in the De Vries edition of the Ambrosianus. In C (Vaticanus 3868, *s.* IX), the scholia, as shown by the facsimile of the *Phormio* in the possession of Harvard College Library, may well be by the scribe who wrote the text, and at any rate are of the ninth century. Whether they were in the original of C and P is a different question. A few comments from Donatus have been added to C[3] and more from Eugraphius,[4] whereas, as I shall try to prove below (pp. 28 ff.) the original commentator knew nothing of these works. F (Ambrosianus H. 75 *s.* IX/X) has dispensed with the prefaces of the original commentary and substituted what is a vast improvement on them, the comments of Eugraphius on the different prologues. For the body of the text the earlier glosses are retained, but they have lost certain portions at the beginnings of the plays, owing to the intrusion of Eugraphius. E (Riccard. M $_{\text{XXX}}^{\text{IV}}$ 528 S. XI) has suffered severely by accretions, particularly from Donatus,[5] and the

[1] *Harvard Studies in Class. Phil.* XIV (1903), pp. 145 ff. Wessner *Rh. Mus.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 363, shows that the α version of Eugraphius has close connection with the γ class.

[2] Wessner, *Jahresbericht*, *loc. cit.* p. 189, remarks: "wir dürfen sonst wohl annehmen dass uns zwei Redaktionen eines älteren Terenz-Commentars erhalten sind; die —vielleicht ursprünglichere—des Monac. und der δ HSS und die des *Commentum Brunsianum*." My view differs in regarding the Bruns scholia as earlier, and as substantially an independent work.

[3] Schlee, pp. 66 ff. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 75 ff. [5] Schlee, pp. 69 ff.

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same is true of G (Vaticanus 1640), which MS, it seems to me is not *s.* XI/XII (Umpfenbach) but early *s.* XI or even *s.* X. With the help of the graffiné reproduction above mentioned, I note that the comments at the beginning of the *Andria* coincide largely with those of M[1] and belong therefore to the later commentary. From about the middle of *Andria* on, the scholia agree with Bruns, though there are evidently additions here and there. The Halensis (Br) though of the eleventh century, as Bruns states and as his reproduction at the beginning of Vol. II indicates, seems to have preserved the commentary practically intact. Bruns notes carefully certain additions in a much later hand,[2] and in one or two instances the scholia of the first hand include comments not in the original work. No positive statement can be made on the basis of our present material, but I am convinced that in general it is safe to use the Halensis as the fundament for an edition, with the other MSS for corroboration.

Proceeding on this plan, we may analyze the contents of the *Commentum Brunsianum* (*Com. Br.*) as follows. It starts off, naturally, with a *vita* of Terence, the material for which the author took from Orosius (IV, 19), mistakes and all. Dziatzko[3] seeing it ascribed to Eugraphius in a Paris MS of the tenth century, naturally concluded that Eugraphius was the author, but Sabbadini thought this impossible,[4] and Wessner, in his admirable article on Eugraphius, proves that the real commentary of this author is contained in what is called version β, whereas the additions in version α come from the *Commentarius antiquior*. The ascription of the *vita* to Eugraphius is thus easily explained. Wessner well says that it is of a piece with these scholia, but that neither the one nor the other had anything to do with Eugraphius.[5]

Immediately following the *vita* and merging with it come

[1] Given by Dziatzko, *op. cit.*, pp. 470 ff.

[2] E. g., pp. 49, 67.

[3] *Jahrb.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 472.

[4] *Stud. ital.*, etc. V. 314.

[5] "Der Terenzkommentar des Eugraphius," *Rhein. Mus.* LXII (1907), p. 223. See below, p. 374. I purposely postponed the reading of Wessner's article and his review in *Bursians Jahresbericht* CXLIII (1902), pp. 188 ff., until I had my own material in shape. It is significant that investigations starting from opposite points of view should terminate independently in similar results. Sabbadini, too, believes that *vita* III was not by Eugraphius, but concludes also, rather curiously, that it did not form part of a commentary; see *Stud. ital. di fil. class.* V (1897), p. 314.

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various remarks on comedy which are not inspired by Donatus, Euanthius, or Eugraphius. The writer knows at first or second hand, Horace's *Art of Poetry*, which, as Wessner has pointed out, was not used by Eugraphius. From this work, from Priscian and Orosius, from the text of Terence itself, and, I am confident, from absolutely no other source save his own perverse imagination, the author constructed an account of Terence and his comedies the like of which had never appeared before. We find here the conception of Calliopius as *recitator* which Schlee correctly reasoned must have stood in the preface. We are also informed that whereas many deny that Terence wrote in meter, they are refuted on the authority of Priscian and Rufinus.[1] The meters used we next learn, are all varieties of iambic, the prologues being in iambic catalectic, which means that six feet are reckoned as three. At the end of the *Andria* (*Com. Br.* I. 146), the remark is made that the play had no title and that therefore nothing was known of its performance either among the Greeks or among the Romans; evidently the author did not have Donatus at hand. To compensate for this, he is able, by citing Priscian, to confound the higher critics of his day, who held that Calliopius composed the *argumenta* and the prologues of the plays.

Reading on in the preface to the other plays, we find in that to the *Eunuchus* the astounding information about "clauditibiae" above mentioned (pp. 362 f.). The Megalensian games, he also states, were celebrated at Megale, a city in Greece, in honor of the Olympian Jupiter. At Rome these were given by the curule aediles, so called because they had charge of the "aedes curiales." Turning to the prologue, we find that the "miles gloriosus" (l. 31) is Terence himself, "nobilis comicus quia militavit in poetria."[2] The introduction to the *Adelphi* adds the statement that the Greek performance of the play was encouraged by the consuls

[1] For some even of Priscian's contemporaries Terence's meter had lost all effect; see *G. L.* (Keil) III. 418. 8.

[2] In the Halensis the prologue with its scholia precede (*Com. Br.* I. 149), then after EXPLICIT PROLOGUS comes the Didascalia followed by EXPOSITIO TITULI CUM ARGUMENTO. The Periocha itself does not appear. I will not venture to explain the relation of this fact to the condition of the text in the various MSS of Terence at this point; it suggests that the MS for which the comment was written was either γ or μ.

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(Br. II. 3), that the Greek name was "Synapothnes" and its author "Contesdifilus."[1] As for the *Hecyra* (*Com. Br.* II. 95), we are told of the two unsuccessful performances, the latter failing *because* of the interrupting "ludi funebres." The play was called *Hecyra*, as that is the name of a place not far from Athens. Coming to the *Phormio*, we find in the Halensis no preface at all. But there was one, doubtless, in the original commentary, since in various of Geppert's MSS[2] which agree with the Halensis in the prose arguments to the other plays, there appears an argument for the *Phormio* similar in style to these others. Nothing like a conclusion or summary for the entire commentary appears at the end of the *Phormio* or of any other play.

Passing now to the body of the work, we find nothing, I believe, in the terse and rather skilful explanations of the scenes that might not have been written by a scholar of the Carolingian period. Not all the scenes in the Halensis are provided with explanations. Is this because the scholia are defective in this MS, or because the scribe did not feel the need of ubiquitous accuracy? Watson[3] shows that at all of the nine places where the γ MSS have new scenes, the explanations of the *Com. ant.* are found, whereas they occur in only three of the six new scenes peculiar to δ; again this is just what we should expect if the scholia were written for a mixed MS.

The minor comments are intended chiefly to make the course of the action and the meaning of the words perfectly intelligible. As Wölfflin remarks,[4] the synonyms selected, which seem puerile to us, were intended to enlarge the school-boy's vocabulary; they resemble somewhat the translations of words or phrases that figure in modern editions of classical authors. Stage directions appear, such as the frequent "secum loquitur," or "adverbium blandientis" (*Com. Br.* I. 305), "irascentis" (I. 138), "affectuose" (I. 112), "iocose" (II. 202). The schoolmaster insisted, too, on grammatical and rhetorical comment; "ironicos" ("ironice"),[5] "paranomasia" (I. 45), "eclipsis" (I. 186), "themesis" (I. 197),

[1] See below pp. 384 ff.

[2] Paris 7904 *s.* XII; 7914 *s.* XI; 14755 (St. Victor 750) *s.* XII; 16235 (Sorbonne 507) *s.* X. See *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[3] *Loc. cit.* [4] *Op. cit.*, p. 415. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 418.

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"litotes" (II. 222), "asyndeton" (II. 250), "hypallage" (II. 34), "ephexegesis" (II. 58), are some of the terms that appear.[1] The author had evidently studied the ancient grammarians, as the references to Priscian in the *vita* suggest.

Longer comments on the subject-matter are few. Such are the remarks on the Pythagorean symbolism of the letter Y (*And.* 1. 1. 27. p. 17), a matter that interested various commentators of the ninth century,[2] who found it, e. g., in Isidore *Etym.* 1. 3. 7 and Servius on *Aen.* 6. 136, 479. A satisfactory note on "centuria" (*Phorm.* 1. 4. 53, p. 194) may, as Schlee (p. 130) points out, have been suggested by Isidore.[3] The reckoning of a drachma as the equivalent of three "*denarii*" is not ancient (*Eun.* 1. 2. 89, p. 169), nor is the notice of Omphale, queen of the Egyptians (*Eun.* 5. 7. 3, p. 258). This last is based doubtless on Servius (Dan.) on *Aen.* 8. 300, who in an enumeration of the exploits of Hercules has just mentioned Egypt as the country of Busiris, and says merely, after recounting the theft of Apollo's tripod, "ob quod iratus Iuppiter eum Omphalae servire praecepit." Possibly the author turned to some other source, possibly he needed no further hints to invent the following: "Omphala regina fuit Aegyptiorum, ad quem dum venisset Hercules, (et) esset ab ea hospitio susceptus, amore illius est captus, promisit tandem ei, quod securum eum permitteret dormire, si vestimenta virilia deponens sua feminea indueret, sicque in contubernio feminarum maneret, quod ita et fecit." Had the author known Donatus, he would have placed Omphala in Lydia, where she belongs.

Similar absurdities in the shorter comments are not infrequent. "Sodes" is glossed "socie" (*And.* 1. 1. 58, p. 23), being apparently an abbreviated form of "sodalis,"[4] "Faba" is only another form of "fabula" (*Eun.* 2. 3. 90, p. 195); "Dispudet sic mihi

[1] For a fuller list see Wessner *op. cit.*, p. 217, n. 1.

[2] See e. g. Hagen *Anecd. Helv.*, p. CXXXIII. In the present case the commentator has altered the usual statement under the influence of the text before him, as the phrase, "quae impedimento aetatis et metu magistri recta est," shows.

[3] The fact that a most curious comment, displaying the perverted imagination germane to this scholiast appears in D G E while D M Br. give the Isidorian note, indicates that D is conflate here and that the improved note of the second commentary is one of the few later additions in the Halensis.

[4] See Warren, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

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data esse verba" (*Eun.* 5. 1. 16, p. 240) is written "dis pudet," and "dis" glossed with "testibus utor," while the comment on the rest of the phrase, "a me tibi ut illi [i. e. Chaereae] commendarem" shows that the author is ignorant of the frequent meaning of "dare verba." "Genium" in the phrase "suom defrudans genium" (*Ph.* 1. 1. 10, p. 177) is glossed "voluptatem." "Rex" is thought to mean "monarch," for "oh, regem me esse oportuit" (*Ph.* 1. 2. 20, p. 180) is glossed with "ut liceret mihi iudicium iudicare aequum," and "Immo enim nemo . . . . gratiam regi refert" (*Ph.* 2. 2. 24, p. 205) must be "quod periculo opponens se libertatem patriae donat." A "paedagogus" (*Ph.* 1. 2. 94, p. 186) is "non solum qui minat sed etiam qui minatur sub custodia"—not only the director but the directed! Davus' jest met a cold reception in the early Middle Ages. As for meter, we have seen from the *vita* that it is not one of the author's strong points. though he is sure that Terence employed meter. A false scansion of *Ph.* 2. 2. 14 (p. 204): "Hospites tum cives, quo magis novi tanto saepius" accounts for the suggestion that with "quo magis novi" (i. e. "nŏvi") we must understand "cives erant." This same failing, combined with an ignorance of Greek, explains the punctuation of *Ph.* 1. 2. 77, p. 184: "Ego te cognatum dicam et tibi scribam. Dicam," with the convenient gloss "etiam aliud" on the final "Dicam." Such absurdities indicate that the comments on details are of a piece with the preface and the *vita*, and discredit the hypothesis that the latter are mediaeval additions to an ancient work.[1]

It is evident from the character of the above comments that the author was not particularly well read in the ancient writers. He knew his Priscian, whom he quotes in his preface, as we have seen, and also in the body of the work.[2] It is doubtful, though, whether all the references to the grammarian given by Schlee, pp. 53 ff. occurred in the original commentary. A number of passages are cited for E and G, but since, considering merely those which occur in the extant portions of F, we find none of them in

[1] Sabbadini (*Stud. ital.* II, 30) is therefore wrong in declaring that the absurdities are confined to the preface.

[2] *And.* 1. 1. 34, p. 19, and 79, p. 26.

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either F or Br, and apparently none in C,[1] it is probable that G E have received additions here from some other source, which was possibly the later commentary.

The case seems to be the same with Servius. There is one sure reference to him in the note on *And.* 2. 3. 29 (*C, Br.*); the note on Omphale probably derives what genuine information it has from Servius (see above pp. 370 f.), and that on the Pythagorean γ may also be from Servius (see above, p. 371). There is one reference to Cicero, *Div. Caec.* 8. 26, in the note on *And.* 3. 3. 33, but as Schlee does not include it, it is perhaps an addition in the Halensis; in fact Sabbadini shows that it comes from Eugraphius.[2] For Paulus-Festus the evidence is extremely dubious. The one sure borrowing from this lexicon (*Eun.* 2. 3. 90) is ascribed by Schlee to E only; it is not in Br., which never would have added its own absurd comment had it known Paulus-Festus. Of the less certain coincidences, *And.* 1. 3. 1 and *Eun.* 5. 2. 6 are in Br., but *Eun.* 2. 3. 90; 3. 1. 34; and 5. 6. 20 are not in Br., and most probably not in F.[3]

In his introduction, the author used Orosius, and cites Horace *A. P.* 94 and 251 f. Seeing that he is versed in the grammarians, he may have quoted the latter work at second hand; Marius Plotius Sacerdos, discussing the celerity of the iambic meter,[4] cites *A. P.* 251 and 254 ff., and on the next page in dealing with the different nature of tragedy and comedy cites verse 90. The existence of such passages and the absurdity of the remarks in *Com. Br.*[5] suggest that the citations from Horace are at second

[1] As I have verified Schlee from the Harvard facsimile of the *Phormio*, his report is probably correct for the other MSS.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 36 ff. Wessner *Rh. Mus.*, p. 217, points to the rhetorical terms used in the notes on *And.* 4. 3. 33–47, regarding these as intrusions from the Carolingian commentary. The latter part of the gloss on l. 33, then ("palinlogia"), is added to the original gloss, which contained the citation from Cicero. In his edition of Eugraphius (1908) Wessner brackets this part too, suspecting that it was introduced from Donatus.

[3] The first passage is in the lost portion of F, the other two do not occur, unless possibly under the large blots on the page. I can make out no traces of them, however.

[4] *G. L.* VI 518 (Keil).

[5] P. 5: "Hoc quoque notandum, quia non absque re imagines Terentianae turgido et inflato ore pinguntur. Facundia enim et affluens eloquentia comicorum per hoc innuitur, quia vastuose loquuntur; unde Horatius *Iratusque Chremes tumido delitigat ore.*"

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hand from some grammarian. Still it is also possible that he knew the *Art of Poetry* directly, accompanied, perhaps, by one of the ancient commentaries. So Porphyrio or "Acro," no less than Servius may have furnished him with a model of commentaries in general. For I think it most improbable that he had the help of any of the commentaries on Terence.

For, first, the Bembine scholia are not a source. I have examined the coincidences noted by Schlee[1] and though some are perhaps significant for the later commentary, *Com. Br.* is not affected.

Eugraphius, I am confident, was not used, else the writer would have turned to him and not his own imagination on various points. Certain coincidences will doubtless be found with the *a* version of Eugraphius, but that, as Wessner shows, is based on the Carolingian commentary and not vice versa.[2] The instances cited by Schlee (p. 75) from C were doubtless added in that special MS from Eugraphius' commentary on the *Andria*, as they are not in Br. A few Eugraphian notes may have crept into the Halensis, among which I would include the citation from Cicero just mentioned (*And.* 3. 3. 33). Finally, the seven instances given by Schlee (p. 44) as evidence of the use of Eugraphius, two (*And.* 3. 1. 15 and 19) are not in Br. Of the remaining five, three (*And.* 3. 2. 14; 4. 2. 2; *Ad.* 1. 1. 11) belong to the *Com. Br.* and were later incorporated in the *a* version of Eugraphius.[3] Of the two remaining, *Haut.* 5. 4. 10 (on *gerro*) belongs with the very few Eugraphian notes that have slipped into the *Com. Br.*[4], while *Ad.* 3. 2. 2, "impertire" glossed "participem facere," is either to be explained in the same way, or may,[5] without a violent stretch of the imagination, be regarded as a chance coincidence.

Finally there remains the case of Donatus. It is next to impossible that a commentator could commit blunders so gross with Donatus at hand; Sabbadini[6] believes emphatically that he did not

[1] P. 45.

[2] For an example, see Wessner *Rh. Mus.*, p. 206, on *And.* 3. 4. 14, cited by Sabbadini, pp. 36 ff., as proof that the commentary depends on Eugraphius, not on Donatus.

[3] See Wessner *ibid.*

[4] So Wessner, pp. 220 ff.

[5] So Wessner, pp. 220 ff.

[6] *Studi ital.* II. 36.

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know Donatus. C has a few Donatus notes at the beginning of the *Andria* and E a great many later on, but these are merely additions in these special manuscripts. One quotation from Donatus is an integral part of the commentary; in the preface to the *Eunuchus* (*Com. Br.* I, p. 154), Donatus is cited as authority for the fact that the word *Eunuchus* as the name of the play is of the feminine gender. A note to this effect does occur in the commentary of Donatus, but it appears in his grammar too.[1] Again, though Wessner[2] points to a number of coincidences with the Donatus commentary, and specifies them in the appendix to his edition of Donatus, there is not one of real significance. From the instances noted, some 220 in all, enough, surely to break a hypothesis if it is to be broken—there are none that the mediaeval commentator might not have thought out for himself, with the occasional help of the grammarians, Servius, and Porphyrio. The only noteworthy cases of coincidence in phraseology are the dozen which follow. I exclude, naturally, comments not in *Br.*

Eun. 4. 3. 14: "*monstri*] . . . . si igitur eunuchus est et vitiavit virginem, ... recte monstrum est": Don. "quod eunuchus potuit vitiare puellam": *Br.* But the word "vitiare" was supplied to both by Terence, vs. 12.

Eun. 4. 7. 36: "*os durum*] os impudens," etc.: Don. "impudens": *Br.*

Ibid. 39: "*furti se alligat*] obstringit et inlaqueat et obnoxium facit": Don. "obligat, obnoxium se facit": *Br.*

Eun. 5. 8. 18: "*festivitatem*] laetitiam," etc.: Don. "laetitiam et hilaritatem": *Br.*

Ad. 3. 2. 5: "*vis*] illata": Don. "illata ab Aeschino": *Br.*

Ad. 3. 4. 62: "*defunctum*] finitum," etc.: Don. "finitum": *Br*

Ad. 4. 2. 20: "*usque occidit*] aut usque pro valde est" (other explanations given): Don. "valde": *Br.*

Ad. 5. 8. 1: "*iubet frater*] dirui maceriam scilicet": Don. "dirui maceriam": *Br.* But the phrase is from Terence 5. 7. 10.

Hec. 3. 1. 33: "*conciverit*] commoverit": Don., *Br.*

[1] *G. L.* IV. 375. 25. This fact corroborates Sabbadini's statement (p. 36) that connection with Donatus' commentary here is indirect.

[2] *Rh. Mus.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 207.

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Hec. 5. 2. 29: "*sine suo dispendio*] . . . . sine damno": Don. "dampno": *Br.*

Ph. 1. 4. 47: "*noxiam*] nunc culpam alias rem": Don. "culpam": *Br.*

Ph. 2. 4. 24: "*in tempore*] opportune," etc.: Don. "opor tune"; *Br.*

One or two more cases might be cited, but there is nothing more striking than these, which hardly prove that the author of *Com. Br.* used Donatus. Indeed, the fact that in so many notes which present a general similarity in their contents, the coincidences in phraseology are so insignificant, is negative proof of the strongest kind. It is perhaps worth noting also that now and then an explanation distinctly rejected by Donatus appears in *Com. Br.*[1] Whether the later commentary contained in D M shows the influence of Donatus is a question hazardous to raise until the contents of that commentary are accurately determined.

In short, the Brunsian scholiast worked well nigh single-handed in preparing his commentary on Terence. Orosius, the grammarians and the ancient commentators on Virgil and Horace gave him a start; for the rest he depended upon inference from the text before him and upon an imagination only too ready to invent.

We have suspected already that our author was not familiar with Greek; a little examination shows that he was densely ignorant of it. "Ironicos" and other Greek rhetorical terms he found in his ancient grammarians and commentators. A note on "mastigia" is correct, but that information was easily accessible at second hand.[2] I will postpone this topic in order to present simultaneously the much better notes of the later commentary.

We may turn, therefore, to this commentary which I will call from the MS in which Schlee found it as a separate work, *Commentum Monacense* (*Com. Mon.*). Having shown that it differs sharply from *Com. Br.*,[3] I will now make clear that it is neverthe-

[1] E. g. *Ad.* 3. 3. 48, 5. 54. That the rhetorical terms used in *Com. Br.* do not come from Donatus' commentary is suggested by the notes on *Hec.* 5. 1. 39, where Don. has κατάπαυσις and *Com. Br.* "ellipsis."

[2] On *Ad.* 5. 2. 6: Mastix graece, latine dicitur corrigia, etc. "Mastix" appears with "flagellum" as the Latin equivalent in *Corp. Gloss.* III. 365.

[3] See above pp. 363 ff.

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less based upon it. The following passages furnish sufficient evidence:

Ph. 4. 1 (Schlee p. 134): "] Tam Chremete reverso de Lemno alloquitur eum Demipho D G E C F Br. nam pergente Chremete in Lemnum dixerat Demipho," etc.: D M. "Nam" shows that the second note is built upon the first.

Hec. Prol. II. 3 (Schlee p. 140): "*quo iure sum usus adulescentior*] id est: sicut recitavi iuvenis, recitem et senex. loquitur ex persona Calliopii D C E cf. F. Br. vel aliter: sicut iuvenis Caecilii," etc., D. D retains the notes of the earlier commentary, and adds another.

Hec., Preface of *Com. Br.* (II. 96: "AECHIRA nomen huic fabulae est. Dicta autem Aechyra a loco haud longe distante ab Athenis ubi haec acta sunt."

"Haec fabula ab accidente nomen accepit. nomen huius fabulae est Hecyra. nam Hecyra non longe est ab Athenis, ubi haec acta sunt, et ab eo loco haec nomen accepit, potest etiam a socru nominari, nam ἑκυρά graece socrus dicitur." D E.

Here the later commentary, while not discarding the absurd explanation of the name "Hecyra" in *Com. Br.*, has learned the truth, possibly from Eugraphius,[1] and adds it. E, as elsewhere, has received an addition from the later commentary.[2]

We are now ready, so far as our material allows, to examine the contents and character of the *Commentum Monacense.* It began naturally, as Schlee inferred, with a *vita.* Dziatzko,[3] in discussing the mediaeval lives of Terence, argued that the missing leaf at the beginning of the Monacensis contained:

1. *Vita* II, the "Ambrosian," which is an epitome of the life of Suetonius that heads Donatus' commentary.

2. A brief tractate on the nature of comedy, etc., including the reference to Menander and to Calliopius as recitator, since the note at the beginning of the *Eunuchus*[4] presupposes such. A passage of this description in a fifteenth-century MS in which *Vita* II immediately preceded, seemed to Dziatzko to furnish the material desired.

3. A summary of the plot of *Andria.* Of this the very end is

[1] See Wessner's ed. (1908), p. 260.

[2] See below p. 384, the comment on *Haut.* 5. 1. 14.

[3] *Jahrb., loc. cit.*, pp. 474 ff.

[4] Schlee *op. cit.* 43, 94: "Quod Menander primum composuerat fabulam Eunuchi . . . . deinde vero Terentius . . . . iam dictum est et quod eius recitator fuit Calliopius."

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preserved in the Monacensis,[1] and it agrees substantially with that included by Schlee[2] in his *Commentarius recentior;* the only divergences are "quia quando" for "et cum" (l. 7) and the omission (accidental, I am convinced) of "et . . . . vero" (ll. 12–14). The latter work, therefore, to which I will henceforth refer as the *Expositio*, the name used by Sabbadini, borrowed the argument from *Com. Mon.*, which itself replaces the longer version of *Com. Br.*[3]

As to the *vita*, we had better not attribute to the author an account based on Suetonius-Donatus unless we find that Donatus is an influence in the commentary or that Suetonius was directly known. Sabbadini[4] thinks Dziatzko's supposition improbable, since in none of the MSS thus far examined does *Vita* II appear in conjunction with a commentary.

The real clue seems a simple one. Since the argument beginning "Orto bello" was used for both *Com. Mon.* and the *Expositio*, we should search for this argument in conjunction with a *vita* which while not that of the *Expositio* is closely related to it, and also related to the *vita* of *Com. Br.* And such a life has long been accessible in Geppert's article. Three Paris MSS, 7900 s. X, 7901 s. XI, 7904 s. XII[5] contain the *vita* of *Com. Br.* ("Terentius comicus genere") and also the argument "Bello exorto." They are important sources, therefore, for the *Com. Br.* Three Paris MSS, 7900 A s. X, 7902 s. XI, 7184 s. XI,[6] contain a *vita* differing in wording from that in the *Com. Br.*, yet manifestly made up of the same material. It is closely related also to the preface of the *Expositio.* It begins with the words "Terentius genere extitit afer," and was known to Dziatzko,[7] who calls it a variant of *Vita* III (that of *Com. Br.*), without, however, mentioning Geppert. I will refer to it as *Vita* III[a]. Now all of these MSS, besides

[1] *Jahrb., loc. cit.*, p. 470.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 172.

[3] Bruns I, 5–7: "Bello exorto," etc.

[4] *Stud. ital.* V. 314.

[5] Geppert *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 46. The datings are those of the *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibl. reg.*, which are often inexact. Besides these, 16235 (Sorbonne 507) s. X and 14755 (St. Victor 750) s. XII are important. I do not include the Berlin or the Arsenal MSS mentioned by Geppert, as they are all late. For further information about these and other MSS of Terence in Paris and Berlin see his article in *Serapeum* XII (1851), 369 ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 45.

[7] *Jahrb., loc. cit.*, p. 472.

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which seven of later age are mentioned by Geppert, contain also the argument "Orto bello." Geppert's text contains the lines accidentally omitted in the Monacensis; it agrees with that MS in the reading "quia quando" against "et cum" of the *Expositio*.[1] The indications are that at least some of these MSS contain the glosses of the *Com. Mon.* Should these prove to be different, we must reckon with still a fourth commentary.

Assuming for the moment that this last is the case, let us inquire whether *Vita* III[a] and its accompanying argument could have preceded those of *Com. Br.* As they are both briefer, the latter might be regarded as expansions. Yet epitome was also in order in the Middle Ages, as we see in *Vita* II, an extract from Donatus. I can derive no absolute evidence from a comparison, but the following instances indicate that *Com. Br.* is the earlier.

Com. Br. (I. 3 f.; Geppert, p. 46): "licet multi negent metro constare mentiuntur teste Prisciano, qui de metris Terentianis loquitur et insuper in libro grammaticae artis saepe dicit, cuius genere metri constat exemplum quod ponit, nec non etiam teste Rufino in eo libro quem de metris scripsit, ipso quoque nihilominus qui in prologis se poetam vocat."

Vita III[a] (Geppert, p. 45): "Qui autem putant fabulas ipsius non constare metrica arte, mentiuntur, quoniam Priscianus et alii auctores in suis voluminibus hoc demonstrant. Etiam exemplum quod promunt, ex hoc demonstrant, quo genere metra constent. Ipse autem Terentius in prologo primae fabulae poetam se nominat dicens: poeta . . . . appulit."

It is more likely that the explicit mention of Rufinus is the basis of the generalizing phrase, "alii auctores," than vice versa; could the scholiast name more than Priscian and Rufinus? The reference to Priscian in *Com. Br.* is likewise explicit; the writer not only cites his work on the meters of Terence, but states that the meter of the verses quoted in Priscian's grammar is often given: "saepe dicit cuius genere metri constat exemplum, quod ponit." The author of *Vita* III[a] shifts the phrase to the third point mentioned in *Com. Br.*, namely, that Terence calls himself a poet: "Etiam exemplum quod promunt, ex hoc demonstrant quo genere

[1] See above p. 378.

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metra constent." The "quo genere" is surely less *à propos* here; and who were those who had cited v. 1 as proof that Terence wrote in prose? The scholiast is merely manipulating the material he has found in *Com. Br.;* in the present case, he is expanding.

The same situation is apparent in the *Argumentum.* The Brunsian scholia contain a careful, though somewhat verbose statement of the essentials of the plot. The other scholiast follows this plan, rephrasing and generally abbreviating. He reaches the point where the stratagems of Davus are described: "Habebat autem libertum . . . . suam esse filiam,"[1] and wishing, as ever, to spare detail, omits this part altogether. But Davus is a highly important person in the play, and the argument as treated in *Com. Br.* and followed to this point by the other scholiast, should not neglect him. After this part *Com. Br.* proceeds: "Tunc temporis supervenit ab Andro vir nomine Crito cognatus patris Chrisidis atque dum inter Simonem et Chremetem Pamphilumque esset altercatio, nimiumque Simo iratus esset filio suo Pamphilo, advenit Crito Andrius." This is changed to: "Dum multa autem contentio erat inter Simonem et Chremetem de nuptiis, venit quidam senex nomine Crito ab Andro. The clause, "Dum multa autem contentio erat" refers no longer to Simo's tirade in Act V, sc. 3, but is made to cover, inappropriately, everything in the plot after Act I.

The *Codex Monacensis* contained in its missing folio 62 lines. Dziatzko, calculating on the basis of his theory, found his material too scant by 13 lines.[2] Reckoning by the standard which he furnishes, I find 10 lines necessary for the beginning of the argument *Orto bello*, 12 for *Vita* III^{a}, or if Paris 7184, s. XI is correct in including a passage not in the other MSS,[3] 18. If the Monacensis did not have this passage, the extra six lines might have contained the epigram, "Natus in excelsis," etc.[4] For the title, which might

[1] Bruns I. 6; Geppert *op. cit.*, p. 33. [2] *Jahrb., loc. cit.*, p. 476.

[3] Geppert, p. 45. The passage is necessary, if the comment at the beginning of the *Eunuchus* (see above, p. 361, n. 1) refers directly to the preface, which otherwise contains no mention of Menander. But since this comment belongs to the earlier work (Bruns I. 154), it may have been hastily appropriated for *Com. Mon.* without regard to its appropriateness. *Vita* III^{a} does not have the account of Calliopius as recitator.

[4] See Dziatzko *loc. cit.*, and the Escorial MS described in my next paragraph.

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have been very brief; one or two lines would suffice.[1] There remain 32 lines, into which space, as I reckon it, the *vita* of the *Com. Br.* would nicely fit. Thus the Monacensis may well have contained in its introduction a conflate of the two commentaries—a condition that one suspects here and there from the material offered by Schlee.

A similar conflate exists in an Escorial MS (S. III. 23, s. XI) for the reference to which and for a photograph of the opening of the *Andria*, I am indebted to my friend Professor C. U. Clark of Yale University.[2] The MS which is described by Hartel-Loewe,[3] begins with scene arguments for the *Andria*, agreeing essentially with *Com. Br.* Those for the other plays follow, apparently ending (fol. 28^{v}) with that on *Phromio* 1. 1; fol. 29 and 30 contain four columns of Tironian notes, which doubtless complete the scene arguments for the *Phormio* and deserve the attention of experts in tachygraphy.[4] On fol. 31^{r} comes the title, "Terentii Afri vita incipit," followed by "Terentius afer genere extitit" = *Vita* III^{a}. The argument of the *Andria* evidently follows, as fol. 31^{v} has "& passibula vocatur venit;" but this ending differs from that in Geppert's MSS.[5] Then follow the VERSUS TERENCII, "Natus . . . . erit" and the Periocha, "Sororem . . . . coniugem." On fol. 32^{v} begins *Vita* III, "Terentius comicus," etc., ending fol. 35: "alloquebatur populum inquiens; Poeta," etc. Fol. 9–16 of the volume are really another MS, s. XII–XIII. They contain a *vita*, not noticed, as far as I am aware, in previous discussions: "Terentius affricanus fuit et devicta cartagine a scipione romam duobus est cum aliis captivis . . . . [fol. 9^{v}] fecit prologum istum introducens calliopium ita loquentem: Poeta cum primum studium suum ad hoc applicuit ut scriberet hanc intentionem." The relation of this version to *Vitae* III, III^{a}, and V is a matter to determine.

[1] The Escorial MS has simply *Terentii Afri vita incipit.*

Professor Clark furnishes me also with a photograph of the beginning of the *Eunuchus* from a Madrid MS. Bibl. Nac. H h 74 s. XI in a Visigothic hand. Its glosses are related to *Com. Br.*, but are composite.

[3] *Bibl. patr. lat. Hispan.* (*Wiener Sitzungsberichte* XCII [1886], 245 f.).

[4] The MS is not noticed by Legendre *Études tironiennes*, etc. (*Bibl. de l'Ecole des hautes études*, fasc. 165), 1907. His list of MSS (p. 50 ff.) includes only one from Spain.

[5] "Venit" is the last word of *Vita* III^{a} in Berolin. 999 s. XV; see Rose's *Catalogue* II. 3, 1291.

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Turning to the glosses on the Prologue and the beginning of the *Andria*, I find from the photograph that they are few in number and unlike either those in *Com. Br.* or those in *Com. Mon.*

The new material furnished by the Escorial MS suggests that it is still rash to make a positive statement. I incline strongly, however, to the hypothesis—which a glance at the Paris MSS can establish or refute—that the preface to *Com. Mon.* consisted of *Vita* III[a] and the argument *Orto bello*, and that, further, the lost leaf of the Monacensis may well have contained a conflate of this preface and the *vita* and Tractate, but not the argument *Bello exorto* of the *Com. Br.*

We may now turn to the comments on the Prologue, and incidentally, be grateful to Dziatzko[1] for reproducing exactly the contents of fol. 1[r] (originally 2[r]) of the Monacensis. A comparison with the *Com. Br.* is instructive. The following comments show, as we should expect, that *Com. Mon.* depends in some measure upon *Com. Br.*

1. 6: "*argumentum*] ostensionem sequentis fabulae": *Br.* ostensionem fabula": *Mon.*

1. 7: "*maledictis*] i. e., detractionibus": *Br.*, *Mon.*

1. 9: "*Andriam et Perinthiam*] nomina fabularum sunt": *Br.* "fabulas": *Mon.*

1. 10: "*utramvis*] unam e duabus aut Andriam aut Perinthiam": *Br.* "unam ex illis quamlibet aut Andriam aut Perinthiam": *Mon.*

This is the extent of coincidence between the two commentaries. Starting on the basis of *Com. Br.*, the later scholiast has made many additions. For the section given by Dziatzko he has 29 comments to his predecessor's 15. Some of these 15 he has discarded, some replaced by other and occasionally better material. Thus while the Bruns scholiast incorrectly glosses "qui" (vs. 6) "poeta," M has "quomodo." These minor glosses, therefore, give evidence, as far as they go, that *Com. Mon.* is based on *Com. Br.*, but with its extensive alterations presents virtually a new commentary. Of course the extent to which the Monacensis is conflate needs determination.

[1] *Jahrb.*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 470 ff.

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The explanations of scenes given in *Com. Br.* were satisfactory to the later exegete. He adopted most of them, if Schlee's account of the matter is accurate, sometimes adding to them,[1] and sometimes substituting other captions. The longer comments, like the shorter, are greatly increased in number, and in those which he retained from the earlier work he made significant additions and corrections. Thus in place of the note on Omphale, *Eun.* 5. 7. 3,[2] he has the following:

(Schlee, p. 112): "Omphala regina Aegypti fuit quam adamavit Hercules, quae cum noluisset cum ad suos admittere complexus, nisi promitteret se, quicquid illa petiisset, facturum, in tantum delusit eum, ut etiam filare fecisset et colum tenere more feminarum" D M. Here we find the error as to Omphale's residence repeated, but the rest of the information is more to the point.

The superiority of *Com. Mon.* is especially apparent in the explanations which call for some acquaintance with Greek. We have seen that unlike his predecessor, he knows the real reason why the *Hecyra* was thus named.[3] The following notes, too, are instructive:

Eun. 2. 2 (Bruns I. 176): "Parasitus dicitur a parendo et assistendo, eo quod assistentes maioribus personis, illorum voluptati per adulationem obsequentes quaestum gulae captent."

This is an etymology deriving from the author's imagination and the text of the play. Compare it with—

Eun. 2. 1. 22 (Schlee, p. 98): "*parasitus*] parasitus sonat mecum cibatus vel apud me, quia παρὰ apud, σῖτος cibus dictus est. vel parasiti dicuntur a parendo et assistendo eo, quod assistentes ipsi maioribus personis illorum voluptati per adulationem obsequuntur D M." The later commentator though he knows the correct etymology does not disdain to add that of *Com. Br.*, too. Neither Eugraphius nor Donatus notices the derivation of "parasitus."

Eun. 3. 2. 24 (Schlee, p. 103): "in palaestra"]. There is no gloss in Br. or F. Schlee gives p. 193 (from what MSS?): "in luctatione. palaio graece, luctor, unde palaestra luctatio dicitur." The note is characteristic of *Com. Mon.*

[1] See above, p. 377. [2] See above, p. 370. [3] See above, pp. 377 ff.

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Eun. 4. 7. 6 (Schlee, p. 109): "*centurio*] magister Br. (*om.* F). centurio dicitur, qui centum praeest militibus qui graece ἑκατόνταρχος dicitur, sicut qui mille χιλιάρχης": M.

Haut. 5. 1. 14 (Schlee, p. 124): "*voltus quoque hominum fingit*] imitando Br. F. pantomimus poterat dici, pantomimus omnium imitator vultuum est": E M. E is here conflate; see above, p. 377.

Ad. Prol. 6: "*Synapothnescontes Diphili*] Sinapothnes comedia est contes difili. Contes difilus grecus comedus fuit, qui composuit fabulam quam appellavit sinapothnes, quae latine sonat commorientes," Br. (II. 4), F (which has "commorientes signat"), C G E M (Schlee, p. 149).

"commorientes, nomen properium est. συναποθνήσκω (συναποθνήσκομαι?) graece est, latine commorior, inde participium. Diphilus graecus comoedus fuit, qui scripsit fabulam, quam appellavit synapothnescontes," etc.: D.

Schlee is wrong (p. 43) in attributing this curious error of *Com. Br.* merely to a scribe and not to the scholiast. The earlier scholiast found a wrong division in his text or made one—"synapothnes contesdifili"—and manufactured an appropriate comment. The author of the later commentary, who knows at least the form of the Greek participle, is able to correct the blunder. If Schlee's report is exact, M, unlike D, preserves the original comment and omits the later, an indication of its occasionally conflated nature.

The later commentator, as we should expect, gives evidence of much wider reading than his predecessor does. While the former appeals to no wider circle than the grammarians, Virgil, Servius, Orosius, Horace's *Art of Poetry* (?), Porphyrio (?) for help in interpreting Terence, the latter besides depending on those authors, cites also Livy, Cicero, Ovid (??), Sallust, Jerome, Isidore, Horace's *Odes*.[1] It may well be that of the commentators on Terence, Eugraphius, Donatus and the Bembine scholia were used, but the question of the author's sources may not be profitably studied until the exact text of the commentary is ascertained. The possibility of citation at second hand must also be considered.

If the reference to Horace's *Odes* is at first-hand, and an inte-

[1] See Schlee, pp. 61, 76–78, 133.

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gral part of the commentary, the date of the work is the latter part of the ninth century, since as Vollmer has shown, the *Odes* were not known in France until that time.[1] They came into vogue through the Irish tradition, and that factor is suggested likewise by the commentator's knowledge of a little Greek. His varied quotations prove him a man of humanistic tendencies. We might regard him tentatively as a member of the circle of Eric of Auxerre. Eric was perhaps familiar with the Brunsian scholiast's explanation of "genium = voluptatem,"[2] for in his poem on St. Germanus IV 510 he glosses "genium curare memento" with: "Quieti et voluptati operam dare. Contra Terentius: suum defraudare genium." The phrase "genium curare" Eric got from Horace *Odes* 3. 17. 14. We may note also that the gloss "providentia" on "provincia,"[3] occurs also in the early mediaeval scholia on Juvenal which mention "magister Heiricus."[4] A MS worth examining is Paris 7900 A s. X. It is well known to editors of Horace's *Odes* and of "Acro." The scholia on Horace should be compared with those of Terence, which belong, if my conjecture is correct, to *Com. Mon.*,[5] and with the scholia on Lucan, with those on Juvenal, and with the commentary on Martianus Capella which also are found in this MS. Everything points to the entourage of Eric, or his pupil Remigius.

Further evidence is necessary before we can decide whether the scholia were inserted in a δ or a γ MS. Dziatzko[6] agrees with Schlee in placing the commentary on the former branch, but one bit of evidence on which they rely is inconclusive. The order of the plays in M is that of γ, though a note appears in the margin before the *Hecyra:* "Haec fabula hic interposita. transi hinc ad secundum folium sequentis quatern⟨i⟩. in eo quoque inve⟨ne⟩ris in formionem."[6] Dziatzko notes what Schlee neglected to state,

[1] *Philologus*, Supplementbd. X. 2 (1905), 288.

[2] *Phorm.* 1. 1. 10; Bruns II. 177.

[3] *Phorm.* 1. 2. 22; Bruns II. 180.

[4] See Wessner *Rh. Mus.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 208, n. 1.

[5] Geppert, who partially describes the Paris MSS of Terence (*Serapeum* XII [1851] 369 ff.) states (p. 372) that in 7900 A *vita* (III[a]) stands *after* the plays; possibly, then, the scholia have no connection with it.

[6] Dziatzko *Jahrb.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 433; Schlee, p. 30.

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namely, that the commentary on the *Phormio* begins really on the fourth, not on the second folio of the following quaternion; the note existed, therefore, in the original of M and was unintelligently reproduced by the scribe. In any case, however, it means merely that the author of the note observed in the Commentary a different order of plays from that in some MS with which he was familiar. A theory that *Com. Mon.* was written for a MS of the mixed class would explain both the order of the plays, and any δ elements in the commentary. But this, once more, is a matter for further study.

A third commentary on Terence, the *Expositio* (Schlee's *Com. Rec.*) has been analyzed in a penetrating fashion by Sabbadini.[1] He shows the mediaeval character of the preface, its connection with that of *Com. Br.* (therefore with *Vita* III[2] also), and with the Carolingian scholia on Horace's *Art of Poetry*. Dziatzko[2] had pointed out that it is probably earlier than the eleventh century, to which Schlee had assigned it, and Sabbadini places it within the Carolingian Renaissance. The *vita* which begins, "Legitur auctor iste Africanus," is described in certain Paris MSS to Eugraphius, and at the end of the *Expositio* in *Cod. Barber.* VIII 47 s. XIII/XIV occur the words: "Quoniam Eugraphius, Donatus, Romgius" (=Remigius).[3] Wessner[4] asks whether Remigius of Auxerre may not be the author of the commentary. In case he is, the supposition that *Com. Mon.* proceeds from the circle of Eric receives additional support in view of what we know of the relation of these two scholars.[5]

As sources for the commentary (as distinguished from the *vita?*) Sabbadini[6] excludes the Bembine scholia, Schlee's *Com. Ant.* (i. e., *Com. Br.* and *Com. Mon.*), Eugraphius and Donatus. Sabbadini makes this assertion without going into details, and the matter deserves fresh investigation. The commentary, he shows, furnished material for the lexicon of Papias in 1063, and enjoyed a sovereign authority from the twelfth century to the

[1] *Stud. ital.* V. 322 ff.
[2] *D. L.* 1894, 432.
[3] *Stud. ital.* II. 37 N. 2.
[4] *Rh. Mus., loc. cit.*, p. 223.
[5] See Traube's *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lat. Philol. des Mittelalters* I. 2 (1906), 96 ff.
[6] *Stud. ital.*, V. 327.

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fifteenth, putting even Eugraphius and Donatus into the shade. In the fifteenth century it yielded the field to the latter only after a long and persistent struggle; its career suggests that of another famous mediaeval book, the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei. In early printed editions the commentary received the distinction of being attributed to Servius. From the MSS cited by Sabbadini it would not be difficult to construct a satisfactory text; the list would not include the later folios of D, from which Schlee drew, as Sabbadini shows that the scholia they contain belong to the commentary of Magister Jacobinus of Mantua, who wrote in the thirteenth century. With regard to this and other Terentian commentaries of the later Middle Ages, I may leave the reader to Sabbadini's excellent articles.

This paper, I admit, contains many ifs and queries. But I think it right to raise them at this point, leaving others to verify, modify, or refute. Having gone thus far, I am tempted to suggest, partly by way of summary, a few points concerning the introduction of Terence into the Middle Ages, again leaving to others the task of investigating these matters further.

The early Carolingian period seems to have had no knowledge of Terence. He is not mentioned in Alcuin's famous description of the library at York,[1] nor, so far as I can find, in the earliest catalogues of other mediaeval libraries. The Carolingian poets edited by Dümmler apparently do not mention Terence or show his influence in any striking manner. Manitius thinks that he was known to Aldhelm, Bede, and Alcuin,[2] but this opinion is supported by very few citations, which these writers possibly got at second-hand from Priscian or the other grammarians. These works were in the library at York,[3] together with Virgil,[4] and Orosius,[5]—most of the material, that is, on which the Brunsian scholiast depended. Then two MSS of Terence were brought up for Charlemagne, or not long after his reign, from Italy, or it

[1] *Poet. Car. Lat.* ed. Dümmler I. 203.

[2] *Philologus* LII (1893), 547; *Wiener Sitzungsberichte* CXII (1886), 563 ff.

[3] *Op. cit.*, vss. 1544 ff.: "Artis grammaticae vel quid scripsere magistri | Quid Probus atque Focas, Donatus Priscianusve | Servius, Euticius, Pompeius, Comminianus."

[4] *Ibid.*, vs. 1553.

[5] *Ibid.*, vs. 1542.

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may be, were transmitted via Ireland. One was X, the parent MS of C and P, a picture MS of the γ class, the other MS was of the δ class, without pictures. For a copy of X ($=X^1$), into which readings from the δ MS had been introduced, some scholar of the day, with a slim equipment but excellent inventive powers, wrote *Com. Br.* I would not bar out the possibility that the mixed class originated before the Carolingian period, and that some MS of this kind, having no connection with X, was found in Italy and used by the author of *Com. Br.*; this, however, is the less probable supposition. Later, after the new humanism fostered by Lupus of Ferrières had made headway, and a certain acquaintance with Greek had been disseminated by the Irish scholars, *Com. Mon.* was written by some associate of Eric, and the *Expositio* by Remigius or one of his circle. Meanwhile Donatus and Eugraphius had come in, and still a fourth commentary, devoted to philosophical and rhetorical analysis, had made its appearance, and is preserved in part in the *a* revision of Eugraphius, with whose commentary it was conflated. We are indebted to Wessner for the knowledge of this fact; he also locates a copy of Eugraphius' commentary on the *Andria* at the monastery of Corbie.[1] The Terentian MS B through its Eugraphian scholia on the *Andria*, and its immediate original C through a part of the same and through its scribe Hrodgarius—if he is the Hrodgarius who lived at Korvey from 826 to 856—both point in the same direction. It were not surprising if X were at Corbie together with the commentary of Eugraphius. As a result of the appearance of Eugraphius and Donatus, both *Com. Br.* and *Com. Mon.* received in various MSS an influx from these sources. There may have been other commentaries, too, as we may perhaps infer from the Escorial MSS,[2] likewise from the Lyons MS (Kauer's λ), in which bits of *Com. Br.* appear enlarged by other notes.[3] The *Expositio*, as Sabbadini shows, eventually became the accepted edition, maintaining its pre-eminence down into the Renaissance.

[1] *Rh. Mus., loc. cit.*, p. 352.

[2] See above p. 381.

[3] See *Wiener Studien* XXVIII (1906), 115

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Some time after Terence had won a sure place in the school curriculum, a recalcitrant student, or one who assumed that rôle, composed a poetical debate, or rather a "iurgium," in which Terence and a derisive "iuvenis" take sides. Winterfeld[1] gives excellent reasons for attributing the piece to the ninth century, and points to its connection with mediaeval eclogue and comedy. The youth accosts Terence rudely and bids him vanish whence he came—"Vade poeta vetus!" He also raises a question which, as we have seen, contemporary commentaries had discussed:

> Huc ego cum recubo me taedia multa capescunt
> An sit prosaicum, nescio an metricum.

Four commentaries at least, then, and a protest from the instructed, were contributed to the interpretation of Terence during the humanistic revival of the age of Charlemagne and the period immediately succeeding. Critical editions of *Com. Br.*, *Com. Mon.*, and the *Expositio*, the determination of the class of Terentian MSS for which they were written, analysis of the material they offer, comparison with the Carolingian scholia on other Latin poets[2] cannot fail to throw light on the text of Terence and on the transmission of his plays in the early Middle Ages.

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[1] In his edition of Hroswitha, pp. xx. ff.

[2] A specimen of Virgilian interpretation has recently been published by Legendre "Études tironiennes, Commentaire sur la VIe églogue de Virgile, tiré d'un MS de Chartres, 1907," *Bibl. de l'École des hautes études*, fasc. 165.

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THE COMPOSITION OF THE *DE ORATORIBUS ANTIQUIS* OF DIONYSIUS

By Ralph Hermon Tukey

In his introduction to the *De oratoribus antiquis*, Dionysius declares that his ultimate purpose in writing the work is to assist in the grand movement of expelling the meretricious Asianism and restoring the true Attic style. To this end he promises to select from the Attic writers such authors as are best suited for the reader to copy, and to point out what elements in each are most worthy of imitation. The present work is to be devoted to orators: at another time, if opportunity is afforded, he will discuss the historians. Accordingly he selects from the field of oratory six representative men, and divides them into two groups according to the period in which they lived, the earlier group, comprising Lysias, Isocrates, and Isaeus to be treated in the first division (*σύνταξις*) of the work, and the later group, including Demosthenes, Hyperides, and Aeschines, in the second.

The first division with its essays on Lysias, Isocrates, and Isaeus has been preserved intact. We also have an essay on Demosthenes, which has come down to us under the title of *περὶ τῆς Δημοσθένους λέξεως*, and which in all the important manuscripts is separated from the group of essays on Lysias, Isaeus, and Isocrates by one or more of the other works of Dionysius. The scope and method of this essay differ materially from the plan that was outlined in the introduction to the *De oratoribus antiquis* and which was followed in the first division of that work. This wide divergence in treatment plainly separates it from the essays on Lysias, Isocrates, and Isaeus, and points to an independent origin. But on the other hand we have two undoubted references to this essay in other works of Dionysius which assign it to the *De oratoribus antiquis*. It is the purpose of the paper to present a hypothesis which reconciles these two facts and suggests a solution for certain other difficulties that are found in the extant essay on

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Demosthenes. Briefly stated it is this, that Dionysius completed the *De oratoribus antiquis* according to his original plan and that afterward, for reasons which will appear later in the discussion, he wrote another essay on Demosthenes and incorporated it into the *De oratoribus antiquis*.

The first *σύνταξις*, which follows closely the plan outlined in the introduction, in its closing sentences renews the promise of a second part in which Demosthenes, Hyperides, and Aeschines should be discussed.[1] That this second part was actually completed and contained essays on the three later orators is made evident by the opening sentences of the essay on Dinarchus,[2] where Dionysius says that he did not include Dinarchus in his work on the Attic orators because he was "neither an inventor of a special type of style, as was Lysias, Isocrates, and Isaeus, nor was he a perfecter of the discoveries of others like Demosthenes, Aeschines, and Hyperides."[3] If for any reason we assume that the second part was never written, or that it was left incomplete and did not include Aeschines and Hyperides, we take away the occasion for any explanation on the part of Dionysius with regard to his failure to treat Dinarchus in that work and leave this sentence without point or meaning. Furthermore, the detailed statements (quoted below) about the style of Hyperides which are found in the *De Dinarcho* indicate that Dionysius had worked out a systematic treatment of that author at least; and the manner in which they

[1] *De Isaeo* 124. 8. 629, *ἑτέραν δὲ ἀρχὴν ποιήσομαι τοῦ λόγου περί τε Δημοσθένους καὶ Ὑπερείδου καὶ τρίτου λέγων Αἰσχίνου.*

[2] The correctness of this conclusion seems to be generally admitted by those who have examined the passage. Cf. Blass *De Dionysii Halicarnassensis scriptis rhetoricis*, p. 11; Roessler *Dionysii Halicarnassensis scriptorum rhetorum fragmenta*, p. 8; Croiset *Histoire de la littérature grecque* V. 360, footnote; Egger *Denys d'Halicarnasse*, p. 30. Wilamowitz "Lesefrüchte," *Hermes* XXXIV. 626, seems to have overlooked this passage, and in fact to have given scant attention to the essay on Dinarchus; otherwise he would not have chided Dionysius so severely for lack of interest in Hyperides: "Hyperides lag dem Dionys dauernd fern. . . . . Wir finden denn nirgend Spuren, dass er diesem Redner das verdiente Interesse zugewandt hätte."

[3] *περὶ Δεινάρχου τοῦ ῥήτορος οὐδὲν εἰρηκὼς ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων γραφεῖσιν διὰ τὸ μήτε εὑρετὴν ἴδιόν γεγονέναι χαρακτῆρος τὸν ἄνδρα, ὥσπερ τὸν Λυσίαν καὶ τὸν Ἰσοκράτην καὶ τὸν Ἰσαῖον, μήτε τῶν εὑρημένων ἑτέροις τελειωτήν, ὥσπερ τὸν Δημοσθένη καὶ τὸν Αἰσχίνη καὶ τὸν Ὑπερείδην. . . . .*

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are introduced presupposes an acqaintance with such a treatment on the part of the reader.[1]

From an examination of the references to these three orators in *De Dinarcho* and elsewhere in the works of Dionysius, we may hope to gain some idea of the contents of the second part. We may infer from the passage already quoted from *De Dinarcho*, that, as Lysias, Isocrates, and Isaeus each represented a particular style, so Demosthenes, Aeschines, and Hyperides were regarded as perfecters of three separate styles, or rather that the new elements introduced by each of the earlier orators were regarded as more highly developed or more skilfully combined with other qualities in the corresponding later orators. Such a correspondence is obvious in the case of Isaeus and Demosthenes, where the nascent δεινότης of Isaeus finds its perfect development in the more finished eloquence of Demosthenes.[2] χάρις is the common element in Lysias and Hyperides and the advance is made in the case of Hyperides by combining this quality with effectiveness (*χάριτος μεστός ἐστι· καὶ δοκῶν ἁπλοῦς οὐκ ἀπήλλακται δεινότητος*, *De imitatione* 213. 8. 435). That the two men were associated in the mind of Dionysius is shown by the following references: *τοῦ δ' Ὑπερειδείου ταῖς τε οἰκονομίαις ἀκριβεστέρου καὶ ταῖς κατασκευαῖς γενναιοτέρου πως ὄντος τῶν Λυσιακῶν*, *De Dinarcho* 304. 12. 640; *ὁ δ' Ὑπερείδης κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἡττᾶται Λυσίου, κατὰ δὲ τὸν πραγματικὸν τόπον διαφέρει*, *ibid.*, 305. 11. 641; *ὁ δὲ Ὑπερείδης εὔστοχος μὲν, σπάνιον δ' αὐξητικός· καὶ τῇ μὲν τῆς φράσεως κατασκευῇ Λυσίαν ὑπερηρκώς, τῇ δὲ τῆς εὑρέσεως πανουργίᾳ πάντας*, *De imit.* 213. 3. 435. There is less material for establishing a similar relationship between Isocrates and Aeschines. No other mention is made of Aeschines in the essay on Dinarchus, and elsewhere in the works of Dionysius no comparison between the two men is found. But in the summary criticism of the more important Greek authors which appears in the epitome of the work on Imitation, the style of each is said to be *πομπικός* (*De imit.*

[1] Further evidence for the existence of an essay on Hyperides is found in the statement of a scholiast on Hermogenes (Walz *Rh. Gr.* VII. 1048): *Διονύσιον, ὃς περὶ χαρακτῆρος διέλαβε Λυσίου Δημοσθένους Ἰσοκράτους Ὑπερείδου Θουκυδίδου.*

[2] *De Isaeo* 123. 23. 628: *ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ τῆς Δημοσθένους δεινότητος, ἣν οὐθεὶς ἐστιν ὃς οὐ τελειοτάτην ἁπασῶν οἴεται γενέσθαι, τὰ σπέρματα καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ παρασχεῖν.*

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212. 3. 432 and 212. 19. 434), and *ἐναργής* (*ibid.* 212. 3. 432, and 213. 1. 434). The first-named quality is peculiar to each as compared with the other members of his group and may have served as a basis for associating the two men. We must not imagine that Dionysius attempted to find a perfect exemplification of the relation of inventor to perfecter in each of the three pairs of orators. According to the closing sentence of the essay on Isaeus, he conceived of the three men in the last group as possessing supreme excellence in the command of the rhetorical art and great effectiveness in real contests.[1] Naturally this was not equally true of all of the three men, nor were the two qualities mentioned present in each in the same relative degree. Aeschines evidently owed his prominence to the second of these qualities more than to the first.[2] In some respects he must have appeared at a disadvantage in the comparison with Isocrates, but, as Hyperides is said to surpass Lysias by reason of his combining charm and effectiveness, so Aeschines would overmatch Isocrates by reason of the fact that he, too, possessed the element of effectiveness in addition to the showy qualities of Isocrates (*πομπικὸς ἅμα καὶ δεινός*, *De imit.* 212. 19. 434).

We may perhaps go a little farther and attempt to reconstruct the essays in outline. In the essay on Hyperides, for example, there would be the usual opening chapter, giving a brief account of his life, which would be followed by an enumeration of his *ἀρεταί*. Then there would be a detailed comparison between Hyperides and Lysias in point of style (*λέξις*). In choice of words Hyperides is found to be inferior to Lysias (*De Din.* 305. 11. 641); his diction is more elaborate (*De imit.* 213. 4. 435) and less clear (*De Din.* 305. 9. 641). In the arrangement of words he resembles Lysias in simplicity but surpasses him in vigor (*De Din.* 306. 17. 643). The second half of the essay would contain a comparison between the two as regards subject-matter (*τὰ πράγματα*). In invention (*εὕρεσις*) Hyperides is found to surpass not only Lysias,

[1] *De Isaeo* 124. 9. 629: *ἡ γὰρ δὴ τελειοτάτη ῥητορικὴ καὶ τὸ κράτος τῶν ἐναγωνίων λόγων ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔοικεν εἶναι.*

[2] *De imit.* 212. 20. 434: *καὶ οὐ πάνυ μὲν ἔντεχνος, τῇ δὲ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως εὐχερείᾳ κεχορηγημένος.*

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who himself is very clever in this respect (*De Lysia* 25. 12. 486), but all the other orators as well (*De imit.* 213. 5. 435). In the discussion of the management of his material (*οἰκονομία*) Isaeus also would be introduced and we should be shown how Hyperides adopted and extended some of the innovations of Isaeus, e. g., in giving greater elaboration to the arguments (*De Din.* 305. 13. 641; cf. *De Isaeo* 95. 22. 590 and 111. 22. 612). The essay on Aeschines would follow a similar outline, using Isocrates for the main comparison and contrast.

The essay on Demosthenes[1] would give a more adequate statement of the relation of Demosthenes to Isaeus and to the other orators, and would correct the exaggerated notion of the importance of Isaeus which is conveyed by the *De Isaeo* when taken by itself.[2] In that essay Dionysius was anxious to establish a connection between Isaeus and Demosthenes, in order to justify the prominence that he gives Isaeus there by making him the subject of one of the essays in the series.[3] For that reason he seized every pos-

[1] The three lists of the six orators (*De or. ant.* 7. 17. 451; *De Isaeo* 124. 8. 629; *De Dinarcho* 297. 4. 629) agree in giving Demosthenes as first in the second group, which indicates that the essay on Demosthenes was the first in the second part of the *De oratoribus antiquis*. This position rather than that of last in the series was doubtless chosen because of his relation to Isaeus, who thus immediately precedes him. With reference to the other two orators the lists are divided. The two lists that antedate the second part place Hyperides second and Aeschines third but the later list gives Aeschines as second and Hyperides third. It is probable that the earlier lists give the order according to the original plan of Dionysius but that after the composition of the second part had been begun, the order was changed to that which appears in the later list. It would appear that the first arrangement was due to the fact that Aeschines' position among the later orators was somewhat analogous to that held by Isaeus among the earlier, in that his importance in the present work is due to his historical relation to Demosthenes as well as to his own merits as an orator. Cf. *De Isaeo* 123. 21. 628 and 124. 8. 629: *τὸν δὲ δὴ τρίτον Ἰσαῖον εἴ τις ἔροιτό με τίνος ἕνεκα προσεθέμην, Λυσίου δὴ ζηλωτὴν ὄντα, ταύτην ἂν αὐτῷ φαίην τὴν αἰτίαν, ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ τῆς Δημοσθένους δεινότητος . . . . περί τε Δημοσθένους καὶ Ὑπερείδου καὶ τρίτου λέγων Αἰσχίνου.* Here *τρίτου* seems to be an echo of *τρίτον* above, and carries with it some of the apologetic associations. But because of this very relation to Demosthenes it was found desirable to abandon the original order and to treat Aeschines in the essay immediately following that on Demosthenes. Dionysius followed the same order in his treatment of these orators in the *De imitatione*. The chiastic arrangment is doubtless accidental.

[2] In *De Din.* 313. 21. 656; 320. 12. 666, and *De Dem.* 251. 5. 1127, Dionsyius seems to refer to another work on Demosthenes which dealt largely with questions of chronology and authenticity, subjects which were only incidentally treated in the *De oratoribus antiquis*. Cf. *De Lysia* 22. 8. 481; 25. 3. 485; *De Isaeo* 94. 12. 589.

[3] Cf. *De Isaeo* 123. 21. 628. In the *De imitatione* Isaeus was omitted altogether and his place in Dionysius' canon of the Six Orators was given to Lycurgus.

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sible opportunity to call attention to the features in which Isaeus resembled his great successor and deferred the more complete presentation of the sources of Demosthenes' eloquence until he should treat him in a separate essay. If the references to Demosthenes and Isaeus in the *De Dinarcho* reflect the views that were expressed in the lost essay on Demosthenes, which seems probable, Dionysius would there credit Isaeus with certain innovations which play an important part in the works of Demosthenes,[1] but regarded him as only one of a number of sources from which Demosthenes derived his training and inspiration.[2]

We still have the existing essay on Demosthenes to account for. Unfortunately a fragment containing the introduction has been lost; otherwise, the question of its position among the works of Dionysius might never have been raised. There is, however, in chap. xxxiii a restatement of a part of the lost introduction, which is important for our present purpose and has hitherto received too little attention. According to this passage the purpose of the essay was to show that Demosthenes possessed the best and most serviceable style for addressing all classes of men,[3] surpassing in this respect not only the other orators but the philosophers as well.[4] The presence of any introduction whatsoever would differentiate this essay from the essays on Lysias, Isocrates, and Isaeus, where the necessary information of that sort was provided in the general introduction to the whole work. But this introduction discloses a purpose which is foreign to that which was announced in the introduction of the *De oratoribus antiquis* and was evident in the essays in the first division of that work. There Dionysius declared that his immediate object in writing was to give assistance to those who were trying to form their style by the imitation of classic models, and it was from the standpoint of imitation that he discussed the three earlier orators. But in the

[1] *De Din.* 297. 1. 629; cf. *De Isaeo* 123. 24. 628.

[2] *De Din.* 305. 17. 642; cf. *Ad Amm.* 259. 11. 723; *De Dem.* 143. 11. 974.

[3] *De Dem.* 202. 9. 1058: ἡ πρόθεσις ἦν μοι καὶ ἐπάγγελμα τοῦ λόγου, κρατίστῃ λέξει καὶ πρὸς ἅπασαν ἀνθρώπου φύσιν ἡρμοσμένῃ μετριώτατα Δημοσθένη κεχρημένον ἐπιδεῖξαι.

[4] *Ibid.* 202. 16. 1059: ἀντιπαραθεὶς αὐτῷ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ῥητόρων τε καὶ φιλοσόφων λέξεις τὰς κράτιστα δοκούσας ἔχειν.

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De Demosthene his only concern is to establish the pre-eminence of Demosthenes—especially over Plato. There is now no reference to imitation and the work takes the form of argument rather than of exposition. Furthermore, the scope of his treatment is extended beyond the boundaries which were observed in the *De oratoribus antiquis*. There the discussion was confined strictly to the orators; but in this essay orators, historians, and philosophers are treated without apparent distinction, so far as it is a question of their relation to the subject under discussion.

Even more striking evidence of the independent origin of the *De Dem.* is found in the treatment of Isaeus in this essay. In the *De Isaeo* he was represented as having introduced the element, δεινότης, which was the most characteristic feature of the oratory of Demosthenes, and frequent references were made to Demosthenes' indebtedness to him in other respects. But in the *De Dem.* he is mentioned but once and then as one of six writers who exhibit "nothing new or unusual."[1] It is highly improbable, to say the least, that such a statement would be found in this essay, if it had immediately followed *De Isaeo* as a part of the same series.

The underlying motive of the essay, as may be inferred from the controversial tone of some of its passages, is the refutation of what Dionysius regarded as extravagant claims of the advocates of Plato.[2] After the second part of the *De oratoribus antiquis* had been completed, the attention of Dionysius, we may suppose, was called to the fact that, while he had shown in that work that Demosthenes stood first among the orators, such pre-eminence did not preclude a representative of history or philosophy from being awarded the primacy in the whole field of prose literature. It was *to refute the claims of the advocates of Plato* that he then prepared this second essay on Demosthenes. Apparently we have here another chapter in that never-ending controversy between the

[1] *De Dem.* 143. 6. 974: Ἀντιφῶν γὰρ δὴ καὶ Θεόδωρος καὶ Πολυκράτης Ἰσαῖός τε καὶ Ζωίλος καὶ Ἀναξιμένης καὶ οἱ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς γενόμενοι τούτοις χρόνους οὐθὲν οὔτε καινὸν οὔτε περιττὸν ἐπετήδευσαν. I shall later return to this passage and attempt to give its proper interpretation.

[2] *De Dem.* 178. 16. 1024: πρὸς δὴ τοιαύτας ὑπολήψεις καὶ τερατείας ἀνθρώπων ἠμιτελῶν περὶ λόγους, οἳ τὴν εὐγενῆ κατασκευὴν οὐκ ἴσασιν ἥ τίς ποτ' ἐστὶν οὐδὲ δύνανται, πᾶσαν εἰρωνείαν ἀφεὶς, ὡς πέφυκα, διαλέξομαι.

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partisans of rhetoric and those of philosophy. In the *Epistle to Ammaeus* he has already refuted the assertion that Demosthenes derived his skill in oratory from his study of the precepts of Aristotle. Now he is aroused by the renewal of the old claim[1] of the philosophers that Plato had surpassed all others in writing and speaking and should be taken as the standard for the simple style of the dialogue and also for the more vigorous style of public address,[2] in fact, that he not only stood first among the philosophers, but as an orator outshone even Demosthenes in his own field. For Plato's simpler style in the colloquial parts of the dialogues Dionysius has only words of commendation,[3] but his criticisms of Plato's supposed attempts at oratory are severe and in some instances betray a lack of appreciation of the spirit in which Plato composed them.[4] To speak in his own terminology, Dionysius is sometimes guilty of condemning Plato's *δύναμις* before he has gained an adequate conception of his *προαίρεσις*.

But in spite of the occasional thrust, it is evident that Dionysius tried to avoid giving to the essay a polemical cast and endeavored to present the appearance of studied impartiality.[5] In order to give to the work the form of a logical demonstration, he had recourse to the doctrine of the three types of style. His method of proof is that of elimination. If the prose authors be divided into three groups according to style, and the best author, or authors, in each group be selected, it is then necessary merely to show that a given author is superior to each of these foremost representatives in order to demonstrate his superiority over them and all others in the given groups. Accordingly he endeavors to show that Demosthenes is superior to Thucydides, the representative of the elevated style, to Lysias, the representative of the plain style, and

[1] Cf. Cicero *Orator* 62; *Brutus* 121.

[2] *De Dem.* 178. 8. 1024: *καὶ μάλιστα ἐπεί τινες ἀξιοῦσι πάντων αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνειν φιλοσόφων τε καὶ ῥητόρων ἑρμηνεῦσαι τὰ πράγματα δαιμονιώτατον παρακελεύονταί τε ἡμῖν ὁρᾳ καὶ κάνονι χρῆσθαι καθαρῶν ἅμα καὶ ἰσχυρῶν λόγων τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρί.*

[3] Cf. *De Dem.* 178. 21. 1025; 179. 8. 1025; 138. 18. 967.

[4] Doubtless much of this criticism goes back to those earlier critics of Plato to whom he refers in chap. v and whom he names in the *Epistle to Pompeius* (*De Pomp.* 226. 12. 757). viz.: Cephisodorus, Theopompus, Zoilus, Hippodamas, and Demetrius.

[5] Cf. 179. 18. 1026; *Ad. Pomp.* 222. 11. 752.

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to Isocrates and Plato, the representatives of the middle, or mixed style.

The essay, as has already been stated, is argumentative rather than didactic, and in it Dionysius is interested primarily in establishing the pre-eminence of Demosthenes. All considerations of sources or historical relationships are suborndinated to this main purpose. With this in mind we can now interpret his single reference to Isaeus: *πορεύσομαι δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην, οὗ δὴ χάριν τούς τε χαρακτῆρας τῆς λέξεως, οὓς ἡγούμην εἶναι κρατίστους, καὶ τοὺς δυναστεύσαντας ἐν αὐτοῖς κατηριθμησάμην, οὐχ ἅπαντας· Ἀντιφῶν γὰρ δὴ καὶ Θεόδωρος καὶ Πολυκράτης Ἰσαῖός τε καὶ Ζωίλος καὶ Ἀναξιμένης καὶ οἱ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς γενόμενοι τούτοις χρόνους οὐθὲν οὔτε καινὸν οὔτε περιττὸν ἐπετήδευσαν, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χαρακτήρων καὶ παρὰ τούτους τοὺς κανόνας τὰς ἑαυτῶν λέξεις κατεσκεύασαν* (*De Dem.* 143. 2. 974). The historical point of view has been abandoned, and in the whole field of prose literature Dionysius sees three types of style (*χαρακτῆρες τῆς λέξεως*), each with its own representatives. Among these leaders, Isaeus has no claim to prominence and may be disregarded in the demonstration of the primacy of Demosthenes. The expression *οὐθὲν οὔτε καινὸν οὔτε περιττόν* is not to be taken absolutely, but is to be interpreted in the light of the context and of the underlying purpose of the essay. So far as it was a question of the three styles without regard to their development, Isaeus presented nothing novel. His historical relation to Demosthenes is neither affirmed nor denied.

What has been said up to this point with reference to this essay on Demosthenes applies only to the first part, which ends with chap. xxxiv. This section of the essay has a certain completeness in itself, as is indicated by the last sentence in chap. xxxii (*De Dem.* 202. 5. 1058): *βούλομαι δὲ δὴ καὶ συλλογίσασθαι τὰ εἰρημένα ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ δεῖξαι πάνθ', ὅσα ὑπεσχόμην ἀρχόμενος τῆς θεωρίας τοῦ λεκτικοῦ τόπου, πεποιηκότα ἐμαυτόν.* The opening sentence of chap. xxxiv[1] shows that this treatment of Demosthenes from the standpoint of style (*λεκτικὸς τόπος*) was to be followed immedi-

[1] *De Dem.* 203. 22. 1060: *ὀλίγα τούτοις ἔτι προσθεὶς περὶ τῆς λέξεως, ἐπὶ τὸ καταλειπόμενον τῆς . . . . θεωρίας μέρος μεταβήσομαι.* By comparing this passage with the one quoted above, it will be seen that *τὸ καταλειπόμενον μέρος* must refer to the *πραγματικὸν μέρος.*

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ately by a treatment of his subject-matter (*πραγματικὸς τόπος*), as was Dionysius' practice in other essays. But instead of proceeding with this topic, in the following chapters he discussed at length the subject of "composition,"[1] which belongs under the *λεκτικὸς τόπος*. For some reason the proposed treatment was abandoned or deferred, and a new topic was substituted in its place.

Blass[2] in his earliest published work called attention to the fact that this essay on Demosthenes contained two references to the essay on "Composition" (*περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων*), which would indicate that the *De compositione* was written before the *De Demosthene*, while the essay on "Composition" had one reference to the essay on Demosthenes, from which the opposite conclusion might be drawn.[3] Blass attempted to solve the difficulty by suggesting that, after writing a part of the essay on Demosthenes, Dionysius laid it aside to write the essay on "Composition," and later returned to the essay on Demosthenes.[4] He did not indicate any definite point where the essay on Demosthenes was broken off, nor did he have faith enough in his own hypothesis to place the *De compositione* between the *De Isaeo* and the *De Demosthene* when he gave his complete list of the extant works of Dionysius in their chronological order.[5] Roessler[6]

[1] This term refers both to the arrangement and to the structure of words, i. e. the arrangement of letters and syllables within the word.

[2] *De Dionysii Halicarnassensis scriptis rhetoricis*, Bonn, 1863.

[3] *De Dem.* 236. 11. 1106: *τοὺς ὑπομνηματισμοὺς ἡμῶν λαβών, οὓς περὶ τῆς συνθέσεως πεπραγματεύμεθα*; *ibid.* 239. 14. 1111: *πίστεις ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς συνθέσεως γραφεῖσιν ἀποδεδωκώς*; *De Comp.* 77. 8. 118: *ἐν οἷς ἂν τὴν ὑψηλὴν καὶ περιττὴν καὶ ἐγκατάσκευον διώκῃ φράσιν, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἑτέρωθί μοι δηλοῦται σαφέστερον.* Cf. *De Dem.* chaps. v, vi.

[4] "Postquam primam partem absolvit libri de Demosthene, ad opus de compositione conscribendum delatus vel rogatu Rufi vel alia de causa qualicumque, hoc primum fecit, deinde ad Demosthenem reversus est."—*Op. cit.*, p. 9.

[5] "Ordo igitur scriptorum adhuc manentium, si quis eum e temporis rationibus instituere velit, hic erit: (1) *Epistula ad Amm.* I, (2) *De compositione*, (3) *De oratoribus antiquis* (*De Lysia Isocrate Isaeo, De Demosthene*, ...)."—*Ibid.*, p. 30.

[6] *Dionysii Halicarnensis scriptorum rheticorum fragmenta collegit, disposuit, praefatus est Car. Theod. Roessler*, Leipzig, 1873, p. 4: "Dionysius cum verba (p. 118 R.) *ὑπὲρ ὧν ἑτέρωθί μοι δηλοῦται σαφέστερον* conscriberet, non sine animi quadam alacritate se ipse ea jam intuebatur conficientem et exponentem, quae futuro demum tempore persecutus est." Blass in his review of this dissertation in the *Philologischer Anzeiger* V (1873). 353, rejects this interpretation and defends the use of the present for a perfect by referring to the general practice of using the present for the perfect in giving citations: "Cicero sagt, *ὁ φιλόσοφος γράφει* (*Ad Amm.* I. 263. 12. 729), *δηλοῖ Φιλόχορος*" (*ibid.* 267. 11. 734), etc.

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attempted to remove the difficulty by interpreting the reference in *De compositione* as referring forward to *De Dem.*, which was not yet composed, making δηλοῦται a vivid use of the present which reaches into the future. Croiset[1] interprets the same passage as referring to later chapters of the *De compositione*. But there is an absence of any exact correspondence between the demands of the reference and the passages to which the reference is supposed to be made.

When, however, the fact is noted that the essay on Demosthenes naturally falls into two distinct parts, and its references to the essay on "Composition" are in the second part, while the reference in the latter essay is to the first part of the essay on Demosthenes, it is at once suggested that the essay on "Composition" belongs chronologically between the two parts of the essay on Demosthenes. If we place it in this position, the references in the second part of the *De Demosthene* refer back to the *De compositione* and the reference in the *De compositione* refers back to the first part of the *De Demosthene*. Thus we may at the same time satisfy all these references and find an explanation for the break in the structure of the essay on Demosthenes. At the point mentioned Dionysius laid aside his work on Demosthenes in order to prepare the essay on "Composition," which was to serve as a birthday gift (*De comp.* 3. 5. 1) to his pupil, Rufus Metilius. While working on this essay, by a new combination of old material he wrought out a systematic treatment, which marked an important advance in his treatment of the subject of σύνθεσις. With this new knowledge he returned to the essay on Demosthenes and, instead of completing it according to the original plan, he restated his doctrine of "composition" and applied it to Demosthenes.

The purpose of the second half of the essay, as is stated by Dionysius in chap. xxxvi, was first to show what was the χαρακτήρ of the "composition," or "harmony" of Demosthenes, secondly, what means he employed to secure this χαρακτήρ, and thirdly, by what signs his peculiar χαρακτήρ could be distinguished from that

[1] *Histoire de la littérature grecque* V, p. 361, footnote: "Le ch. xi du π. σύνθεσ. se réfèrre, selon moi, aux ch. xxi et suivants du même ouvrage."

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of other writers.[1] The first topic he treats in chaps. xxxvii–xlvi, the second in chaps. xlvii–xlix, and the third in chap. l. Here then we no longer have argument but exposition. In the first half of the essay Dionysius introduced the three types of style as a means of demonstrating the primacy of Demosthenes. But in the second half he discusses the three types of "composition," or "harmony," for the purpose of making clear the meaning of the terms which he employs in describing the "composition" of Demosthenes and for giving to the treatment greater educational value.[2] After describing the three types of "composition" and naming their foremost representatives he quotes a passage from Thucydides to illustrate the severe (*αὐστηρά*) type of "composition," a passage from Isocrates to illustrate the smooth (*γλαφυρά*) type, and a passage from Herodotus to illustrate the middle, or mixed type. But there is no attempt at comparison between Demosthenes and the authors that are quoted. He does not even try to demonstrate the superiority of Demosthenes over the other orators, but contents himself saying that everybody, even his rival Aeschines, granted that. Any comparison with Plato is carefully avoided.[3]

This composite essay now contained much material that was not found in the earlier essay on Demosthenes and introduced new methods of approach to the orators in general. Dionysius' earlier treatment of style, as we see it exemplified in the essays on Lysias, Isocrates, and Isaeus, was based principally on the doctrine of the qualities (*ἀρεταί*) of style. This did not admit of a division between choice of words and "composition" and led to a somewhat meager treatment of the latter topic. Furthermore, the earlier essays, limited as they were in scope, failed to give a view of the relative position of the orators in the general literature of

[1] *De Dem.* 208. 6. 1066: *τίς δὲ ὁ τῆς ἁρμονίας αὐτοῦ χαρακτὴρ καὶ ἀπὸ ποίας γέγονεν ἐπιτηδεύσεως τοιοῦτος καὶ πῶς ἄν τις αὐτὸν διαγνοίη παρεξετάζων ἑτέροις, ταυτὶ πειράσομαι λέγειν.*

[2] *De Dem.* 223. 13. 1087: *ἵν' ἐπειδὰν ἀποφαίνωμαι γνώμην ὅτι τὴν μέσην τε καὶ μικτὴν ἁρμονίαν ἐπετήδευσεν ὁ Δημοσθένης, μηδεὶς ὑποτυγχάνῃ μοι ταῦτα λέγων· 'αἱ γὰρ ἄκραι τίνες εἰσὶν ἁρμονίαι; καὶ τίς αὐτῶν ἑκατέρας ἡ φύσις καὶ τίς ἡ μῖξις ἢ ἡ κρᾶσις αὕτη; οὐδὲν γὰρ δὴ τῶν . . . . ἄκρων.' τούτου μὲν δὴ πρώτου χάριν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἐκεῖνα ἠναγκάσθην προειπεῖν, ἔπειτα, ἵνα μοι μὴ μονόκωλος ᾖ μηδὲ αὐστηρὸς ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' ἔχῃ τινας εὐπαιδεύτους διαγωγάς.*

[3] Cf. *De Dem.* 233. 9. 1087.

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the time. This new matter made the later essay on Demosthenes a valuable supplement to the preceding essays in the *De oratoribus antiquis*. In length it is equal to the first *σύνταξις* of that work and was probably added as a third *σύνταξις*,[1] although later, owing to the greater interest of the material which it contained, it displaced the second *σύνταξις*, which disappeared from circulation. That this essay on Demosthenes was incorporated into the *De oratoribus antiquis* by Dionysius is shown by two references in his own works. In the *Epistle to Pompeius*, which was written in reply to some criticisms which he had received with reference to his treatment of Plato in this essay, Dionysius quotes *De Dem.* 136. 11. 965—139. 20. 969 as being *ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν πραγματείᾳ ῥητόρων* (*Ad Pomp.* 226. 22. 758), and in the *Second Epistle to Ammaeus* he refers to his discussion of Thucydides: *ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων πρὸς τὸ σὸν ὄνομα συνταχθεῖσιν ὑπομνηματισμοῖς* (*Ad Amm.* II. 421. 9. 789).

The lack of uniformity in the terms which Dionysius uses for referring to his work on the orators is significant as indicating the loose and flexible nature of its structure. Besides the two passages just quoted, there is but one other direct reference to this collection in the works of Dionysius. In the opening sentence of the essay on Dinarchus he speaks of his treatment of certain orators: *ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων γραφεῖσιν*, where *ῥητόρων* is to be supplied from the preceding *ῥήτορος*. Thus the collection of essays may be referred to as *ἡ πραγματεία*, *τὰ ὑπομνηματισμά*, or more freely, *τὰ γραφέντα*, and even *περὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ῥητόρων* alternates with *περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων*. Such freedom in the use of titles is not strange in view of the general nature of the subject of the work, nor is it a matter for surprise that such a work

[1] Rabe, "Die rhetorischen Schriften des Dionys von Halicarnass," *Rheinisches Museum* XLVIII (1893). 149, maintained that Dionysius always used the word *σύνταξις* in the sense of a work that is composed of parts. "Also *σύνταξις* ist immer eine Art 'Sammelband,' mag derselbe nun in Bücher getheilt sein, wie bei Deinias (*Schol. Eur. Or.* 872 . . . . *Δεινίας ἐν θ' τῆς πρώτης συντάξεως*), oder in solche Theile, wie bei Dionys (hier je 3 Kapitel?)." Among the passages which he cites is *De Dem.* 231. 19. 1099, *πολὺ γὰρ ἂν ἡ σύνταξις τὸ μῆκος λάβοι . . . . ἐπάνειμι δ' οὖν ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὧν ἐν ἀρχῇ προὐθέμην ἐρεῖν.* But the context clearly shows that the *σύνταξις* here mentioned is none other than the single essay on Demosthenes, which was then drawing toward its close. One may well question the application of Rabe's definition to *De or. ant.* 6. 4. 449; *De Thuc.* 334. 4. 823; *Ad Pomp.* 224. 3. 754, etc.

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received an additional section which was not provided for in the original plan.

Three typical hypotheses with various modifications in details have been suggested for explaining the composition of the *De oratoribus antiquis*. Blass[1] held that in the latter part of the work Dionysius discussed Demosthenes, Aeschines, and Hyperides and that the *De Demosthene* formed a part of the treatment of Demosthenes, being followed by another essay in which Demosthenes was treated from the standpoint of subject-matter. The objections to any hypothesis that makes *De Dem.* follow the essay on Isaeus as a part of the same series have already been shown. Wilamowitz[2] has suggested that Dionysius abandoned his plan for six essays when he entered upon his treatment of Demosthenes and that the *De Dem.* completed the series. This is open to the same objections as the hypothesis of Blass, and, furthermore, it disregards the passage in the *De Dinarcho* and other evidence which indicate that the original plan was actually carried out. Croiset[3] felt the difficulty of making *De Dem.* harmonize with the essays on Lysias, Isocrates, and Isaeus and attempted to solve the difficulty by assuming that *De Dem.* was an independent essay but contained portions of an earlier essay on Demosthenes which had formed a part of the *De oratoribus antiquis*. But this hypothesis gives us little relief because it is the sections treating of Plato and Thucydides, referred to elsewhere by Dionysius, which afford Croiset evidence for the existence of an earlier essay, and which, according to the hypothesis, must have been in that essay. But these are the very elements which are foreign to the general scope of *De or. ant.* and should not be found there.

The hypothesis here presented—that the extant essay on Demosthenes is a later work which was afterward incorporated into the *De oratoribus antiquis*—affords a basis for explaining the

[1] Blass *De Dion. Hal. script. rhet.*, pp. 10 ff.

[2] Wilamowitz "Lesefrüchte," *Rh. Mus.* XXXIV. 626.

[3] Croiset, *Hist. de la lit. grec.* V. 368 ff. In the reference to Lysias in *De Dem.* 130. 19. 956: *τίς δὲ ἦν ἡ προαίρεσις αὐτοῦ καὶ τίς ἡ δύναμις, ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης δεδήλωται γραφῇ*, the word *γραφῇ* is to be taken as referring to the collection of six essays rather than to the first three, for which Dionysius uses the term *σύνταξις*.

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peculiar nature of the contents of that essay and satisfies the references to it in other works of Dionysius. According to this hypothesis, we are to suppose that the *De oratoribus antiquis* at first contained two sections (*συντάξεις*); that later a third was added which contained a new presentation of the stylistic merits of Demosthenes and proof of his pre-eminence that still later, probably after the death of Dionysius, the second section, containing the essays on Demosthenes, Aeschines, and Hyperides, ceased to be copied and disappear from circulation, because in these Dionysius had followed the same method of treatment that he employed in the first section with consequent monotony arising from its repeated application. Thus the essays in the first section on Lysias, Isocrates, and Isaeus together with the later essay on Demosthenes served as a sort of compendium, illustrating Dionysius' methods of treating the orators and containing his views with regard to the most important of them.

RALPH HERMON TUKEY

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

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STUDIES IN THE MSS OF THE THIRD DECADE OF LIVY

By F. W. Shipley

In *Certain Sources of Corruption in Latin Manuscripts*, published in 1904, I sought to illustrate by means of two MSS of the third decade of Livy (the Puteanus, and its ninth-century copy, the Vaticanus Reginensis 762) the errors which crept into the texts of the Latin authors in the copies made by ninth-century scribes of the uncial MSS of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. The scope of the work precluded the consideration of a number of questions arising out of my study of the two MSS. These questions will be discussed in the present series of papers under the following headings: I, The Relationships of the MSS in the Puteanus Group; II, Addenda and Corrigenda in Mommsen's *Analecta Liviana* for the Readings of Vaticanus Reginensis 762; III, The Codex Mediceus; IV, The Date of the Corrections by Erasure in the Puteanus; V, Addenda and Corrigenda in the Readings of the Puteanus as given in the Critical Apparatus of August Luchs.

I. THE RELATIONSHIPS OF THE MSS IN THE PUTEANUS GROUP[1]

Since 1869, when Heerwagen published his *Commentatio critica de T. Livii xxvi. 41. 18–44. 1*, the attention of students of the text of the latter half of the third decade of Livy has, naturally enough, been concentrated upon the problem of restoring, in so far as it is possible to do so, the readings of the Spirensian tradition, and the relationships of the MSS in this group have been worked out in great detail. The MSS of the Puteanus group have received but little attention, since they are descended from an existing original and are, for this reason, of no value for the text of Livy for the greater portion of the decade. But, at

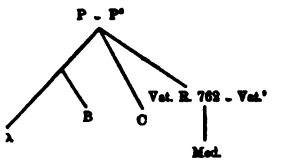
[1] The MSS of this group which are earlier than the end of the thirteenth century are given below, together with their designations:

P = Puteanus sive Parisinus 5730, saec. V.

R = Vaticanus Reginensis 762, saec. IX, a copy of P. This manuscript is not used in

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the beginning and end of the decade, which are missing in the Puteanus, some of the earlier MSS of this group possess an independent value, and the readings of C, M, B, and λ are for these portions given in the critical apparatus of August Luchs. The determination of their relationships to each other and to P is thus of some consequence. A stemma is given by Luchs on p. vii of his *Prolegomena*, as follows:



This stemma, as I shall proceed to show, is not entirely correct, although Luchs can hardly be held responsible for the error. His classification is no doubt based upon the readings given in Mommsen's *Analecta Liviana*. This work, while it laid the foundations for a sounder criticism of the text of the second half of the decade, is full of inaccuracies of detail, due partly to the haste with which some of the collations were made, and in part to the almost unavoidable blunders in arranging and digesting by means of numerical designations the readings of eighty-four manuscripts. It will be seen from the readings of the Vaticanus Reginensis given below (p. 413), what a considerable margin one must allow for possible error in the readings of most of the other MSS as given in the *Analecta*. The Vat. Reg., in

the critical apparatus of the editions, and has therefore no letter of designation. In the following pages it is referred to as Vat. Reg. and its readings are given for convenience under the designation R. Its number in Mommsen's *Analecta* is 66.

M = Mediceus Laurentianus LXIII. 20, saec. XI, a copy of Vat. Reg. according to Luchs. No. 36 in the *Analecta*.

C = Parisinus 5731 Colbertinus, saec. XII. No. 1 in *Analecta*.

B = Bambergensis M. IV, 9. saec. XI. No. 9 in *Analecta*.

λ = Laurentianus LXIII. 21, saec XIII. No. 37ª in *Analecta*.
Londiniensis Harleianus 2493, saec. XIII. No. 27ª in *Analecta*.
Vaticanus 1847, saec. XIII. No. 55 in *Analecta*.
Cantabrigiensis, Trinity College, R. 4. 4, saec. XIII incip. No. 26 in *Analecta*.
Parisinus 5732 Colbertinus, saec. XIII. No. 2 in *Analecta*.
Parisinus 5736, saec. XIII vel XIV. No. 6 in *Analecta*.

The numerous MSS of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are all referred to under the numbers given by Mommsen in the *Analecta*, and for these the reader is referred to the *Analecta*, pp. 34–37.

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the portion covered by the readings given in the *Analecta*, follows its original with great fidelity and has comparatively few departures from the readings of P. Of these few variations a considerable proportion are either wrongly or inadequately reported in the *Analecta*, and, in consequence, the real position of this MS in the Puteanus group was overlooked. This oldest descendant of P is of no value for the text of Livy owing to the fact that it is more mutilated at the beginning and end of the decade than the Puteanus itself. Its readings do not appear in the critical apparatus, and the interest in it has been of a purely paleographical nature. For this reason the errors in the report of it in the *Analecta* have passed unnoticed. In the stemma of Luchs it is recognized as a copy of P, and the parent of M, but it can readily be shown that, of the four manuscripts of the P group of which Luchs makes use in his critical edition, all but C are descended from P through Vat. Reg. It can further be shown, even from the *Analecta*, that the majority of the great number of manuscripts of the P group trace their descent through this ninth-century copy.

In his stemma Luchs recognizes that B and λ are descended from P through a common ancestor, but fails to recognize that the common ancestor is Vat. Reg. The descent of λ from Vat. Reg. is easily shown, and to avoid the errors of the *Analecta* I shall make use of the readings of λ as they are given in the critical apparatus of Luchs's edition, and my own readings of Vat. Reg. I shall give those readings only in which Vat. Reg. shows a departure from P.

For convenience the readings of Vat. Reg. are designated by the letter R.

28. 24. 7 non reuehi P,* reuehit *omitting* non R, λ.
25. 7 reum P, rerum R, λ.
8 Scipionem bellis P, scipiōn | bellis R, scipio non bellis λ.
26. 14 in acie P,* acie R, *et ex* aciem λ.
27. 5 umbrium P^2, ubrium R, λ.
28. 6 insiciliamessenam (=Messanam) P, in siciliam esse nam R, λ.
29. 2 doleraeuitae P, dolere | uitae R, dolore uitae λ.
33. 14 accepere P,* acceperet R^1, acciperet R^2, λ.

* Reading of P inferred from Luchs's silence.

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33. 15 neques P^1, neque eques P^2, neque acies R, λ.
16 ca | pessendae steterat P, capessendaest et erat R, capessenda est et erat λ.
34. 12 pecuniam ilergetes P,* pecuniā | milergetes R, pecuniam inilergetes λ.
35. 12 continentem] contionemtem P, contionem tem R^1, contionantem R^2, contio natem λ.
29. 2. 2 peruenere et] perueneret P, R^1, perueniret R^2, λ.
2. 13 neu resutui acie P^1 (neu restitui aciē P^4) neu res ut ui acie R, neu res ut in acie λ.
12. 8 epirotae] epiroe P epikoe R, λ.
17. 9 respecietis P, recipietis R, λ.
22. 5 consulem P* (probably written cōs), quos R, λ.
15 fauorem] fatio | rem P^1, *supra* o *prima manu u uidetur scripta fuisse*, facilio | rem P^2, facillionis R, λ.

From the above examples it will be seen that the readings of λ either agree with those of Vat. Reg., where they depart from those of P, or have their starting-point in errors which originated with it. The readings *rerum* 28. 27. 7; *neque acies* 28. 33. 15; *epikoe* 29. 12. 8; and *facillionis* 29. 22. 15 are especially strong evidence of the descent of λ from Vat. Reg.

That λ is not a direct copy but is descended from Vat. Reg. through an intermediary of as late a date as the eleventh century is shown by the progress of error in 28. 34. 12 *pecuniā milergetes* R., *pecuniam inilergetes* λ, and in 29. 2. 13 *ut ui acie* R., *ut in acie* λ. In both instances the error points to forms of *m*, *n*, *u*, *i*, which are at least as late as the eleventh century.

That B and λ were descended from a common ancestor had already been recognized by Luchs, and may readily be shown without resorting to the *Analecta* by a comparison of the readings of C, B, λ, given in the critical apparatus of Luchs's edition at the end of the decade, which is missing in P. A few omissions and lacunae will be sufficient to show the almost constant agreement of B, λ against C.[1]

30. 30. 20 ferrum utrimque C, *om.* B λ.
25 ea B C, *om.* λ.
32. 4 spes B λ, *om.* C.

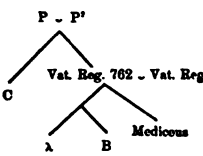
[1] Only those passages are cited in which Luchs has given the readings of all three MSS.

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35. 4 proelio et C, et *om.* B λ.
36. 8 mille *vel* ∞ C, ·×· B, *om.* λ.
8 mille et quingenti] (probably ∞ et D in P) C, ·×· et B, decem λ.
9 quo magis] quam magis B λ, magis C.
37. 5 quinquaginta C, *om.* B λ.
11 arguerentur] argueretur P C, *spatium relictum* B, *om.* λ.
39. 6 C. Sulpicius Galba] c. C, *om.* B λ, *sed in* B *spatium relictum.*
40. 8 prouinciā C, *om.* B λ *sed in* B *15 litt. spat. relictum.*
9 anno C. *om.* B λ.
41. 1 prorogatum imperium] pro λ, *inter* prorogatum *et* imperium B *7 litt. spat. rel.*
4 acidinum esset uti consules C, acc (*spatio relicto*) sule B, *om.* λ.
4 his uideretur ut plebem rogarent cui iuberent C, his uideretur ut pleb (*spatio relicto*) berent B, *om.* λ.
5 ex duobus exercitibus C, *om.* B λ, *sed in* B *spatium relictum.*

These lacunae and omissions clearly point to a common ancestor for B and λ later than P, and, as the descent of λ through Vat. Reg. has been proven, it is clear that B also is a descendant of that manuscript. B like λ is not a direct copy of Vat. Reg., but is removed from it by at least one intermediary of the tenth or eleventh century, as is shown by such errors as 30. 6. 9 where B has *niagis* for *magis*.[1]

The stemma of the older manuscripts of the P group as given by Luchs should accordingly be corrected as follows:



and C remains the only one of these manuscripts whose descent from P is not through Vat. Reg. 762.

These relationships have all been established without resorting to the *Analecta*, on the basis of the readings of P, C, B, λ, as given

[1] In a paper in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association* for 1902, on "Numeral Corruptions in a Ninth-Century Manuscript," I had already pointed out that the freakish errors of the scribes of Vat. Reg. were duplicated by similar errors in the Bambergensis; but as the readings of the Bambergensis were from a portion of the text that was missing in the Vat. Reg,, and I had then no other reason for calling in question the stemma of Luchs, I was obliged to regard it simply as a coincidence.

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in the critical apparatus of Luchs, who is usually most careful, and my own collation of Vat. Reg.

The fact that Vat. Reg. is the ancestor of B and λ as well as of M having been established, it is possible to show that it is also the ancestor of a much larger number of manuscripts. But the readings of these manuscripts are either not given at all in the critical editions, or are only given sporadically, when they happen to show traces of the Spirensian tradition, and one is forced to fall back upon the *Analecta* as the only available evidence. In order to make use of the *Analecta* for this purpose, it is necessary to eliminate from the readings there given for Vat. Reg. the inaccuracies in the collation submitted to Mommsen either by Schoell or Jeep, who collated for him the manuscripts in the Roman libraries, and the clerical blunders in digesting its readings under the numerical system which Mommsen adopted. The corrected readings are given in paper II of this series on p. 413.

With the readings of Vat. Reg. thus corrected, one can trace with greater accuracy the relationships of the later MSS of the P group, bearing in mind, of course, the possibility of similar errors in the *Analecta*, in handling the reading of these MSS. It will here be necessary to make use of the numerical designations adopted by Mommsen.

Among the passages given in the *Analecta* the key to the MSS descended through Vat. Reg. is to be found in 29. 22. 8 memoriaque absentis Scipio*nis* *fauorem* ad uulgum conciliabat. The reading of P is given by Luchs as follows: *fatio* | *rem* P^1 (supra *o* prima manu *u* videtur scripta fuisse) *facilio* | *rem* P^2. The scribe of Vat. Reg. wrote *facillionis*, a blunder resulting apparently, by a parablepsy, from *facilio* | of the reading of P^2, and the *nis* of *Scipionis*. This senseless reading, which thus originated in R, and which is not of the sort likely to be perpetuated except in direct copies, is repeated either as it stands, or with modifications, in a large number of manuscripts, as follows: *facillionis* M, B, λ, 2, 12^a, 26, 27^a, 62^a, 81; *facilionis* 38, 67^b, 72^a, *facilioris* 44; *facilliomnes* 29^a, *facili omnes* 74; *facile omnes* 6^a, 29^b, 79; *facilior dis* 67^a.

Equally significant is 27, 33, 10 *in necopinatam* fraudem

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lapsos esse, but its significance is lost in the *Analecta*, owing to the fact that the reports for both P and Vat. Reg. are incorrect. Luchs gives for P *innecopianas* | *tam* P^1, *sine copia nas tam* P^2; R^1 had *sinnecopia natā*, which was altered by R^2 to *sine copia natā*. This reading is, according to the *Analecta*, found in the following MSS: M, B, λ, 12^a, 14, 23, 26, 27^a(?), 29^a(?), 31, 35, 38, 44, 46, 49^a, 51, 52, 59, 62, 67, 70, 71, 74, 75, 79, 80, 81.

In 27. 34. 5, P has *opsoleta*, Vat. Reg. had also *opsoleta*, but this was changed by the first hand to *obsolita* (the report in the *Analecta* is here misleading). This reading *obsolita* occurs, with modifications, in the following MSS: *obsolita* M, B, λ, 3, 4, 12^a, 38, 44, 46, 56, 71, 74, 77, 80; *obsoluta* 18, 49^a, 70; *absoluta* 11, 14, 75; *absoleta* 82; *absolita* 67, 81; *abseleta* 34; *absoleta* 53^b; *obselata* 58.

These passages alone give as probable descendants of Vat. Reg. the following MSS: M, B, λ, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 12. 14, 23, 26, 27^a, 29^a, 30, 33, 35 (?), 38^a, 39, 44, 46, 49^a, 51, 52, 55, 56, 59, 60, 62, 67, 70, 71, 72^a, 74, 75, 77, 79, 80, 81.

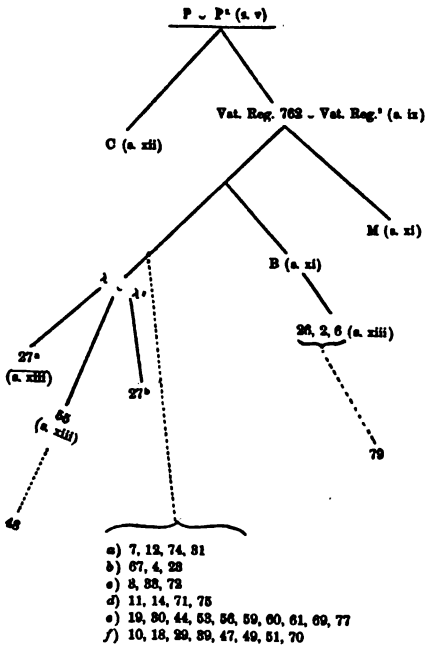
There are in all ten MSS of the P group of as early a date as the thirteenth century, namely, Vat. Reg., C, M, B, λ, 27^a (=H of Luchs), 55 (Vat. 1487), 26 (Cantab., Trin. Coll., R. 4. 4), 2 (Paris. Colbert. 5732), 6 (Paris. Colbert. 5736). Of these, C alone does not trace its descent through Vat. Reg. M had already been recognized as a copy of the latter MS by Luchs. Luchs had already shown that 27^a and 55 were copies of λ, though he failed to recognize their relationship to Vat. Reg. The other thirteenth-century MSS, 26, 2, 6, form a group which is closely related to the Bambergensis. It is highly probable that the Bambergensis was itself the archetype of these three MSS. The following readings in the *Analecta*, which are peculiar to these three MSS and to B, point pretty clearly to this relationship, but, owing to the possibility of further errors in the *Analecta*, absolute proof is not to be had without a new collation of this portion of the MSS in question.

27. 33. 10 praepropere P, R; praepraepropere B, 26, 2.
34. 2 et conlega P, R; set conlega B^1, sed conlega B^2, 26, 2.
8 uiro iussa R; uiri iussa B(?), 26, 2, 6*a*.

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The remaining MSS of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which I have shown to trace their descent through Vat. Reg., are so late and show so many signs of interpolation, emendation, and crossing that it is hard to trace their further relationship definitely. Practically all, however, are more closely related to the Laurentianus than to the Bambergensis or the Mediceus. They fall into groups as follows: (*a*) 7, 12, 74, 31; (*b*) 67, 4, 23; (*c*) 33, 3, 72; (*d*) 11, 14, 71, 75; (*e*) 19, 30, 44, 53, 56, 59, 60, 61, 69, 77; (*f*) 10, 18, 29, 39, 47, 49, 51, 70.

The stemma given below indicates in detail the genealogy of the MSS of earlier date than the end of the thirteenth century.



The relationship of the MSS of later date is indicated by the dotted lines. To avoid complicating the diagram unnecessarily, the large group of late MSS marked a, b, c, d, e, f, is merely indicated as tracing its descent through the same line as λ. In reality λ and 27 are the ancestors of a considerable number of them.

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In the entire list of MSS of the Puteanus group, there is but one which traces its descent from P independently of Vat. Reg. As the Puteanus was available throughout this period in the library of the monastery at Corbie, this fact goes far to show that, down to the time of the Renaissance, those engaged in reproducing copies of the text of Livy were at little pains to search out early and reliable MSS, and were satisfied with making copies of MSS which were not only late, but full of interpolations.[1]

II. ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA IN MOMMSEN'S *ANALECTA LIVIANA* FOR THE READINGS OF VATICANUS REGINENSIS 762

In the study of the relationships discussed in the foregoing paper, I found a great many discrepancies between my own record of the readings of Vaticanus Reginensis 762 and those given in the *Analecta*. In order to guard against the possibility of error on my part I had made, through the kindness of Dr. E. A. Loew, Carnegie fellow in the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, a careful transcript of Vat. Reg. for the passages given in the *Analecta*. This transcript served to verify my own record, and it was clear that the discrepancies in the *Analecta* were due in part to omissions and errors in the collation submitted to Mommsen, and in part to clerical blunders inevitable in digesting the readings of eighty-four manuscripts.

Below is submitted a list of the additions and corrections which should be made in the readings of Vat. Reg. as given in the *Analecta*. The sign * indicates that the report of the reading of Vat. Reg. given in the *Analecta* is erroneous, and the sign † that the reading is there omitted. Corrections are given in full, and abbreviations where they have been the cause of errors in MSS descended from Vat. Reg. Occasionally, in the case of an important reading, that of Vat. Reg. is specifically given where it is merely included under *plerique* in the *Analecta*. The designation of Vat. Reg. is that given in the *Analecta*, viz. 66.

27. 33. 5 p̄. sulpicius 66.
6 manli *in* †manlio *mut.* 66[a].
6 molitur 66.

[1] M is a possible exception. See discussion of its relationship to P in the third paper of this series.

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8 iussi *in* iussit *mut.* 66ª.
10 nimia] *plerique*, † nia 66.
10 sinne copia natam 66ª sine copia natam 66ᵇ.
11 immortalis 66ª immortales 66ᵇ.
11 consulum p. sorum 66.
34. 2 egre | ciae ducebant 66.
3 adiunto 66ª adiuncto 66ᵇ.
5 reduxerant 66.
5 opsoleta *in* obsolita *mut.* 66ª.
6 p̄. licinius 66.
7 hominis *in* homines *mut.* 66ª.
7 marcia 66.
8 *uiro iussa 66.
9 que 66ª q. *post. ras.*
9 quia duos] qui ad | uos 66.
10 † recuraturusque 66.
10 cum claudio 66.
13 congeris ibi *in* congeri si *correxit* 66ᵇ.
28. 39. 16 † uobis 66.
16 tribe | erunt 66ª, tribuerunt 66ᵇ.
16 *uestrae 66.
16 facia | atis 66ª, faci | atis 66ᵇ.
17 destitutum 66ª, restitutum 66ᵇ.
17 socilis 66ª, socialis 66ᵇ.
18 rectae et 66.
18 † serutio 66.
18 quaequae 66ª, quaeque 66ᵇ.
20 auditae quae 66.
21 dues *in* duces *mut.* 66ª.
21 litterae quae 66ª, litteraeq. 66ᵇ.
21 uti 66ª, i *postea erasa.*
21 † cum iter 66.
40. 1 deferre 66.
1 ferrentes 66ª, ferrent et 66ᵇ.
1 adgerendum 66.
1 ad *om.* 66ª *supplevit* 66ᵇ.
2 aliter 66.
2 transportaret 66.
3 † scio 66.
4 † provinciam 66.
5 non senatorem modo qui de 66.
7 adulescentes sane 66ª, adoliscentes sane 66ᵇ.
8 atquae 66ª, atque *post. ras.*
9 † consularibus 66.

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9 parte 66.
9 *aet | mea ratio 66.
10 †quo fando 66.
11 iuditio 66.
11 *confessionem 66[a], confessione me 66[b].
12 atquae 66.
13 que parta 66.
14 uince 66[a], uincere 66[b].
14 †han | balem 66.
41. 1 *ignosce rep̄. 66[a], ignoscere .p̄. 66[b].
1 †bono publico proponam *om.* 66.
2 aut is] is *om.* 66[a], *supplevit* 66[b].
3 hannibal] habal 66.
4 praeferiundus 66.
4 aut illud] ut 66[a], aut 66[b].
4 †contigat 66.
5 futurast ad repanis 66.
5 aryci 66[a], eryci 66[b].
5 atquae 66[a], atque *post. ras.*
5 mali 66[a], malis 66[b].
7 nondum is est 66.
7 contempsis 66[a], contempsisse 66[b].
8 egregiam 66[a], aegregiam 66[b].
8 †parati 66.
10 huic 66[a], hic 66[b].
10 *altera ultra 66.
10 nobis 66.
11 nunc] *num 66.
11 quod et] et *om.* 66[a], *supplevit* 66[b].
11 diuersus 66[a], diversos 66[b].
11 altae 66[a], alterae 66[b].
11 clases 66.

III. THE CODEX MEDICEUS

Luchs, on p. lxviii of the *Prolegomena* to his critical edition of Books xxvi–xxx, states that Mediceus Laurentianus LXIII. 20, is a copy of Vaticanus Reginensis 762, and the same relation is indicated in his stemma of the MSS of the third decade given on p. vii. A comparison of the readings of M with those of Vat. Reg. and P will show that this statement of relationship needs some modification, and, for the opening of the decade, at least, raises an interesting question as to the manner in which the text of M was

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established. Throughout Book xxii from chap. 6, where Vat. Reg. now begins, there is a considerable number of cases in which M departs from the reading of the latter manuscript, and reverts to readings which are to be found in P, but not in Vat. Reg. Leaving out of consideration the numerous coincidences between the readings of M and P as against Vat. Reg., which might be ascribed to ordinary vagaries of spelling, mere accident, or conjecture on the part of the scribe of M, the following readings cannot be explained in any of these ways. The readings of Vat. Reg. are indicated by the letter R.

1. 22. 8. 5 aut nuntium *aut* litteras mitti]
haut P, aut R, haud M.

2. 9. 4 ibi per aliquot dies stativa habita *refectusque* miles]
prefec | tusque P^1, refectusque P^2, refectusque R, prefectusque M.

3. 12. 11 sed non Hannibalem magis infestum habebat quam *magistrum equitum*]
magg. equi | tum P, maġ̄ equitum R, magḡ equitum M.

4. 13. 11 cum omnia bello *flagrarent*]
flaglarent P, flagrarent R, flaglarent M.

5. 14. 1 *exurebatur amoenissimus* Italiae ager]
exur | beraturamoenissimus P, exuberatura.moenissimus R, exurberatur.a⌣moenissimus M.

6. 12 utrum tandem L. Papirius *Cursor iuga Samni* perlustrando]
CVRSORIIVGAS | AMNI P^1, CVRSORIVGAS | AMNI P^2, cursor iuga:s⌣amni R, cursori iuga samni M.

7. 13 impeditam *suomet* ipsam instrumento atque adparatu]
suo'm | et P, suo et R, suo met M.

8. 15 et *ad aures* quoque militum dicta ferocia evolvebantur.]
ETADVRES P (a *suprascripsit* P^1), et. aures R (ad suppl. *corr.*), etad. ures M (a *suprascripsit* M^1).

9. 22. 14 *uolt* sibi quisque credi]
uolt P, uoti R, uult M.

10. 16 et tempore constituto ad obsides *tradendos saguntum* rediit.]
trahendosaquntum P^1, tradendosaguntum P^2, tradendo saguntum R, trahendo saguntum M.

11.[1] 52. 4 ad quattuor milia hominum et *ducenti equites*]

[1] The readings given for P in these two examples differ from those of Luchs, which are incorrect in detail. See corrections of readings in his critical apparatus in the next number of *Classical Philology*.

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DVCEN | TIAMILIAEQVITES in DVCEN | TAEQVITES P¹, ducenti equites P², ducenti equites R, ducenti iam equites M.

12.[1] 6 tum *sepeliendi* causa conferri in unum corpora suorum iussit]
SEPELLIENDO *in* SEPELLENDI *mut.* P¹, *post. rasura* SEPELIENDI *effectum*, sepellendi R, *quod in* sepelliendi *mutavit corr.* sepeliendi M.

In the first four examples given above, and also in No. 6, the readings of R are those adopted by the modern editors. All of them make good sense. Consequently it is hardly by accident that we find in M the readings *haud* (No. 1), *prefectusque* (No. 2), *magg* (No. 3), *flaglarent* (No. 4), and *cursori iuga samni* (No. 6). In No. 5 the readings of R and P are equally unintelligible. It is hardly likely that the scribe of M, finding before him the meaningless word *exuberatura*, would have hit upon the equally meaningless *exurberatura* independently of P. It is conceivable that in No. 7 a scribe with a fair knowledge of Latin might have thought of *suomet*, but, taken in conjunction with the other cases, the coincidence is hardly to be explained in this way. In No. 8, allowing for the difference in the styles of writing, the scribe of M has made a facsimile of the original reading of P and the correction of P¹. In the cases where there are corrections in P made by P² (viz., Nos. 2, 6, 10, 11), the reading of M corresponds not with the correction, but with the original reading; while R, on the other hand, has adopted the corrected reading. In No. 11, M agrees with P² and R in reading *ducenti*, but *iam*, which does not occur in R, must come from the middle letters of *ducentiamilia*, the original reading of P.

The examples given make it certain, so far as certainty is possible in paleographical problems, that the scribe of M was in some manner informed of the readings of P. This information may have been obtained in any one of three ways: (1) the scribe may have had before him P in addition to Vat. Reg., upon which, in the main, he based his copy; or (2) some accurate copy of P now lost; or (3) he may have obtained by correspondence the readings in question. The last of these three possibilities seems to be

[1] *Ibid.*

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excluded by the nature of the examples. The passages about which further information, and the support of an older manuscript might be desired by correspondence, would naturally be those which were corrupt and unintelligible to the scribe, whereas in Vat. Reg. most of the passages in question make perfect sense, and are the readings of modern editions. Consequently there is no reason why they should have been suspected by the scribe. The same argument holds, also, for the second possibility, namely, that the scribe of M had before him a copy of P other than Vat. Reg. It does not seem likely that a scribe who set store enough upon Vat. Reg. to base his copy upon it, would reject its readings where they are intelligible and make perfect sense, for the readings of another manuscript which made none, unless he had some reason for believing that the manuscript from which these unintelligible readings were drawn was of greater authority than the one upon which he was basing his text. This authority would be wanting in a copy of P contemporary with, or later than, Vat. Reg. There still remains Ex. 8 which is of itself almost conclusive evidence that P itself was before the scribe. Here the reading of M, which, as it stands, was all the work of the original scribe, was a perfect facsimile of the reading in P with its corrections by P^1.

If the conclusion is correct, and the Vat. Reg. and P were both accessible to the scribe of M, one might reasonably ask why the copy was not based directly upon P, as the older of the two manuscripts. It would seem to have been the purpose of the person for whom M was made to secure a conservative text which should have as few departures as possible from the Puteanus. But, as the uncial writing of the manuscript, with its undivided words, was more difficult to copy, and opened the way for scribal errors, Vat. Reg., which was written in Caroline minuscule, was used to secure greater rapidity. But, in order to follow closely the text of the older manuscript, the readings of P were constantly compared, and where Vat. Reg., whether through error or other causes, showed departures from P, the reading of P was preferred, and where there were corrections in P itself, the original reading was given precedence over the correction.

This practice seems to have been given up after Book xxii

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(where examples are frequent), because it was found that by following it out, a readable text was not secured, and the preserving of a conservative text did not serve a practical end, since many of the readings of P, where the two MSS differed, were due to scribal errors in it or in its archetype. But though this practice was given up in the books succeeding Book xxii, one may reasonably suppose that it began at the commencement of the decade and continued throughout Book xxi. This, however, is merely a matter of conjecture, as Book xxi and the first six chapters of Book xxii are missing in Vat. Reg.

M is one of the two[1] manuscripts upon which Luchs has based the text of the beginning of Book xxi, which is missing in the Puteanus. Consequently, if we may assume that the scribe of M began the decade by observing the same care in preserving the readings of P as is to be found in Book xxii, M receives an added interest if we can feel that we have in it, for the only part of it which is of importance for establishing the text of Livy, a more faithful reproduction of the original readings of P in corrupt passages, than if the scribe had followed Vat. Reg. exclusively.

It is of some paleographical interest also, to find in the eleventh century greater care in the direction of preserving a conservative text of the Latin authors than that with which the scribes of the Middle Ages are usually credited. The effort made to preserve an accurate record of the readings of P, even though they are in places corrupt or unintelligible, where the easier course would have been to copy without further thought the clearly written spaced minuscule Vat. Reg., is, for so early an age, commendable, and, while not in itself a scholarly proceeding, it is one which, if it had been observed more carefully throughout the Middle Ages, would have left modern scholars and text critics a great deal less to do.

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[1]The other is Parisinus Colbertinus, 5740, National Library, Paris, an eleventh-century descendant of P.

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THE CITY OF SERVIUS AND THE POMERIUM

By Elmer Truesdell Merrill

The Romans of the last century of the Republic were well acquainted with a traditional stage in the early development of their city which took its name from King Servius Tullius. Certain political and religious institutions of their own day were ascribed to him as their founder, and the topographical unity of the city over which he ruled was still marked for them by massive remains, here and there, of the great ring-wall which he was believed to have built. Even where portions of the wall had disappeared from view in the progress of peaceful history through several centuries, its course was still well known. Starting from a point on the Tiber-bank near the Capitoline mount, it swung around that ancient citadel on its western flank, ran straight across the intervening valley to skirt the northern edge of the Quirinal, shut in the exposed plateau of Viminal and Esquiline behind a mighty rampart, and in its southern course curved a protecting arm around Caelian and Aventine, and touched the river again close to the last-named hill, leaving the venerated Palatine in the middle of the safely harbored group of the seven hills.

But recent criticism has established the fact that the pieces of the "Servian wall" that the Romans of the late Republic beheld, and some of which we may ourselves see at the present day, are by no means of such hoary antiquity as the reign of (the actual or mythical) Servius Tullius. Yet concerning their age there is variation of opinion. Otto Richter, to whom apparently belongs the credit of being the first effective investigator of the problem, would assign the earliest part of the existing remains to a time as late as the fourth century B. C.[1] With this dating Christian Hülsen, in oral lectures a dozen years ago before the students of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome, agreed. The

[1] O. Richter *Über antike Steinmetzzeichen* (Berlin, 1885); *id.*, *Top.*[2], p. 43.

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latest writer to touch on the subject, Director Carter, of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome,[1] remarks that "Appius Claudius or some one of his predecessors is responsible for the change [*sc. ut uidetur*, from an earth-wall to that of stone]." "Appius Claudius" would generally be understood to mean the *decemuir legibus scribundis;* but as just above Mr. Carter refers the existing remains of the "Servian wall" to the fourth century (with Richter), he may possibly be in agreement with Pais and others in attributing the "decemviral" legislation to a period no earlier than the fourth century, instead of to the middle of the fifth century, to which the Roman tradition assigned it, and accordingly may identify the *decemuir* with the homonymous *censor* of 312 B. C. As regards the period of the stone wall, it certainly could not be pushed so far back as the traditional date of the Decemvirs; for, to say nothing of other evidence, if Rome had been protected by a new and massive line of fortifications at the time of the Gallic invasion, it is not conceivable that the stories of that event would represent the citizens as neither making nor proposing any attempt to prevent the entry of the enemy through their gates. Rome certainly figures in 390 B. C. as a city without any effective ring-wall,[2] and with a citadel that was not a perfectly fortified place.

After the retirement of the Gauls, and the determination to rebuild the ruined city, the problem of providing effective fortifications must have been regarded as extremely pressing. Three passages in Livy appear to preserve (though unwittingly, so far as the writer was concerned) some record of the action taken at that time:

1. Liv. vi. 4. 11 (389 B.C.): eodem anno, ne priuatis tantum operibus cresceret urbs, Capitolium quoque saxo quadrato substructum est, opus uel in hac magnificentia urbis conspiciendum.

Cf. Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 104: sed tum senes aggeris uastum spatium et substructiones insanas Capitoli mirabantur.

The reference appears to be not to any work on the platform of the Temple of Jupiter, but to the construction of massive stone

[1] "Roma Quadrata and the Septimontium," *Amer. Jour. of Arch.*, 2d ser. XII (1908), pp. 172 ff.

[2] Chr. Hülsen, in the lectures referred to above.

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walls planted, according to the best science of the day, upon a shelf of the hillside, when the slope was less steep, or on the edge of the plain summit, when the cliff was more nearly vertical. In the former case the wall would doubtless be built up vertically to a height to correspond in some measure with the height of the hill, and earth and rubbish would be heaped in behind it to bring the upper surface of the hill to a more extended level, supported by this retaining-wall. In the latter case a wall of less height would be needed; and in either case the side of the hill below the wall was doubtless scarped.[1] Thus the citadel was put into a condition of effective defense within a brief time after the Gallic invasion, though the work could by no means have been completed within the year, as Livy appears to say. These citadel-walls naturally formed a part of the total *enceinte* in the circuit of which they stood.

The next task was the much greater one of replacing the earlier, and now useless, ring-wall, mainly, doubtless, of earth, by one of stone. This would naturally be somewhat postponed, on account of the stress of poverty, and the pressure of making the interior of the city properly habitable. Meanwhile the Capitol would at any rate serve as a safe refuge from any sudden storm of war, and as a center for the defense of the city. The construction of the rampart and wall that survived so many centuries must have been a work of years. The remaining two passages from Livy preserve the mention of two incidents in the history of the task:

2. Liv. vi. 32. 1, 2 [377–376 B. C.]: paruo interuallo ad respirandum debitoribus dato, postquam quietae res ab hostibus erant, celebrari de integro iuris dictio, et tantum abesse spes ueteris leuandi fenoris ut tributo nouum fenus contraheretur in murum a censoribus locatum saxo quadrato faciundum.

The construction of this great work at the expense of an impoverished people naturally dragged along through a considerable period, and the third passage from Livy shows it yet incomplete a score and more of years later:

[1] J. H. Middleton *Remains of Ancient Rome* I, pp. 112, 127; Richter *Top.*[2], p. 42.

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3. Liv. vii. 20. 9 [354–353 B. C.]: in Faliscos eodem noxios crimine uis belli conuersa est, sed hostes nusquam inuenti. cum populatione peragrati fines essent, ab oppugnatione urbium temperatum, legionibusque Romam reductis reliquum anni muris turribusque reficiendis consumptum.

Herr Richter erroneously says that this last passage is the only one that refers to work upon the wall during this period.[1] He apparently overlooked the two passages first cited, or interprets them in some other manner. He furthermore objects (and Mr. Carter repeats him in this[2]) that this last passage refers to repairs upon the wall, which must, therefore, have been earlier built. But the Romans of Livy's time were so thoroughly assured that the wall as they beheld its remnants was a construction, in the main, of the time of Servius, that it is quite natural for Livy to interpret any reference to such labor as pertaining to a system of repairs, even though it was in reality the substitution of a stone wall for a ruined earthwork of much earlier date. In fact, such a massive construction of masonry could hardly have needed extensive repairs within the first few decades of its peaceful existence.

Yet whatever the variance of opinion concerning the restoration, or construction, of this later wall, all modern authorities (including Mr. Carter) appear to agree that it ran upon the line of the earlier fortification of the "City of Servius," which therefore included the Aventine.

Let us turn now to another archaeological survival. A few Romans of the late Republic, including mainly antiquaries and students of augural science, were acquainted with the earlier existence and official recognition of something called the "pomerium." But their knowledge was confused and fragmentary, because the thing itself belonged to the very early history of their city, and authentic records were lacking. That it was in some sense connected with the sacred, ritual boundary of the city, they were agreed. Of its etymology they were also assured. It evidently was derived from *post* and *moerus*, or *murus*. Some believed it therefore to be properly a strip of land along the inside of the actual ring-wall that was, or according to ritual law should be, left

[1] Richter *Top.*[2], p. 43, n. 6.

[2] Carter *loc. cit.*, p. 175, n. 3.

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free from habitation or cultivation. It was a space immediately "behind the wall." Others believed it to be a similar strip of unoccupied land running along the outside of the wall. It was the consecrated space "behind which the wall" was, or "behind the wall" from a standpoint inside the city. Others yet, with the generosity of impartial minds, were willing to make their etymology squint Janus-like in either direction at discretion. It was the strip of land on both sides of the wall.[1] But whatever their confusion of idea, they apparently all agreed that the *pomerium*, as the ritual boundary of the city, was formally advanced from time to time during the early days, to correspond with the successive enlargements of the city.[2] They also agreed that Servius Tullius was the last magistrate who had thus advanced the *pomerium*,[3] and that his *pomerium* did not include the Aventine,[4] though his wall did.

This alleged incongruity of action on the part of Servius has complicated much of the modern discussion of the *pomerium*. But it only moderately perturbed the spirit of the ancient scholars. They accepted as indubitable fact the tradition concerning the extent of the Servian *pomerium*, and they had before their eyes the actual Servian wall in its sweep that included the Aventine. Despite the clear indications contained in the definitions and early traditions that they cited, they evidently felt no constraining sense of the necessary close spatial relation in early times between the *pomerium* and the actual ring-wall. The exclusion of the Aventine from the *pomerium* did indeed appear to them a strange thing, and they busied themselves with various conjectures as to the reason for the exclusion.[5] These reasons, or others that appeared to themselves more sensible, have also been cited with more or less satisfaction by modern scholars.[6] But ancients and moderns

[1] Liv. i. 44. 5, and the summary in Gilbert *Gesch. und Top. der Stadt Rom* I, pp. 114 ff.

[2] Liv. i. 44. 5; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 24; Gell. xiii. 14. 2.

[3] Liv. i. 44. 3; Dionys. iv. 13; Gell. xiii. 14; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 23.

[4] Sen. *Breu. Vit.* 13. 8; Gell. xiii. 14; and probably Fest. 249.

[5] Sen. et Gell. *loc. cit.*

[6] Cf., e. g., Mommsen "Der Begriff des Pomerium," *Röm. Forschungen* II, p. 37, n. 30; Jordan *Top.* I. 1, p. 279; Gilbert *Gesch. u. Top.* II, pp. 185 ff.; Carter *loc. cit.*, p. 183 (evidently following Wissowa; cf. p. 425, n. 1).

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alike have not confronted the basis difficulty. The serious question is not, "What reason had Servius for the exclusion of the Aventine from the *pomerium?*" but, "In consideration of the ritual nature of the *pomerium*, how could any reason explain the alleged fact of wrenching the wall and the *pomerium* so far apart, and especially of running the wall so far *outside* of the *pomerium?*" Reasons for the exclusion of the Aventine by Servius from the *pomerium* that involve a total wreck of all the ritual nature of the *pomerium*, which, nevertheless, he himself ritually advanced (according to the Roman belief), are worse than useless.

A more recent mode of avoiding one division of this particular difficulty consists in the denial that Servius did advance the *pomerium*, and in the assumption therefore that the *pomerium* of the City of the Four Regions was the last *pomerium* before Sulla's time. But neither Richter, nor Wissowa, nor Carter argues the matter out, or states even briefly the reason for the position he espouses.[1] But it must spring from the difficulty of understanding how Servius could have been led to advance the *pomerium* at all without advancing it far enough to take in the Aventine, which lay within his ring-wall. But their position requires the arbitrary rejection of the ancient statement that Servius did advance the *pomerium*, and involves further the belief that the ancient, and apparently reasonable, theory of the nature of the *pomerium* had broken down and been forgotten in precisely that early period when religious conceptions were most active.

The proper answer to the difficulty appears to be that the "City of Servius Tullius," the city marked by that original Servian ring-wall which the later Romans confused with the magnificent fortifications of the fourth century, did not take in the Aventine, and did not extend beyond the *pomerium*. Once admit this, and all difficulty connected with the wide separation in that early day between fortification-wall and the boundary-line of the *pomerium* (with the *pomerium* far *inside* instead of outside the wall) at once disappears. There seems to be no reason for the belief that the fortifications of the fourth century ran on precisely the line of the

[1] Richter *Top.*², p. 40; G. Wissowa *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, p. 37; Carter *loc. cit.*, p. 183 (who promises—*loc. cit.*, n. 1—the publication of an article on the *pomerium*).

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prehistoric Servian wall except the negative one of the absence of reference in the Roman tradition to any change of course. But that is easily explained by the extreme meagerness and confusion of records of all events during that period. The Romans of the late Republic looked back vaguely to the City of Servius as the first and only stage of an organized urban community in their history; and as they had lost all knowledge of the later construction of the fortifications then visible, they naturally measured the topographical extent of that earlier urban community by the line of the wall with which they were acquainted.

It is easy enough to believe that in the long interval between the time of Servius and the building of the fourth-century ring-wall all proper understanding of the theory of the *pomerium* had disappeared. It is easy to comprehend from the mental attitude of the later Romans of the Republic how bits of disjointed and scattered tradition could persist without leading to the proper piecing of them together. But it is by no means easy to believe that all proper understanding of the theory of the *pomerium* could have vanished in the comparatively brief interval that intervened between the organization of the Four-Region *urbs* and that of the *urbs* of Servius,[1] whether or no we accept the statement of the ancients that Servius advanced the *pomerium*. Yet this magic vanishing must be believed by those who would cling to the unnecessary notion that the original Servian ring-wall included the Aventine.

The existence of a *pagus Auentinensis* can work no difficulty in accepting the supposition that I have advanced: for even though the *urbs* may be properly marked by the inclusion within its wall of *oppida* and adjacent *pagi*,[2] yet the existence of a true *pagus Auentinensis* in the time of Servius cannot be substantiated,[3] and

[1] Even Mr. Carter believes that the Four-Region City had a corporate existence before the City of Servius, and supports his belief by a new and striking argument from the "Calendar of Numa."

[2] Mommsen *Staatsrecht* III, pp. 114 ff.; Kornemann, "Pales und Urbs," *Klio* (1905), pp. 72 ff.

[3] The only reference to the *pagus Auent.* is in *CIL* XIV. 2105 (from the Augustan age): cf. Hülsen in Pauly-Wissowa II. 2282, corrected in Jordan-Hülsen *Top.* I. 3, p. 153, n. 8.

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furthermore, the existence of the *pagus Ianiculensis*[1] is a clear enough indication that *pagi* may be outside a ring-wall.

Nor can any difficulty in believing that the *urbs* of Servius did not include the Aventine arise from the fact that the worship of Diana on that mount is attributed by the ancients to his foundation: for though we may not go so far in skepticism as does Ettore Pais,[2] there is abundance of reason to believe that this cult was introduced much later than the days of Servius.[3]

But even if we accept the tradition that Servius established that worship on the Aventine (Liv. i. 45, *et al.*), it by no means follows that the hill must have been included within his ring-wall. It was sufficient for the indication of the now pre-eminent position of Rome in the Latin league that the common shrine should be built in the immediate vicinity of the dominant city, as the temple of the Latin Jupiter stood on the Alban mount, near, but not within the corporate limits of, the earlier head of the league. Indeed, the inclusion of the new league-cult within Rome itself would have been the sign of subjugation to Rome—as the gods of conquered communities were transferred to the city of the victor. It would have gone far beyond any sign of Rome's mere hegemony among allied states.

The hypothetical City of the Four Regions is held by all who believe in its existence to have extended as far toward the Aventine as the *pomerium* of Servius, and to have been well settled in that southern portion. The Aventine strategically commanded it as fully as it did the corresponding part of the intra-pomerial City of Servius. Any argument for the necessary inclusion of the Aventine within the early Servian wall would appear to apply with possibly equal force to the period of the City of the Four Regions. But the Aventine certainly was not included within the putative ring-wall of the City of the Four Regions. Therefore no sufficient strategical reason can be advanced for believing that it *must* have been included within the Servian City.

[1] Cf. Jordan *Top.* I. 1, p. 278, n. 43.

[2] Cf. E. Pais "The Legend of Servius Tullius," *Ancient Legends of Roman History*, pp. 128 ff.

[3] The lack of mention of the Aventine Diana in the "Calendar of Numa" may look in the same direction; but other reasons for the omission than this, or than that mentioned by Mr. Carter (*loc. cit.*, p. 176), might be rationally proposed.

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But in the interval between the reign of Servius and the fourth century, conditions had greatly changed. The inclusion of the Aventine within the ring-wall was now a strategical necessity, if the new and elaborate scheme of fortification was to correspond with the demands of the age and the progress that had been made in military science. The *pagus Auentinensis* had doubtless increased in population, prominent temples had been erected on the Aventine, and the hill commanded not merely the crowded business section that had grown up about the Emporium on the Tiber-bank, but also the Circus Maximus and Forum Boarium, which had risen in importance, as had also the strategic control of the early course of the roads to Ostia and to the Alban region, which the possession of the Aventine assured.

The *pomerium* is doubtless properly the entire city-area[1] included within the ritual furrow.[2] Without is *ager*, within is *urbs*.[3] Under the divine protection lies all within this boundary —all that is "behind the wall;" and the transfer in popular thought of the idea of the *pomerium* from the included area to the including boundary is easy and natural—precisely as to many people a circle suggests the periphery rather than the surface. There seems to be every reason why in the most ancient days the idea should prevail that, as the boundaries of the corporate *urbs* were from time to time enlarged, the new city also needed the protection of the gods to be secured through the due extension of the ritual furrow around it, as the divine protection had been extended around the earlier, smaller settlement. The apparently unquestioned belief of the Romans of the late Republic that such extensions had marked the early history of their city (p. 424, n. 2) corresponds to natural inference, and its innate reasonableness need not arouse suspicion concerning it. Those later Romans were far from being well enough informed in the theory of the matter to draw the inferences that appear so

[1] Cf. Gell. *loc. cit.;* Varr. *L. L.* v. 143; Fest. 250; Mommsen in *Röm. Forsch.* II, pp. 29 ff.; Gilbert *Gesch. u. Top.* II, pp. 318, n. 2; 322, n. 2; D. Detlefsen "Das Pomerium Roms und die Grenzen Italiens," *Hermes* XXI (1886), p. 508; Carter, *loc. cit.*, p. 177.

[2] Varr. *L. L.*, *loc. cit.;* Plut. *Rom.* 11; Dio Cass. *frag.* 5. 2.

[3] Detlefsen *loc. cit.*, pp. 505, 507; Richter *Top.*[2], p. 32.

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easy to us, and to project them backward into the vacant places of facts. And when the long-standing difficulty caused by the reputed action of Servius has been removed, there seems no sufficient reason to believe that the *pomerium* was ritually immovable.[1] Even Wissowa[2] concedes that during the early period the *pomerium* was repeatedly extended, though he also says that at the time of the Servian constitution "die Meinung zum Durchbruche kam, dass das Pomerium der Stadt, das früher wiederholt vorgeschoben worden war, unverrückbar bleiben müsse, und so bei der weiteren Ausdehnung des angebauten Terrains, oder sogar des Mauerringes, das neue Stadtgebiet nicht in die Weichsbildsgrenze aufnahm." But he of course starts with the preconception that the City of Servius actually did extend, in its walled area, far beyond the *pomerium*, by including the Aventine—a thing which I have ventured to doubt. Moreover, for such a new conception to crystallize into conviction requires a long period of time during which the aspect of the finished city as a sacred entity, judged complete for all time, dwells before the eyes and impresses itself on the mind. To assume that this period of crystallization was that which elapsed between the constitution of the Four-Region City and that of the City of Servius, tolerably brief as that time apparently was, is to beg the question, considering the lack of necessity to believe that Servius actually advanced his wall beyond his *pomerium*. If it were necessary to explain thus the action of later days, it would be more reasonable to imagine that this crystallization into new conviction took place between the time of Servius, whose wall lay properly within the *pomerium*, and the fourth century, when the new wall and rampart were built. For the City of Servius was to the Roman belief the one complete stage in the urban development. The City of the Four Regions was at most but a hazy notion of the antiquaries.

[1] Mr. Carter appears to have reached the belief not merely that the *pomerium* of the City of the Four Regions was ritually immovable (*loc. cit.*, p. 183), but even that it was the only proper ritual *pomerium* that Rome ever had: but of course he starts with the same preconception as that of Richter and Wissowa. His promised article on the *pomerium* will doubtless explain the reasons for his belief.

[2] Wissowa *loc. cit.*, p. 37.

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Wissowa's attempt (*loc. cit.*) to fortify his argument by analogy through the attribution to this period of other conceptions of final completeness of categories might well be turned to the support of the hypothesis advanced in this paper. To the period marked by the Servian constitution belong the final closing of the *album* of the patrician families, of the pantheon of the old gods (*di indigetes*), of the period of successive extensions of the *pomerium*. Hereafter all additions must stand on a new and inferior basis. All new families united with the community must rank as plebeians; all new gods admitted to worship must be classed as *di nouensides;* all newly populated suburbs must be content to be left outside the divinely consecrated city. The Servian *pomerium* (not the *pomerium* of the Four Regions) was to be the final *pomerium* of Rome, and neither this Servian *pomerium* nor the Servian wall that ran inside of it included the Aventine.

To another occasion must be left the discussion of the probable boundaries in other directions of the City of Servius, and of its topographical and other relations to the assumed City of the Four Regions, with which some considerations appear to make it almost possible to believe the Servian City identical, save for its organization.

But it may be not out of place to subjoin a few words concerning certain later operations about the *pomerium*. The dictator Sulla "proferundi pomerii titulum quaesiuit" (Gell. *loc. cit.*). It does not appear likely that his professional advisers (doubtless chiefly the augurs) violated through servility the traditions of their craft. They do not appear to have truckled to any desire of Sulla to emulate the royal founders of the city. They probably, in contrast to some of our modern scholars, had no idea that the *pomerium* of Servius was ritually unalterable, though they doubtless wondered that it had not been advanced since his day. But they honestly imagined that such a formal religious rite as that of the extension of the *pomerium* must have been symbolic, instead of being due to the simple faith of an early day that when the growing city needed the legal extension of its corporate limits, the new precincts also should be placed under the protection of

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the gods, as the old had been. Starting with this ecclesiastical preconception, and observing the fact that the kings who were reported as having advanced the *pomerium* had enlarged by conquest the territorial possessions of Rome, the Sullan augurs naturally decided, as Gellius (*loc. cit.*) later recorded (probably on the authority of Messalla), "habebat autem ius proferendi pomerii, qui populum Romanum agro de hostibus capto auxerat."[1]

Sulla accordingly revived the ancient rite, and advanced the *pomerium*, and, if we may trust the literary sources, Julius Caesar[2] and Augustus[3] did likewise. Claudius, who had a scholar's taste for the antique and useless, followed suit,[4] as did also various later emperors. But neither Sulla, nor Julius Caesar, nor Augustus included the Aventine within his extension. Claudius, however, did so. The reason why the Aventine was left outside by the three earlier rulers, and taken in by Claudius, has been set down as a mystery by modern writers, though an explanation lies ready at hand. The advisers of Sulla found in their grubbings that the Aventine, though inside the "Servian" wall, had, singularly enough, been left by Servius outside the *pomerium*. No reason for this fact lay within their official knowledge, but their official decision was the prudent one that proper ritual reasons precluded the inclusion of the Aventine even at this later day. Guesses were plenty concerning the reason that underlay the curious action of Servius (cf. nn. 11 and 12), but Julius and Augustus followed the decision given Sulla. Claudius, however, had an investigator's spirit, and took up the matter anew. Whether he arrived at the explanation of the apparent anomaly in the action of Servius that I have ventured to set forth in this paper cannot

[1] That their decision did not pass without criticism is indicated by the remark in Seneca *loc. cit.*: "Sullam ultimum Romanorum protulisse pomerium, quod numquam prouinciali sed Italico agro adquisito proferre moris apud antiquos fuit;" but there is quite the contrary here of any indication that the *pomerium* of Servius was believed by any to be irreformable.

[2] Cf. Gell. *loc. cit.*; Dio Cass. xliii. 50. 1; xliv. 49. 2; but Mommsen *Staatsrecht* II, p. 738, against whom Detlefsen *loc. cit.*, p. 513.

[3] Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 23; Vopisc. *Aurel.* 21; Dio Cass. lv. 6. 6. But no mention occurs in the *Mon. Ancyr.*

[4] Gell. *loc. cit.*; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 23, 24; *S. C. de imp. Vesp.*, ll. 14 f. (*CIL* VI. 930); *CIL* VI. 1231 *a*, *b*, *c*.

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be said; but at any rate he (properly enough) decided that no sufficient ritual reason existed for the exclusion of the Aventine from the *pomerium*, if the *pomerium* was to be advanced at all. He therefore reversed the decision of the Sullan tribunal on that point, and his extension finally included the Aventine (Gell. *loc. cit.*). From that time the anomalous condition that had prevailed during later Republican centuries disappeared, and the *pomerium*-boundary ran altogether outside the city ring-wall, as it had not done since the fourth-century wall-builders left the Servian *pomerium* behind them with the Servian wall.[1]

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[1] The main contention of this paper was briefly suggested by the writer in 1904 in a review (unsigned) of Mr. Platner's *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*, published in the (New York) *Nation*, No. 2045. Since this paper was written, and, indeed, in type, there has come to my knowledge an address of Herr P. Graffunder before the Archaeologische Gesellschaft of Berlin (cf. *Berl. Philol. Wochenschrift*, November 7, 1908, p. 1421). But even if his conclusions concerning the date of extant remains of the Servian wall be accepted in their entirety, my main contention remains untouched; only the date of the extension of the ring-wall around the Aventine must be pushed further back than the fourth century, though not necessarily to the age of Servius. But against the acceptance of Herr Graffunder's views there appear, at this distance, to be some valid considerations to be urged. The *dictum* of Mommsen concerning the "Roman foot," the date of its introduction, and the immediate universality of its use, is by no means unassailable; the difficulties of making at the present day inerrant measurements of badly weathered stones must be recognized; the question whether Roman stone-cutters, working probably with some haste on this particular task, and working on rude materials, invariably observed micrometric accuracy, is a very practical question; and, granted everything else, the possibility appears very reasonable that in a hurriedly constructed wall, not requiring great accuracy of joints, and betraying at the present day carelessness of structure, old materials may have been used to a considerable extent, and in just such situations as those in which Herr Graffunder believes he found stones of the "Oscan" standard. (Of course the Gauls did not wreck any ring-wall of Rome; cf. p. 421 above).

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NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

AESCHYLUS FR. 207 AND THE SATYR CHORUS

Τράγος γένειον ἆρα πενθήσεις σύ γε.

This line is cited by Eustathius as an example of the use of the nominative for the vocative. Accepting this interpretation modern historians of the drama have used the line as the one explicit testimony for the identification of the Satyr chorus with goats or "goatmen." Thus Albert Müller *Attisches Bühnen Wesen*, p. 95, says: "und Aeschylos nannte in einem 472 aufgeführten Satyrdrama einen Choreuten geradezu Bock." Similarly Körte in Bethe *Geschichte des Theaters*, p. 343: "dass sie noch zu Aischylos' zeit wie Böcke aussahen lehrt, trotz Loeschke, das bekannte Fragment (207) des *Prometheus* πυρκαιεύς in Verein mit dem Pandorakrater." Loeschke's protest in *Athen. Mittheil.* XIX. p. 522, begins by admitting "dass Aeschylos . . . . einen Satyr τράγος genannt hat steht allerdings fest." He glances at the truth when he goes on to say that the word must be used "als Scheltwort," or metaphorically ("selbst wenn hier keine sprüchwortliche Redensart benutzt sein sollte.") But he does not develop the idea, nor does he, I think, see the true construction. Professor Wilamowitz, though he believes that the chorus were really horsemen, Sileni, or a blended type, rather than goatmen proper, so construes the line in his note on Eurip. *Herakles* 81: "Und dass unter den Böcken Satyrn verstanden sind, lehrt sicherer als die verdächtige nachricht das die Dorer den Bock σάτυρος und τίτυρος genannt haben sollen der eine Aeschyleische vers Prometh. πυρκαιεὺς 207 in welchem der Satyr des Satyrspiels wirklich Bock τράγος angeredet wird." This rendering has never satisfied my ear. It is not, to my feeling, the natural idiomatic meaning of the Greek words as they stand. I wish to propose an alternative version in the hope that the discussion of the idiom involved may not be without interest even to those who cannot admit its application to this line. The idiom in question has already been partially illustrated for other purposes by Cobet *Mnemos. Nov.* III. 247, by Otto Crusius *Rhein. Mus.* 43. 626, by Buchholz-Peppmüller on *Theog.* 347, and by Kock on *Cratinus* fr. 52. But I think that there is something more to be said.

In Greek poetry a simile is often indicated by mere juxtaposition without a comparative conjunction. Cf., e. g., Aesch. *Prom.* 856:

οἱ δ' ἐπτοημένοι φρένας, |
κίρκοι πελειῶν οὐ μακρὰν λελειμμένοι

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[Eurip.] *Rhesus* 56, 57:

ὅστις μ' εὐτυχοῦντ' ἐνόσφισας |
θοίνης λέοντα

Anth. Pal. XII. 59: ἀλλὰ Μυίσκος |
ἔσβεσεν ἐκλάμψας ἀστέρας ἠέλιος.

Ibid. 92. 3: ἡρπάσατ' ἄλλον Ἔρωτ,' ἄρνες λύκον,

Ibid. 107. 3: μύρτον ἕωλον ἐῤῥίφθω.

This, it may be observed in passing, falls in with a general tendency of Greek poetry to blend the image with the object for which it stands. See Jebb on Soph. *Antig.* 117, O. T. 866. An extension of this usage leads to the idiomatic and half humorous identification of the person with the proverb, familiar phrase, or image that fits his case.

In *Theog.* 347 ἐγὼ δὲ κύων ἐπέρησα χαράδρην the poet identifies himself with the dog of the (lost) proverb or fable, and the verb agrees with ἐγώ. Similarly in *Theog.* 1361:

Ναῦς πέτρῃ προσέκυρσας ἐμῆς φιλότητος ἁμάρτων, the juxtaposition of ναῦς πέτρῃ indicates the comparison, the verb is adapted to the person addressed, and no one would dream of saying that ναῦς is vocative for nominative. Cf. Plato *Com.* fr. 191 σὺ γάρ, ὥς φασι, Χείρων ἐξέθρεψας Περι κλέα. *Alcman* IV. 85, is probably a similar case:

ἐγὼν μὲν αὐτὰ |
παρθένος μάταν ἀπὸ θράνω λέλακα | γλαύξ

where the proverb, again, is an inference. And so probably in the same poem the corrupt 59th line. In Cratinus fr. 52, Kock, ὁ δ' ὄνος ὕεται is, of course, not 'and the ass stands in the rain,' but 'he is the (proverbial) ass in the rain.' This appears more plainly in Cephisodor, fr. 1, ἐγὼ δὲ τοῖς λόγοις ὄνος ὔομαι, where τοῖς λόγοις and the person of the verb do not fit the ass, but the juxtaposition suffices. Cratinus' delicious parody of Solon, ὑμῶν εἷς μὲν ἕκαστος — ἀλώπηξ δωροδοκεῖται (fr. 128), depends on this idiom. So also his ὄνοι δ' ἀπωτέρω κάθηνται τῆς λύρας (fr. 229), and Philemon's ὄνος βαδίζεις εἰς ἄχυρα τραγημάτων.

In Aristoph. *Lysist.* 695 ἀετὸν τίκτοντα κάνθαρός σε μαιεύσομαι, the confusion and the humorous identification are complete. The matter-of-fact scholiast adds as often in such cases, λείπει τὸ ὡς. Another instance is *Lysist.* 928 ἀλλ ἦ τὸ πέος τόδ' Ἡρακλῆς ξενίζεται; In *Wasps* 144 καπνὸς ἔγωγε ἐξέρχομαι we have an extreme case.

In *Plutus* 295 τράγοι δ' ἀκρατιεῖσθε it is plain the τράγοι is not vocative; nor is Ἀρίστυλλος in 314 σὺ δ' Ἀρίστυλλος ὑποχάσκων ἐρεῖς, nor perhaps, strictly speaking, χοῖροι in 315 ἕπεσθε μητρὶ χοῖροι where the three proverbial words together are the address. Cf. further, Aristoph. *Wasps* 1291; Lucian *adv. indoct.* 4 ἀλλ' ὄνος λύρας ἀκούεις. Lucian *Cock* 11

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ἐσῄειν οὖν μάτην λύκος χανὼν; Paroem., Vol. I, p. 108, ἔοικα βοῦς ἐπὶ σφαγὴν μολεῖν; *ibid.* I, p. 279. μὴ πρὸς λέοντα δορκὰς ἄψωμαι μάχης. Libanius 1. 14. 1 (Ἀριστομένης) . . . . ἐτηρούμην. Theocr. 14. 49 ἄμμες . . . . δύστηνοι Μεγαρῆες; 14. 51 μῦς . . . . γεύμεθα πίσσας; 21. 36 ἀλλ' ὄνος ἐν ῥάμνῳ τὸ δὲ λύχνιον ἐν πρυτανείῳ; *Anth. Pal.* XII. 149 σῶν ἀχέων μίμνομεν ἀλκύονες. In Theocr. 7. 41 we have βάτραχος δὲ ποτ' ἀκρίδας ὥς τις ἐρίσδω. But in Virgil's imitation *Eclog.* 9. 36: Sed argutos interstrepere anser olores. So elsewhere in Latin. Hor. *Sat.* 1. 101 ut vivam Maenius; *Epist.* 1. 2. 28 sponsi Penelopae, etc.; 1. 2. 41 qui recte vivendi prorogat horam | rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis; 1. 6. 63 remigium vitiosum Ithacensis Ulixei; 1. 10. 5 annuimus pariter vetuli notique columbae. Cic. *De or.* 2. 57. 33 docebo sus ut aiunt oratorem. A less obvious case is Pindar *Pyth.* IV. 289 καὶ μὰν κεῖνος Ἄτλας οὐρανῷ | προσπαλαίει where οὐρανῷ, though construed with προσπαλαίει, is felt in proverbial juxtaposition with Ἄτλας. Cf. Diogen. *Cent.* II. 67 Ἄτλας τὸν οὐρανόν. On the analogy, then, of these and many other cases I would translate the line of Aeschylus not, "O goat, you then will grieve for your beard," or, as L. and S. put it, "take care you don't burn your beard, goat," but [if you kiss that fire (βουλομένου φιλῆσαι, Plutarch)] "you'll be the goat (in the proverb) who mourned (lost) his beard, you will." Plutarch *De util. ex inimicis*, p. 86 F., does not say or imply that τράγος is vocative. Epiphanios' verbose and blundering explanation (cited in Nauck) is of little weight. Eustathius quotes the line as a case of the use of nominative for vocative. But that he was mistaken is no stranger than the fact that nearly everybody today misinterprets Shakspear's "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin." It would not be difficult to accumulate examples of grotesquely impossible constructions proposed by ancient critics and scholiasts.

For an Athenian ear the point was indicated by the juxtaposition τράγος γένειον. That we cannot now cite the precise proverb is of no moment. The goat, like the ass, was a funny animal to the Greek, and the subject of numerous proverbs. Nothing is more likely than that there was one about a goat who poked his nose and shaggy beard too near the fire. Only a very literal mind will object that it would have been an anachronism to allude to such a proverb in a play dealing with the discovery of fire. There are countless proverbial expressions of the grammatical type required consisting of two nouns elliptically juxtaposed or a noun and a gnomic verb, e. g.:

δὶξ τὴν μάχαιραν.
κριὸς τὰ τροφεῖα.
ὄνος τὰ Μελιταῖα.
Ἀθηνᾷ τὸν αἴλουρον.
γαλῇ χιτών.

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κόραξ ὑδρεύει.
κύων ἐπὶ δεσμὰ.
Σικελὸς ὀμφακίζεται.
λαγὼς καθεύδων.
ὗς διὰ ῥόδων.
ὗς ἐκώμασε.
ὗς ὑπὸ ῥόπαλον.
Λίνδιοι τὴν θυσίαν.
ὁ Σκύθης τὸν ἵππον.
φαλακρὸς κτένα.
κορώνη τὸν σκόρπιον.
Καρπάθιος τὸν λαγών.
οἰνόη τὴν χαράδραν.
βοῦθος περιφοιτᾷ Crat. fr. 247.
ὄνος ἀκροᾷ σάλπιγγος Eupolis fr. 261.
λύκος ἔχανεν Aristoph. fr. 337.
ὗς ποκ' Ἀθαναίᾳ Theocr. 5. 23.
τέττιξ κελαδεῖ Theopomp. fr. 40.
ὄνος . . . . ὀγκᾶθ' Theopomp. fr. 4.
ἄλλεται . . . . κεστρεύς Diocles fr. 5.
ὁ μῦς τὸν λέοντα Julian *Epist.* 8.
ἡ ἄμαξα τὸν βοῦν Lucian *Dial. mort.* 6. 2.
ὁ νεβρὸς τὸν λέοντα *ibid.* 8. 1.

Any one of these and many others of the type might be used allusively in the idiom that we have been studying. We cannot expect explicit testimony for all.[1]

PAUL SHOREY

EMENDATION OF *DE CIV. DEI* II. 27

St. Augustine *De civ. Dei* ii. 27 (Dombart) begins with the words: "Vir gravis et philosophaster Tullius." What awakens suspicion against the passage is, firstly, that the word *philosophaster* has a tone of scorn that ill accords with *gravis* which precedes; secondly, that the abusive term is directed against Cicero for whom St. Augustine usually shows deep regard. To be sure he often disagrees with Cicero, but he seldom applies disrespectful epithets to him. The tone he usually adopts is that of passages like xxii. 6: "Unus e numero doctissimorum hominum idemque eloquentissimus omnium Marcus Tullius Cicero;" iv. 26: "merito displicuit *viro gravi* poeta;" and *Confess.* iii. 4: "ille vero liber

[1] Since this note was written I have observed that Blaydes on Aristoph. *Lysist.* 694, cites our fragment of Aeschylus with other similar cases. He offers no explanation, however, and his interpretation, if he intended it, seems to have been overlooked.

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[Cicero's Hortensius] mutavit affectum meum et ad te ipsum, Domine, mutavit preces meas."

I would suggest the reading, "Vir gravis et philosophus M. Tullius." The uncial M was probably mistaken for the numeral III, which was then read adverbially as *ter*. As a matter of fact Dombart's reading is supported only by a correction of C. The MSS give *philosophus tertullius*, which preserves the second stage of the corruption.

TENNEY FRANK

NOTE TO *ILIAD* A 446

ὣς εἰπὼν ἐν χερσὶ τίθει: This verse, at the center of the Chryseis episode, furnishes Cauer one of his chief arguments for rejecting the entire scene. Cauer *Grundfragen der Homerkritik* (2. Auflage), p. 492: "Fast alle Verse dieser Partie kommen ganz oder stückwise auch anderwärts vor, und zwar vielfach dort passender als hier; so z. B. das ὣς εἰπὼν ἐν χερσὶ τίθει (446), das, von der Rückgabe eines erwachsenen Mädchens gesagt, allzu sehr καταχρηστικῶς ist." This comment of Cauer's would be perfectly cogent, if the true rendering of the phrase were "put her in the arms of her father," a rendering given in the notes of most editors in America; cf. editions of Seymour and Sterrett. A young woman of the maturity of Chryseis would have been a heavy burden in the arms of her father, by pre-eminence ὁ γέρων.

No such a meaning need be assumed, cf. Φ 596:

ἦ ῥα καὶ ἵππον ἄγων μεχαθύμου Νέστορος υἱὸς
ἐν χείρεσσι τίθει Μενελάου·

This horse was the prize in the race which Menelaus failed to win, because he was fouled by Antilochus; Menelaus claimed the prize and Antilochus yielded to him, so here this phrase means simply to deliver, to surrender, with no thought of the part played by the hands in the action. In English we use the phrases "hand over," "take in hand," with no reference to the physical organ. The proper rendering in A 446 is, "He restored her to her father;" hence to reject the verse because of the inappropriateness of an old man receiving in his arms a full-grown woman "ein erwachsenes Mädchen" is to miss the meaning of the passage.

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THE ARCHAIC BOEOTIAN INSCRIPTION AGAIN

Concerning the Archaic Boeotian Inscription, above, pp. 76 ff., Professor Wilamowitz writes: "Sehr erfreut durch die vorzügliche Abbildung und sichere Bedeutung der schönen Inschrift von Ptoion möchte ich

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nur zur Erwägung stellen, ob nicht im zweiten Verse OPIDAϟ zu lesen ist. Die Reste führen mich darauf und ein [Νεστ]ορίδας, [Ἀκτ]ορίδας ist sehr viel ansprechender als οσιδας." The character in question I had read as ϟ=σ, though all other σ's in the inscription have the regular form Ϲ. The appearance of both forms in the same inscription is of course not unknown (e. g., Roberts *Introd. to Greek Epigraphy* I, 256). But a renewed inspection of the plaster impression, in the light of Wilamowitz's suggestion, leads me to believe that the letter can indeed have been a ρ of the style seen in Ἐχέστροτος and αὐτάρ, though quite different from the angular form used in ἀρτάν.

C. D. B.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Kritisch-historische Syntax des griechischen Verbums der klassischen Zeit. Von J. M. STAHL, Professor an der Universität Münster i. W. Heidelberg, 1907. Pp. xii+838. M. 20 (gebunden 21).

This monumental book belongs to the "Indogermanische Bibliothek" grammars edited by Hirt and Streitberg. They are uniform in style. But the margins which sufficed for a thin book of two hundred pages, like Streitberg's *Gotisches Elementarbuch*, helped out by heavy paper and type mainly large, are insufficient for a ponderous volume of over eight hundred pages and are in fact even reduced, under the difficulties of trimming so thick a mass. The paper is lighter, and the proportion of fine type, much of it heavily packed with Greek examples, and sometimes running consecutively for several pages, is very large. The result is forbidding to the eye. The book should have been put into two stately volumes, with larger type and wider margins. It well deserved such generous treatment. It is a work of enormous industry, and presents the reader with a great storehouse of examples, for which he cannot be too grateful. In any case, the volume should have been provided with running headings at the tops of the pages, corresponding to the divisions given to the table of contents on p. xii. As it is, only the main divisions are given, so that, for example, the heading *Lehre vom Modus* covers 376 pages with nothing whatever to guide the reader, outside of the packed text itself. It is much to be hoped that in subsequent editions this defect may be remedied. The smaller books of the same series are rightly equipped in this respect.

Only a very long review could deal with the details of this book. The present one must therefore be concentrated upon the governing system.

In the preface, the author states that a satisfactory historical treatment of Greek syntax did not yet exist when he began his work. This is true. He also states that the critical standpoint has not been taken, meaning that a fresh judgment must be passed at many points upon the readings of our texts. I find that in his actual procedure he gives his syntactical theories too much weight, for example, in the case of ἵνα . . . . ἄλφοι, *Od.* xvii. 250, which I not only accept but welcome, while Stahl emends, against all the MSS.

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Likewise in the Preface, Stahl says that he takes from Delbrück his view of the original forces of the Subjunctive and Optative (respectively Will and Wish), and from Windisch the view that the relative was originally an anaphoric demonstrative; but that he has made these views his own by putting them on firmer foundations.

He has not felt it necessary to go completely through the monographs that deal with Greek syntax, but believes that nothing important has escaped him. He explicitly acknowledges assistance from Schanz's *Beiträge* only.

Except as thus shown, and in a few cases where the author's text-criticism is defended by the agreement of others, I find no references to other work on syntax, even of recent date. There is great convenience in this plan, and it may in time become the only possible one; but it does not wholly satisfy at present, especially in a book that allows itself such a compass.

The opening chapter is devoted to a discussion of method, of which only a part can be mentioned. Stahl enumerates the empirical method, which observes and classifies phenomena (as, e.g., that ἐάν takes only the Subjunctive), the logical method, which deals with the especial contents of thought, the historical, the comparative, and the psychological. The empirical and historical methods are able only to acquaint us with the external forms of syntactical usage. The logical method penetrates to the inner laws, without being competent, however, to exhaust the nature of speech-usage. This lies in the character of speech itself, which follows logical laws no more exclusively than life does. Only the psychological method will enable us to unravel the processes of thought.

This is in the main sound, but goes astray in leaving to the psychological method only those phenomena in which the mind has worked *un*logically. Whatever the mind does, whether unlogical or logical, is psychological.

The chapter deals also with the passing-over of a meaning into a new meaning, with specialization of meaning, with logical and formal assimilation, and the like.

Next follows a chapter on fundamental conceptions, dealing with such matters as the definition of syntax, the sentence, subject and predicate, word-questions and sentence-questions, true questions and rhetorical questions, and the division of all sentences into those of desire and those of judgment. This division plays a constant part throughout the book. Most important, too, for the reader is the distinction between synthetic sentences, or those which are closely bound to the sentence on which they depend, and parathetic, which are not so bound, and are in reality independent.

We must pass the chapter on "Voice," with its old-fashioned name ("Lehre vom Genus").

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In the chapter on "Tense," a number of delicate distinctions are made or attempted. For example, the Imperfect, which is defined as the past of lasting action (*dauernde Vergangenheit*), may be absolute (occupying length of time in itself), or relative (lasting alongside of another). The Aorist is defined as expressing the past by and for itself (*Vergangenheit an und für sich*); but like the Imperfect, the Aorist, it is said, may be either absolute or relative. Since the Imperfect and Pluperfect express lasting action or state in the past, the expression of momentary single actions is left to the Aorist. But the Aorist may also be used of lasting actions, if the lastingness is unimportant, and therefore does not need to be expressed (p. 124). In consequence, there are Aorists expressing actions which, as a matter of fact, covered a good deal of time. Thus Stahl endeavors both to correct and to follow a common erroneous opinion. To my mind, though it is a general belief, few ideas are so perverted in syntax as the one that the Imperfect (and Present in most uses) express duration, continuance, etc. It is a matter of complete indifference in the choice of tense whether a trifle of time or a great deal of time is occupied by a given act. I may say, of an instantaneous photograph of the flight of a shell, "the camera was snapped just as the shell was passing" (Imperfect); and I may say "the shell flew fifteen miles" (Aorist). The time covered by the second act is much longer than that covered by the first, but the first act is represented *in the going on*, while the second is represented "in summary," "as a whole," to quote my definition for the Latin aoristic Perfect in the Hale-Buck *Grammar* 466*a*. In place of "lasting" or "continuous," the word "progressive" should be used for the Imperfect, as in most grammars of English. For the Aorist, no better name than this has been devised; for all others (even the name "complexive") include something the mention of which suggests limitations that should be omitted.

The long chapter upon the moods opens with a definition: "The mood indicates the way in which the speaker expresses the verbal conception in its relation to reality" (p. 220). From this I dissent. The mood expresses the mood-idea, whatever it is, for itself, and makes no comparison of the conception with that of reality. The Optative of Wish expresses a *wish*, not a wish in its relation to reality. Stahl's phrase is a relic of the time when Subjunctive and Optative were thought of as deflections from the Indicative.

The oldest force of the Subjunctive, Stahl finds, is that of Will, and of the Optative that of Wish. I think the conclusion probable, but the arguments not all sure. Thus the fact that the force of Will always remains in the independent sentence, while the Future force goes out, does not prove that the force of Will is the older. In Greek, the subjunctive has driven out the Optative, in Germanic the opposite; but this

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does not prove the contradictory proposition that each is the older mood.

The future force of the Subjunctive arose out of the Voluntative. (I like my word Volitive better). The Optative, which originally expressed Wish, came also to express a Conception (*Vorstellung*) of the speaker (pp. 11 and 256), and then widened its meaning to express Conception in general, and from this came to express the Conception of another than the speaker; whence the construction in Oratio Obliqua.

The processes by which the author thinks that these new forces came to be associated with the Subjunctive and Optative moods are described as follows: "The passage to the future sense in the Subjunctive was yielded by the fact that in Will a striving after future realization (*Streben nach zukünftiger Verwirklichung*) is included." For the still more difficult problem of the historical relation of the far-ranging forces of the Optative, we have only this (p. 236): "As now the Wish, not being accompanied by a striving after realization, belongs to mere Conception (*der blossen Vorstellung*), so the Optative in judgments also marks the Conception of the existence of something (*die Vorstellung, dass etwas sei*), which at the same time can be expressed as the view or opinion of the speaker. The force of Wish is capable of weakening itself to that of mere Admission ('concessive Optative'). In this sense the Optative is employed not only of willingness that something shall take place, but also of the acceptance of something as actual (*Annahme, dass etwas sei*).

This is most indefinite, and, except for the derivation of the "concessive" Optative, shows no touching of the feet upon solid ground. Analyzed, it amounts to this: "Because a *wish*-conception is expressed by the Optative, therefore a *judgment*-conception will also be." It is a complete *non-sequitur* that is thus affirmed. The truth is that this whole vague theory of the Optative as the mood of *Vorstellung*, to be found not only here, but in most works on the Greek moods, or on the mixed moods or surviving moods of other languages, is, like the phrase, *Streben nach Verwirklichung* for the Subjunctive, an inheritance from the metaphysical school of syntax. I have told the story briefly in "A Century of Metaphysical Syntax," *Publications of Congress of Arts and Sciences*, Universal Exposition, St. Louis, 1904, Vol. III, and again, still more briefly, in "The Heritage of Unreason in Syntactical Method," *Proceedings of the (English) Classical Association for 1907* (Vol. V), London, John Murray.[1] To make my criticism intelligible on its most

[1] I told it again at the *Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner* at Basel in 1907; but the highly condensed form in which all the papers of these meetings now appear crowded out everything, except a mere hint.

Koppin's programmes, so much quoted, do not unravel the threads, and confuse historical order by failure always to use first editions as well as later ones.

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important side, I must sketch the matter in part again, beginning with Gottfried Hermann. In his book *De emendanda ratione Graecae grammaticae*, 1801, Hermann, taking his hint from Hasse, fitted the Greek moods to Kant's *Modal Categories* (in the *Critique of Pure Reason*) of Existence, Possibility and Necessity, making the Indicative express Existence, the Subjunctive Objective Possibility (possibility in the nature of things), the Optative Subjective Possibility (possibility as thought), the Imperative Subjective Necessity, and the Verbal with *-τέος* Objective Necessity. What followed was a twisting and turning of these ideas and phrases. Matthiae, in two Greek grammars, 1807, 1808, threw the emphasis, for the Optative, on the second half of Hermann's phrase ("*as thought*"), and made it accordingly the *mood* of thought. The Subjunctive he also made to be a mood of thought, the difference between the two being that the Subjunctive expressed the act more definitely, as depending on external circumstances, the Optative less definitely. Dissen, "Habilitationsschrift," *De temporibus et modis verbi Graeci*, 1808, made the Optative express a *conscious* thought. The Subjunctive, which expressed an act as depending on the nature of things (external circumstances), he made the mood of Conditionality. (Later, by a curious confusion, the Subjunctive was made to express, not something Conditioned, but Condition itself. From this comes down a great mass of error, by which all Subjunctive clauses, including those with *ἕως*, *πρίν*, etc., are made conditional; so in a long succession of German writers, and, in our English-speaking world, Goodwin, Allen-Hadley, Goodell, Babbitt, Monro *Homeric Grammar*, and even John Thompson *Greek Grammar*.) In 1812, Thiersch published two Greek grammars. For the Optative he accepted Matthiae's view, making it represent an act as merely thought (*als blos gedacht*) as an idea, a conception (*Vorstellung*). Thus a clause expressing a repeated action in the past must be in the Optative, because the acts did not really happen together, and the *putting* of them together is an act of the mind. For the Subjunctive Thiersch accepted Dissen's view, combining all the phrases used about it in Dissen's paper. The Subjunctive is the mood of the *dependent*, the *conditioned*, the *uncertain*. Thus in *ἴωμεν*, "let us go," the going is conditioned by the will of the person addressed, and the mood must accordingly be the Subjunctive. Thiersch recognized Will as the force of the Subjunctive in what he calls its earliest seat, and derives the future force from this, on the ground that acts lying in the future depend either upon the will of some one, or upon the later course of events (*dem weitern Erfolg*). In this connection, he uses the phrase, *wo dieser noch zu erwarten*, "where this is still to be expected." Out of this has grown the use of the technical name *Erwartung*, now generally employed in Germany for one of the two forces of the Greek Subjunctive.

Different books that followed made different combinations. In the

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application to other languages (for this at once took place), Matthiae's system triumphed. The Latin Subjunctive, as corresponding to Matthiae's *two* moods of thought for Greek, was made the Mood of Thought (so Schulz, 1825; Zumpt, 1818, Madvig, 1844, etc.). Jacob Grimm adopted the same scheme for German, Maetzner for English, etc. It became, and in the main still remains, the dominant system. The Optative of Greek, the Latin Subjunctive, the German Optative, etc., express *blosse Vorstellung, subjectiven Gedanken* (Gerth-Kühner), *une simple conception de l'esprit* (Antoine), *eine gedachte, vorgestellte Handlung, einen Gedanken* (Methner). To the same source, too, Schmalz *Lat. Gram.*[3] owes his "fictive" power of the Subjunctive (taken from Lattmann), from which he develops the power of Subjectivity. Even Delbrück *Conj. u. Opt.*, 1871, employs *Gedankenwelt, Vorstellung*, etc. (though he derives this use from the Potential, not vice versa) to explain several dependent Optative constructions in Greek, including Oratio Obliqua; while he makes it the general basis of his entire treatment in *Der germanische Optativ im Satzgefüge.*

It is all (except some of Thiersch's sound observations about Will and Expectation for the Subjunctive) the baseless fabric of a dream. Its source alone, the direct application of a passing metaphysical system, should condemn it. But, in any case, it is inconceivable that language should have begun with such abstractions. A given mood must have expressed, in the beginning, a fairly definite meaning; and it must have got its power of expressing other meanings through a series of natural associations. It is the business of a syntacticist, first, to register the meanings found, and then to endeavor to trace the actual historical sequence of these meanings.

The other phrase mentioned, which plays a large part in many modern systems, goes back to Baümlein, *Untersuchungen*, 1846. Baümlein makes the Optative the mood or the purely Subjective, which is really the same thing as Matthiae's twist of Hermann's phrase. The Subjunctive Baümlein makes express (p. 177) *Tendenz zur Wirklichkeit.* On p. 35, where the definition first occurs, he says that it expresses *das Streben, das Tendenz zur Wirklichkeit.* Though this definition is not founded upon any statement of the metaphysical school, it is only a mind trained in the thinking of that school that could have originated it. It would seem as if Baümlein were looking for some phrase which should cover the two forces in the subjunctive distinguished by Thiersch. Such phrases, framed to cover *differing* meanings do harm rather than good; for the conception of the mood, thus crystallized, is then used to *explain* the different uses of it, as it is, for example, by Stahl. His sentence on p. 242, end of 2, is simply a condensed statement of the Hermann-Matthiae-Baümlein doctrine: "The three moods accordingly express a subjective view of the speaker, within which something may

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appear as agreeing with reality, striving toward it, or existing outside of it in the conception." Again, his phrase *Subjective Möglichkeit oder Denkbarkeit* of p. 264 is an absolute reproduction of leading phrases of Hermann and Matthiae. And his forcing of all Potential Optatives into the "Subjective" meaning (e. g. "what mortal man could recount them all," *Od.* iii. 114), as against the "objective" meaning of δύναται, is of a piece with the forcing practiced by the same men. To my mind, our first business in mood-syntax is to get rid of all this metaphysical inheritance, which belongs to an unscientific age, and to study language directly, basing our conclusions upon observation of forces, and not upon tradition.

The first exhibition of examples following the exposition quoted for the Optative is divided into three groups, the Optative of Wish, the Concessive Optative, and the Optative of Conception. Here, if anywhere, the clearly distinguishable notions that can be conveyed by the Optative ought to have been given,—the leading forces of the mood. This is not done. Later, however, some of these appear as, e.g., the Potential Optative (p. 264. 2) and the Affirmative Optative (p. 264. 1) which I am glad to see, while still preferring my own phrase Optative of Ideal Certainty which excludes the *Potential* Affirmation, as Stahl's term does not. Rarely is there any translation. To my mind, one or two examples at least, under each category, should be translated, even in a book like this; to enable the reader to know precisely what mood-idea the writer himself attached to that category. The bare title "Conception" tells us nothing except "not-wish."

The exposition of the forces of the two moods is intermingled with the treatment of the functions of ἄν and κε. Our views about these particles, says Stahl (p. 253) must be based upon the usage in independent sentences. From these it appears that the particles are never used in true sentences of desire, and may be used, or not used, in sentences of judgment. It follows that, when used, they add nothing to the meaning, but only *stamp* the expression as a judgment. "This must necessarily come about (p. 255) through the fact that, as against the merely postulated, the act expressed possesses *reality* somehow or other (*irgendwie Realität besitze*). *The modal particle raises the expression to assertion, its nature is subjective affirmation*" (the emphasis is Stahl's). Here is the keynote of his system for the particles. It is not only mechanical in itself, but it breaks the rest of the system down. It plays havoc with the definition given of the Optative, and the distinction between this and the Indicative. The Indicative expresses reality, and the Optative, which we have been told (see quotation above from p. 242. 2) expresses something as existing in the Conception *outside of reality* nevertheless "somehow or other *possesses* reality" when it is accompanied by ἄν or κε!

The same principle is applied to synthetic (i.e., really dependent)

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clauses. Thus in Subjunctive Clauses the assertion of a future realization indicated by the use of the modal particle becomes Supposition (*wird .... zur Voraussetzung*, p. 258. 1). The passage from Assertion of something as future to the Supposition of it is a very easy one (*liegt sehr nahe*, 258. 2); for whoever asserts that something is going to be or to take place, supposes (assumes) its existence and occurrence. To my mind, this is a mere exercise of apparent ingenuity to maintain a position falsely taken elsewhere. The function of assertion is an entirely different thing from the function of assumption. The very fact of assuming something shuts out the asserting of it.

The same explanation is given by implication (p. 259. 3) of the Subjunctive with εἰς ὅ and ἕως. These, being accompanied by the particle, are judgments (that is, to put the matter in simple language, *assertions*) about the future. I find "assertion" to be entirely at variance with the feeling of these clauses.

At times the explanation is right. Thus the final clause with ὡς or ὅφρα and the particle ἄν or κε is in (in origin) a statement about the future, as I pointed out in 1894, against Delbrück's treatment, in my *Anticipatory Subjunctive in Greek and Latin*. So, e.g., *Il.* i. 32, could still illustrate what the paratactic stage was. Thus "do not anger me: by thus acting (ὡς), you will go more safely." The same is true of the final clause with the relative.[1] But, even here, Stahl, in order to keep up his general formula, puts the matter too mechanically in saying (p. 260. 1), "the sentence of desire appears in the form of a judgment." A thing cannot appear "in the form of" something else which is totally different. I should say rather, "these two ways (action willed and action counted upon) in these combinations express ideas which are so close together that both may fairly be labeled Purpose.

On p. 263, a somewhat better account of the modal particle is given, though the basis on which it is erected is false. "It appears from the foregoing (the use of ἄν or κε in conditions, with ἕως, etc.) that in Homer the modal particle rarely fails to be used, and that accordingly a strong need already asserts itself to stamp the sentence of judgment exactly *as such*. This even led to the result that people added the particle to the clause of purpose and the general clause, which belong to the sentence of desire, and so gave them the form of the sentence of judgment." If a strong need was felt to stamp the sentence of judgment (a statement) as such, then a strong need would naturally be felt *not* to stamp the general condition as a statement, because it is *not* one. It is true that the clause takes the *form* which, *if it were independent*, would indicate a judgment. But it is misleading to say this. To my belief, no

[1] Delbrück accepted my criticism, saying (*Vergl. Synt.* II. 368): "I accordingly confine myself to Greek, remarking in this connection that I now with Hale (*Anticipatory Subjunctive*) distinguish the Volitive and the Prospective Subjunctive."

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thought of a judgment underlay the Greek consciousness in expressing the "whenever" idea, etc. The particle, as I have for many years taught, is purely formal, and due to a general leveling which resulted from a variety of causes—among which the one given by Stahl does not exist.

The important question of the explanation of the use of μή in conditions is intended to be managed in the statement (p. 767), "μή belongs naturally to sentences of desire and to those sentences of judgment which do not indicate a real act *Tatsächliches*, but only something merely supposed or assumed, namely final sentences and hypothetical sentences." This again is an attempt to make a hard-and-fast formula work. When we were dealing with ἄν and κε in the condition, we were told that the presence of the particle indicated the possession, somehow or other, of *reality*. There is reality enough for ἄν, but not enough for οὐ! In order to explain μή in the condition, the *difference* between statement and supposition is insisted upon. To justify ἄν, the necessary *inclusion* of the idea of statement in that of supposition is insisted upon!

Further, Stahl's reasoning is founded upon the essential nature of thought, and so would everywhere be operative. What, then, would be left for him to do with the negative of the Latin condition, which corresponds in function to οὐ, not to μή? This illustrates a general fault which I have to find with his procedure. It violates the very principle which he lays down in the chapter on method: "The essential character of language is not to be got at by logical subtleties and abstractions."

Again, Stahl violates his main purpose, the historical, where (p. 480 and elsewhere) he explains the *Modusverschiebung* as due to Oratio Obliqua,—an almost universal error, found, e. g., in Goodwin, Allen-Hadley, John Thompson, etc. The Optative of the *Modusverschiebung* is in its full maturity in Homer, the Optative of Oratio Obliqua is not. The second is therefore presumably the younger construction, and cannot be the mother of the older construction. The historical relation is probably the opposite one.

It will be seen that, in spite of its great importance through the enormous amount of material collected and worked over, Stahl's book belongs, in my judgment, to the syntax of the past, not to the syntax of the future.

My criticism would be more valuable if it were constructive also; but there is no space for this. I can only refer to my treatment of "The Origin of Subjunctive and Optative Conditions in Greek and Latin," in the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. XII, to my views upon the development of the various powers of the Optative, in the *Proceedings of the American Philological Association* XXXII, pp. cxx–cxxii, 1901, and the Hale-Buck *Latin Grammar* (p. 239), and to my "Anticipatory Subjunctive in Greek and Latin," *Studies in Classical Philology* Vol. I, University of Chicago Press.

W. G. HALE

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Vitruvius und seine Zeit: Eine literarhistorische Untersuchung. Von LUDWIG SONTHEIMER. Tübingen, 1908. 8vo. Pp. x + 126.

This doctor's dissertation is a far more ambitious work than is usual. It deals not only with the date of publication, but with the language, sources, and technical proficiency of the author, with the state of the art of building and of wall painting in Rome under the republic and early empire, and it includes a comprehensive review of the literature on these topics with clear statements of the most important questions. Sontheimer is well acquainted with what has been written in recent times on all these subjects and makes good use of his knowledge. Thus, the difficult problem of the sources of Vitruvius is treated with great commonsense, and the correct view is reached that Vitruvius was no "half-educated proletarian," nor a plagiarist or slavish imitator, but that he followed the fashion of his day, and indeed one may say of all antiquity—using what he found useful, and adding and altering as he deemed best. His principle, I think, was the same as Seneca's, who says (*Epp.* 80): "Non ergo sequor priores? facio, sed permitto mihi et invenire aliquid et mutare et relinquere. Non servio illis sed adsentior." If Vitruvius had done nothing but steal from his Latin forerunners, Fuficius, Varro, and Septimius (whose writings on architecture we know only from his own conscientious mention of them), he would never, as Sontheimer recognizes, have ventured to dedicate his work to the emperor and to speak of his methods in the terms which he actually employs. No ancient author more frequently refers us to his sources than does he.

In the chapter on the language of Vitruvius, Sontheimer adds not much to what has already been shown by Praun and by myself in my reply to Ussing; indeed, this chapter is the weakest in the treatise. For instance, it will not do to cite (p. 15) as Cicero's a letter from D. Brutus. As an example of the genitive of comparison, he cites (p. 10) Tac. *Ann.* iv. 63, but this has been differently explained (see Dräger's note), and with regard to Vitruvius himself it is probable that in v. 1. 3 we have a brachylogy and not a genitive of comparison at all. As a parallel for the use of *quaero si*, Sontheimer in answer to Ussing cites (p. 12) Livy xxxiv. 3. 5; but in that place we have the passive of *quaero* followed by *si* with the indicative. What is wanted is the active followed by the subjunctive as in Livy xxix. 25. 8; xxxix. 50. 7; and on the whole matter see my *Language of Vitruvius*, p. 488.

On the first page of his treatise, Sontheimer says that Perrault ascribes to Philander the notion that Titus was the emperor whom Vitruvius addressed. On the contrary, the original edition of Perrault shows that he knew that Philander held that Augustus was the emperor. But the chapter on Vitruvius' basilica at Fano (pp. 99–112) contains

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Sontheimer's most original idea, an idea which, if one could accept it, would be revolutionary, for it would remove from Vitruvius' work the only occurrence of the name Augustus. The idea is to render "pronai aedis augusti" (v. 1. 7) not by "pronaos of the temple of Augustus," but by "an august temple-pronaos," taking *augusti* as the adjective frequently applied to sacred buildings, and holding that the building added to the basilica was no temple at all but only what looked like the pronaos of a temple. Fatal, however, to this idea is the immediately following feminine relative *quae*, which must refer to *aedis*, not to *pronai*. This conclusive objection has already been pointed out by Nohl in a review in the *Wochenschrift für kl. Phil.* 1909, p. 604. Further, the word *aede*, not *pronao*, is used with reference to this building in the next clause but one. This forces Sontheimer to the unwarrantable assertion that the phrase *pronaos aedis* and the word *aedes* must in this passage denote the same thing. And his whole interpretation leads him to the conclusion that Vitruvius knew nothing of the title Augustus and that he published his work before the title was bestowed on January 16, 27 B. C. For Sontheimer is still laboring under the exploded theory that after the bestowal of this title, everybody must always have addressed the emperor by it; on this see my *Preface of Vitruvius*, pp. 153 ff. But although the novel interpretation of *augusti* cannot be accepted, yet this chapter contains a useful account of Fano as it is today, with a plan of the place and indications of the few ancient remains still to be found there.

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Populäre Aufsätze. Von KARL KRUMBACHER. Leipzig: Teubner, 1909. Pp. 388. $1.38.

The author has won a well-deserved reputation among scholars for his unique efforts in behalf of a quickening of interest in Greek and Graeco-Roman culture during the middle and later ages. His achievements in this direction have been so marked that it is difficult to realize that his doctorate dates from so late a time as 1883. His quarter of a century of academic activity is now marked by the collection and reprinting of various essays, chiefly in his favorite field, that originally appeared for the most part in popular journals, many of the contributions being under the guise of book-reviews. They are grouped under the four heads of "Sprachliches," "Litterarisches," "Geschichtliches," and "Allerlei," of which the last two include the larger number of especially interesting tractates, though all well repay reading. The biographical notice of Ferdinand Gregorovius is an especially sympathetic picture of an interesting personality, and the review of the late

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Professor Traube's *Nomina Sacra* furnishes an excellent summary of that lamented scholar's views on the points treated in his last work. In reading the brief essay, "Zur Aussprache des Griechischen und Lateinischen" one is led to wonder whether any—of course not all—of our English cousins actually do, as Professor Krumbacher (though with a prudent "oder in ähnlicher Weise") asserts, pronounce the first verse of the *Odes* of Horace, "Mesines eteweis ideiti redschibōs."

E. T. M.

Les dialectes indo-européens. Par A. MEILLET. Collection linguistique publiée par la Société de linguistique, I. Paris, 1908. Pp. 138. Fr. 4.50.

The subject of this interesting and well-considered discussion is the question of the grouping of the Indo-European languages as reflecting dialectic differences already existing in the parent speech. After an introductory statement on the principles involved in any question of "dialect," the author reviews the points of agreement which characterize, e. g., the Indo-Iranian, Italo-Celtic, and Balto-Slavic languages, and proceeds to discuss those linguistic phenomena which are significant of various other, wider, groupings, e. g., the treatment of the gutturals, of the combination *tt*, the distribution of the case-endings with *bh* or *m*, etc. One conclusion, to which the facts have led others also and with which the reviewer is in full accord, is that the spread of the Indo-European languages from the relatively restricted territory occupied in what we term the Indo-European period to that of the historical period took place by gradual radiation without serious disturbance of their position relative to one another.

C. D. B.

Vorarbeiten zur griechischen Versgeschichte. Von OTTO SCHROEDER. Leipzig u. Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1908. Pp. vi + 166.

Nine papers which appeared at various dates from 1903 to 1907 are here reprinted by the zealous *Vorkämpfer* of the new metric. To these are appended twenty-two "Thesen zur griechischen Versgeschichte," a convenient brief statement of the author's positions. In this volume, together with his two editions of Pindar, larger and smaller, and his *Aeschyli cantica* and *Sophoclis cantica* (which latter are to be followed by similar editions of the lyrics of Euripides and Aristophanes) we have full materials for the study of Schroeder's doctrine. Whoever would essay such a study must bring to the task leisure and patience; Schroeder is not easy reading. He admits that even his friends complain of the "Schwerverdauliche der Zubereitung," and grants that they are

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probably right. Some of the papers he has therefore largely rewritten. It is unfortunate that a subject so full of pitfalls for the unwary should ever be treated by a method or in a style other than the most lucid. In a brief review it is manifestly impossible to discuss details of such a book on such a subject. To set forth the main principles involved, that those who are not specialists in metric may form some idea of what it is all about, is all that will be attempted.

The roots from which Schroeder's system appears chiefly to have grown are three. First, Hermann Usener's *Altgriechischer Versbau*, a most stimulating little work, which in 1887 opened wide prospects. Turning back to it from Schroeder one appreciates the more highly Usener's clarity and perfect sanity. Developing suggestions of Bergk and F. D. Allen, Usener showed that in metric also we may infer prehistoric forms from historic survivals. The Homeric hexameter, the various iambic, trochaic, and "logaoedic" forms of Archilochos and the Lesbians, some previously unexplained irregularities of popular verse, and the Latin Saturnian as well, all became more intelligible and harmonious when viewed as developments and survivals of one original form, which it is now the fashion to call the enhoplios, and of which the most comprehensive formula is ⏑̲ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑̆. A finer example of a scientific hypothesis would not be easy to find in the classical philology of our time. Second, an article by Blass in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher* for 1886 (pp. 455 ff.), repeated in the Latin preface to his *Bacchylides* (pp. xxix ff., 1st ed., 1898). Starting from certain passages in Plato, Aristophanes, and Marius Victorinus, supported by a part of the metrical scholia to Pindar, Blass believed himself to have demonstrated that the "dactylo-epitritic" kola should be treated as a variety of enhoplii, closely allied to ionic, and divided into feet of four syllables each. He declared it the "constans veterum doctrina, non dactylos ibi esse neque anapaestos, sed choriambos atque ionicos."[1] The reviewer's criticism of this theory has been set forth elsewhere (*Chapters on Greek Metric*, pp. 184–201); Leo, von Arnim, Gildersleeve have expressed vigorous doubts. But the theory seems—only seems—to explain many troublesome irregularities of responsion, which are especially prominent in Bacchylides. The new difficulties created appear to many less important; the impossibility of reconciling this analysis with the Aristoxenean conception of the foot, as that ᾧ σημαινόμεθα τὸν ῥυθμὸν καὶ γνώριμον ποιοῦμεν τῇ αἰσθήσει, is passed over in silence; and in substance Blass's view is at present widely accepted, as

[1] In view of these express terms it is difficult to see what Blass meant when in the *Sieben und vierzigste Versammlung deutscher Philologen u. Schulmänner*, 1903, Blass declared (p. 53) that "er selbst nie die Daktylo-Epitriten mit den Ionikern in Verbindung gebracht habe." Schroeder also, in the same discussion, declared that he failed to recognize his own theory in von Arnim's version of it. To me this is incomprehensible.

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by Schroeder. Third, Schroeder assumes as demonstrated by comparative metric a prehistoric stage when Aiolic verse was *simply* syllable-counting, "gegen Rhythmus und gegen Quantität im Prinzip gleich unempfindlich." Precisely what that verse would be which only counts syllables and regards neither time nor rhythm, the believers in such verse do not make clear. To the contradiction in terms they are *unempfindlich;* Schroeder's formula is as given above. To all this add a fondness for the more complicated systems of nomenclature adopted by the later metricists, in preference to rhythmical analysis in the manner of Aristoxenos, and a disdain for all endeavors toward simplicity and freedom from ambiguity in notation. And finally, as significant of Schroeder's criteria in constructing his schemes, take one of his statements of principle on p. 158: "Messen kann man den Umfang eines metrischen Gebildes nicht nach der in der sprachlichen Ausstattung vorliegenden Summe von langen und kurzen Silben, sondern, auf Grund versgeschichtlicher Herleitung, allein nach der Zahl der in ihnen erklingenden oder latenten Hebungen, wobei auf die aus silbenzählenden Versen stammenden ursprünglich viersilbigen Metren äolischen oder ionischen Stiles immer zwei Hebungen fallen." It will be seen that this, however plausible in the abstract, opens the door wide to personal judgments beyond all objective control. With its context this reminds one of the most arbitrary eurhythmy of J. H. H. Schmidt; the method is much the same and results can be no more secure.

Out of such materials, so handled, by giving imagination a little play, Schroeder has devised means of solving to his own satisfaction many long-standing puzzles. He is cock-sure of his solutions. To slower minds it may seem that the boundary between perhaps and probably is passed over rather lightly, and even the line separating a guess from a demonstration is not always kept in view. For the moment our author can dispose of such objections by a few epithets like "Bildungsphilister," or "ein morscher Stumpf aus der Pfahlbauzeit griechischer Verswissenschaft." But science will be content only with the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. *Ipse dixit* and "the big stick" have no relation to that aim, and must be quietly disregarded, with merely the silent inward note that such manifestations betoken weakness. But though he recognizes that there are still questions unsolved, Schroeder has no doubt of his line of approach, none of his present results — for example, of his proof of six distinct "Vorstufen" of the Homeric hexameter (pp. 42 f.).

A concrete example of Schroeder's method will be better than any description; the following (p. 27) is typical of many pages:

Halten wir einmal neben die bekannte Form des alkaischen Elfers Beispiele, wie

ὤμοι μοι κοί—ταν τάνδ' ἀνελεύθερον

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Aesch. Agam. 1494 ≅ 1518, und aus Alkaios selbst:

ἀσυνέτη – μὶ τῶν ἀνέμων στάσιν,

so gelangen wir von einem iambisch-enoplischen zu einem älteren äolisch-enoplischen Fünfheber, ○○○○ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –. Von dem Vorläufer der Glykoneen, dem älteren äolischen Achter, waren notorisch die ersten vier Silben, nicht bloss die ersten zwei, indifferent ○○○○ – ⏑ ⏑ –. Dies auf den 'daktylischen' Elfer angewandt, erhalten wir:

Ἔρος δαὖτέ μ' ὁ λυσιμελὴς δονεῖ,

also ebenfalls einen äolisch-enoplischen Fünfheber, nur die zweite und dritte Silbe, wie bei den Glykoneen, regelmässig trochaisch, und, gleichfalls Glykoneenart, die Fuge zweier Versglieder oder -gliedchen durch das Zusammentreffen zweier Kurzen verkittet.

For most people that will need several readings before its argument dawns on them. What relation, historical or formal, is there between Alkaios and the line from the *Agamemnon*, which can be supposed to throw light on the origin of "Aiolic dactyls," the subject of this excursus? And how does an "older aiolic-enoplic five-beat" follow from that comparison? And then that precursor of the glykonics, of which he is so sure, and of which the first four syllables were "notoriously" indifferent—where is it? Why not cite a few, that we may look at them? Passing over a query or two, just what are we to understand by that second and third syllable which in glykonic are "regularly trochaic"? And how can two short syllables "verkitten" two members? Especially how can they in a system which so often divides feet precisely between two short syllables? For we are no longer in a metrical world wherein it seems probable that two short syllables between two longs will together—except in choriambics—make an arsis. Such notions are now antiquated. A large part of the demonstrations in Schroeder's work are quite similar in character to this brief example.

Schroeder has a horror of the *Auftakt*, as an intolerable expression for the fact that music often begins on the up-beat, but he operates freely with *ἀκέφαλοι*. Accordingly for him the lines

βᾶτε βᾶτε κεῖθεν· αἱ δ' εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ὀρόμεναι.
τίς ποθ' ἁ νεᾶνις; ὡς εὐπρεπής νιν ἀμφέπει

are iambic—explicitly testified to as iambic by Aristoxenos (p. 60). For him there is no ambiguity in the passage of the Oxyrhynchos fragment nor any doubt of its authorship. Yet he records as trochaic *Eum.* 513–16,

ταῦτά τις τάχ' ἂν πατὴρ ἢ τεκοῦσα νεοπαθὴς
οἶκτον οἰκτίσαιτ', ἐπειδὴ πίτνει δόμος δίκας,

which is metrically the same syllable for syllable. What shall we think of a method that produces such contradictions?

No one thinks of disputing the principle that Greek verse must be studied historically. So far as origins and influences can be traced with

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any degree of probability, they must never be left out of account. But in our earliest Homeric verse the hexameter is full grown, and has long been so; it must have been in that form perfectly familiar to every Greek poet we can name. When Archilochos died, iambic and trochaic forms were highly developed and as well established as the hexameter. If the primitive enhoplios and early Lesbian verse together provide a historical explanation of anything in later verse, they provide amply, on Schroeder's own understanding of them, for mixed kola, such as used to be called logaoedic—kola wherein dactyls and trochees (or anapaests and iambs) are combined. One may object to extending the term logaoedic to include forms that ancient metricists do not expressly so name; but that is no ground for doubting the forms and the logaoedic analysis of them. If one prefers the name aiolic, well and good; only in that case he too is extending the limits of an ancient term. Perhaps mixed is as good as any; but so is logaoedic. The Seikilos inscription contains, in eight six-timed feet, six instances of what we should mark as ⏑ –, which some of Schroeder's schemes appear to show rather numerously.[1] But that inscription is of a late age. It is significant also that its author felt obliged to engrave with it the quantitative signs; he could not assume that his contemporaries would understand its rhythm without these. But the owner of the Timotheos papyrus does not appear to have needed such notes to tell him the rhythm of the *Persai*, elaborate and varied as that is. He was able to pay a good price; either he was content to read it as prose, in something very different from the melic rhythm, or the melic rhythm was clear enough to him without the quantitative notes. Even the Delphian hymns with full music needed no such marks. The conclusion is unavoidable; the Seikilos rhythmization is both late and exceptional; it throws no light on lyrics of the classical period, but is an argument against the frequency of such combinations.

Another historical fact of some importance is Aristoxenos and his rhythmical analysis. He knew nothing about the prehistoric stages of the hexameter; but he understood the melic poets of his race, gave especial study to the earlier period, and gathered up for his successors the best older tradition. While his method of presentation was not generally adopted, there are plenty of indications that later metricists understood it, and were not aware of any fundamental contradiction between his system and theirs. There probably was none; this will be plain when we fully comprehend both.[2] Our aim is to understand the rhythmical structure of Greek melic verse. This we have to reconstruct and with our own voices revivify—primarily from the poems themselves, but with

[1] I say appear, because it is impossible to be sure just what his schemes mean. But I suppose him to mean (p. 150) that Ἔρως ἀνίκατε μάχαν, for example, is rhythmically ⏑ – ⏑ – | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – |, with long and short as 2:1.

[2] Cf. *Chapters on Greek Metric*, pp. 53–57.

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the aid of all, and not merely a selected class or two, of the ancient theorists. The past hundred years have seen considerable progress toward that goal. This latest movement goes astray because it ignores a large part of the evidence. But it has emphasized defects of previous theory and contributed some positive advance. In a few years more its chaff will have been blown away, its few grains of wheat garnered, and sanity will have returned. Some happy Egyptian find may come to our aid. Our successors, if not we, will have recovered a little more of Greek poetic form.

THOMAS D. GOODELL

YALE UNIVERSITY

ΟΠΠΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΥΝΗΓΕΤΙΚΑ. *Oppien d'Apamée, La chasse.* Édition critique par PIERRE BOUDREAUX. Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1908. Pp. 150.

This new critical edition of the *Cynegetica* forms Vol. CLXXII of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études.* It is based upon a new collation of all the known extant MSS with one exception. The Introduction contains a bibliography of editions (both of the poem, and of the paraphrases and scholia) and of critical works; also a list and description of the MSS, and a classification of this material. The text is accompanied by a full *apparatus criticus*, and followed by indices of proper names and animals.

The editor thinks he discovers two families (x and z) in the MSS tradition. The former is traced to an *édition de luxe*, the latter to a learned edition of the poem accompanied by a paraphrase or running commentary; this latter text was revised, and defaced by arbitrary conjectures and substitutions. This tradition, however, is blurred: in the larger part of the first two books the MSS show the effects of "contamination." The conclusion is that the two families are equally serviceable; the z family is less trustworthy; the x family represents the "traditional" text: if the readings of the two families are intrinsically equivalent, the x family is to be preferred. The argument is enforced usually by cogent examples, but a more elaborate treatment is needed to insure conviction. Remembering the value of so-called inferior MSS revealed by the papyri, we cannot feel that in such a complicated situation as the editor discovers his text should be determined very largely by a theory of MSS tradition. In such a case a critical apparatus is hardly complete unless it is made into an interpretative commentary: when we learn in i. 267 that four MSS of the x family read κόρσας, and that the editor follows the majority in reading κεφαλάς, we are in no position to appreciate the two readings until we know the practice of the MSS in the matter of substitutions, and until we are informed about the diction of the poet, of the

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literary type, and about the metrical factor involved in the question. An accurate collation must, however, be the basis; granting the accuracy, our indebtedness to the editor for his new collation is not diminished by his failure to establish what seems to us indispensable to a satisfactory text.

HENRY W. PRESCOTT

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Fragments from Graeco-Jewish Writers. Collected and edited with brief Introductions and Notes by WALLACE NELSON STEARNS. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1908. Pp. 126. 75 cents net.

Professor Stearns has done a real service to students of Hellenistic Greek by collecting from early Christian writers these curious Greek fragments from the hands of Jewish authors otherwise little known. The collection is not large; only twelve writers are represented; but these fill an important place in history, for they wrote for the most part in the days when the Septuagint version was in the making, and give us new glimpses of both the form and the substance of the Graeco-Jewish literature of the three Ptolemaic centuries. Most of these fragments are preserved in the *Praeparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius, and they deal for the most part with early Hebrew history. Demetrius, Eupolemus, Artapanus, Aristeas, Malchus, and Thallus are the historians, Aristobulus represents philosophy, and Philo, Theodotus, and Ezekiel are the poets. Professor Stearns' notes and introductions add much to the interest of these texts, but an index at least of proper names would have greatly increased the usefulness of the collection.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED

The Influence of Plato on Saint Basil. By THEODORE LESLIE SHEAR. Johns Hopkins Dissertation. Baltimore: J. H. Furst Co., 1906. Pp. 60.

Mr. Shear treats his subject under three heads: "Theology and Ethics;" "Philosophy;" "Language." He is of the opinion that Basil is dependent upon Plato for no part of his theology, but that the similarities which may be observed are merely points where Plato and Christian doctrine coincide. In the field of ethics there is more opportunity for Basil to borrow from Plato and definite parallels are cited. In the section on philosophy the chief topic discussed is the relation between Basil's *Hexaemeron* and the *Timaeus*. Our author concludes from resemblances not only of thought but also of language that the *Timaeus* was one of Basil's chief sources. The section on language is

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probably the best in the dissertation: the parallels cited are close and definite. A good summary of the results of the dissertation is given on p. 59.

Mr. Shear has shown the influence of Plato upon Basil to be considerable, though the extent of imitation is by no means so great as in some of the Church Fathers. This is to be accounted for by the fact that in his sermons Basil occupies himself chiefly with practical questions and in such works as that on the Holy Spirit there could be little occasion for Platonic influence. The works which exhibit the greatest amount of Platonic reminiscence are the *Hexaemeron* and the λόγος πρὸς τοὺς νέους on the subject of classical literature.

The following points of detail may be noticed: On p. 8 the author is wrong in citing *Tim.* 34B as a parallel to Basil 4. 248D 6 and in supplying "τοῦ ἀνθρώπου" in the former: it is the world, not man, that is here the subject of discussion. On p. 9 better parallels than *Tim.* 34C can be found for Basil 3. 565D 1; cf. *Crito* 47E. On p. 13 the two passages Basil 3. 344A 9 and *Tim.* 81E while somewhat similar are hardly close enough to be cited as parallels, phrase for phrase, as our author does. On p. 19, the idea in both Basil 3. 348C 3 and *Phaedrus* 240C is that similarity causes friendship, not association as our author says. On p. 27 there is absolutely no resemblance in thought between *Tim.* 32C and Basil 1. 33B 5. The idea of the passage from the *Timaeus* is that each element is used in its entirety in creation, the idea of Basil that God is creator of the whole universe, not merely of the forms but also of the matter. On pp. 26 and 27 in the discussion of Basil's doctrine of the elements, Mr. Shear makes *Tim.* 49C his source, saying that the passage of Basil 1. 89C might be viewed as a commentary on the Platonic passage, giving a fuller explanation. Our author has evidently overlooked Aristotle *De generatione et corruptione* ii. 3, 4, where the same theory which Basil employs is developed in very similar language with the same details of treatment. The theory has nothing Platonic about it. It assumes that fire passes into the other elements and they into fire, a thing which Plato in his completed theory, *Tim.* 54C, denies is possible. On p. 33, *Tim.* 76E seems to be a mistake for 80E.

ROGER MILLER JONES

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten: Ein Beitrag zur kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus. Von WALTER OTTO. Zweiter Band. Leipzig und Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1908.

This second volume of Otto's work on the ecclesiastical organization of Egypt in the Greek age maintains the reputation for carefulness and

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exhaustive presentation already established by the author in his first volume. The rapidly increasing mass of materials available for such a study have of course necessitated a good many addenda and corrections, as might have been expected. The present volume contains four chapters, besides "Nachträge und Berichtigungen" and a Register of sixty-eight pages which renders the material easily and conveniently accessible. Having already treated the revenues of the temples in the first volume, Otto proceeds in his fifth chapter to the expenses of temple maintenance, in the sixth to the administration of the temple properties, and then takes up a more interesting subject in connection with these materials—the social position of the priests and the relation between state and church.

Egypt is the first great nation of the early world in which we may discern a large and comprehensive sacerdotal organization, including all the metropolitan and provincial priesthoods. Such an organization existed as far back as the fifteenth century before Christ. It is the last chapter in the long story of this eccliastical body which is treated by Otto in his book. The mass of the materials now accessible in the papyrus collections of the great museums and libraries of Europe is enormous. It would be impossible in the space here at our disposal to undertake a detailed criticism of Otto's treatment of these materials. If we have any general criticism to make, it is that in the use of his data Otto has seemingly not endeavored to articulate the conditions which he finds in the Hellenistic age with those known to us in earlier Egypt. There is an effort to cite the literature dealing with the earlier periods, but it is strange not to find among this literature adduced, the great Papyrus Harris, which as far back as the twelfth century B. C. gives us a surprising amount of information regarding the economic status of the temples of that age. Evidently the latest results of a study of the Papyrus Harris have been overlooked.

The evident cultural value of such a careful study as that of Otto in revealing to us the relations of a great ecclesiastical organization to the life of the time, is but another illustration of the revelations furnished by the papyrus literature now flowing so plentifully from the excavations along the Nile. They only emphasize, however, how little we know of the universal beliefs of folk-religion, which found no expression or perpetuation in literary form. It will probably always remain the case that we shall know only the religion of the scribes and the official temple ecclesiastics, while the beliefs of the people will always elude us.

JAMES HENRY BREASTED

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The Article with Names of Persons and Gods in Thucydides and Herodotus. By A. PFEIFAUF. (Commentationes Aenipontanae.) Ed. Kalinka and Zingerle, 1909.

The author remarks, by way of preface, that except in Book viii Thucydides has been so uniform in the use of means of expression that the rules can be determined by which he was guided in any given case, partly consciously, partly unconsciously. Even in the use of the article with proper names a systematic comparison of instances occurring under like conditions leads to almost exceptionless guiding principles. And these are, viz.: § 1. Before a person-name followed by the ethnic term the article is wanting. § 2. On first occurrence of a name Thucydides omits the article, but on second mention soon after the first the article is used to refer back to the former, unless the father's name is then added or there is some other definite ground for omitting the article. (In Book viii the anaphoric article has been handled more carelessly than in the preceding books.) § 3. Herbst thinks the anaphoric article is used only when the person-name is opposed to some other; but this is true only when the other name has occurred shortly before twice or oftener. § 4. As a variety of the anaphoric article is to be regarded the phenomenon that immediately after a direct speech the article appears before the person-name. § 5. *Anaphora ad sequentia*, i. e., where in mentioning a name things to follow are already in mind inducing the article. § 6. If a person-name already mentioned occurs again in attributive position Thucydides does not usually signify the relation to the former; but omits the article; for by this very position the name is sufficiently emphasized. But if it is important to indicate reference to the preceding, the article is added to the person-name even though in attributive position. § 7. If the author does not narrate, but cites words or thoughts of actors—generally in *oratio obliqua*—the article is omitted. But the article occurs also in *oratio obliqua*, i. e., where pure form of discourse is not preserved but narrative breaks in upon the thoughts indirectly quoted. Even in *oratio obliqua* we may expect the article where it occurs in *oratio recta*. § 8. The article is wanting in general statements. A side remark of the author has this general character, and this principle holds regularly where Thucydides himself or Homer is named as authority. § 9. Before person-names dependent on prepositions the article is oftener omitted than used. § 10. In case of apposition to a person-name the article is generally wanting with the name. If the articleless person-name to which the appositive is added has further the father's name, the appositive if it follows is always without article, but with it if the appositive precedes. § 11. Βασιλεύς. Referring to the king of Persia βασιλεύς has the article only three times—all in Book viii. It is worth while to consider the cases where βασιλεύς occurs as

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appositive to the name of a king. Referring to the king of Persia βασιλεύς precedes (except once in Book viii) as a fore-name and lacks the article; in all other cases it is appositive and follows, lacking the article. If, however, the name of the king is not accompanied by the father's name, but only by the appositive βασιλεύς, the article stands with the latter, though omitted with the person-name. § 12. In co-ordination of several person-names, the article occurs usually also with the second name if the first has it, the article being here always anaphoric.

§ 13. In vivid narrative when the historical present is used the article is often omitted with a person-name.

In Herodotus the principles determining the use of the article though in general the same as for Thucydides are not always so, and are less strictly followed. The investigation proceeds section by section and with citation of all examples as in the case of Thucydides.

C. F. S.

Platonův Ion. Soustavný úvod s překladem. Napsal RUDOLF NEUHÖFER. (Plato's Ion—Introduction and Translation. By R. N.) Program. Brne, 1908 Pp. 32.

The rather full introduction, filling two-thirds of the program, gives an analysis of the dialogue, discusses the scene and characters, gives a historical résumé of the various views held by scholars as to the fundamental idea of the dialogue and Plato's purpose in writing it along with a statement and criticism of the arguments (*pro* and *con*) on its authenticity and date of composition, and concludes with a brief bibliography and mention of the manuscripts. The introduction is a very convenient and serviceable conspectus of the literature of the *Ion;* but makes no noteworthy contributions to our knowledge. The translation, so far as the reviewer has compared it with the original, is faithful. It is accompanied by brief critical notes on the Greek text.

C. L. MEADER

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The Characters of Theophrastus: An English Translation from a Revised Text with Introduction and Notes. By R. C. JEBB, M.A. A new edition edited by J. E. SANDYS, Litt.D. London: Macmillan & Co., 1909. Pp. xvi + 229. $1.80.

The work of Jebb, re-edited by Sandys, can call for little but praise. The *Characters of Theophrastus* admit of endless illustrations from Plato, Aristophanes, the orators, and the new comedy, and every reviewer may think of some which he would wish to add. E. g., for the complaisant man, who sends for his host's children at dinner, Suidas' story, *s. v.*

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Ἀβυδηνὸν ἐπιφόρημα, or for the avaricious man, who sells watered wine to his friends, Alexis *Aesop. οὐ πίνετε ἄκρατον. οὐ γὰρ ῥᾴδιον. πωλοῦσι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἀμάξαις εὐθέως κεκραμένον.* Both text and version have profited by the elaborate edition of the Leipzig Philologische Gesellschaft, which was studied by Jebb before his death and has been carefully considered by his editor. For the publication of the *Characters* Cichorius' date of 319 is accepted in place of 316 adopted in the first edition. In xx. 13 (viii) *Πολυπέρχων* is read for *Πυλυσπέρχων*. In xviii. 10 (iii) *πλεῖον* is reinstated. In viii. 6 (xxvii) "the festival of a hero" has been altered into "festivals of heroes." In xxviii. 25 (xvi) "convolvulus" has been changed to "smilax." What some choose to call English prudery is still conciliated by the omission of certain details. In xxviii. 30 (xvi) Sandys contributes the emendation *ἑστιώμενον* for *ἑστεμμένων*.

In the note on xv. 13 (ix) the inference from Plato *Apol.* 26E that a drachma was the charge for the best places in the theater is abandoned, in accordance with Jebb's later view.

There are few if any points in the translation which I would query. In i. 27 (2) may not *ὡς μαλακῶς ἐσθίεις* possibly be an expression of solicitude for the host's health, instead of meaning, "how delicate is your fare?" In v. 15 (i) is not *ὁμολογήσας μὴ μεμνῆσθαι* "after agreeing to (promising) something, say that he does not remember it," rather than "if he has made an admission." *Ibid.* 19 *οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνω* is perhaps not "I do not understand it," but rather "that is not my understanding of it." In vi. 7 (xxiii) *συνοδοιπόρου δὲ ἀπολαύσας* is, I think, simply "if he finds (enjoys) a companion by the road." The idea that he "loves also to *impose* upon his companion by the road" may be implied, but is hardly to be read into *ἀπολαύσας*. In vi. 19 (xxiii) *καὶ ἀγνώτων δὲ παρακαθημένων* is not, I think, "and actually, although the persons sitting near him are strangers," *καὶ . . . . δὲ* here, as often, merely add another item. In ix. 1 (xii) *ἐπίτευξις* in the definition of *ἀκαιρία* can hardly be a "chance meeting." In xxviii. 9 (xvi) a reference is needed to Mr. Andrew Lang's *Custom and Myth*, p. 223.

PAUL SHOREY

Platon's ausgewahlte Schriften für den Schulgebrauch. Erklärt von CHRISTIAN CRON und JULIUS DEUSCHLE. *Gorgias.* Funfte Auflage neu bearbeitet von DR. WILHELM NESTLE. Leipzig und Berlin: Teubner, 1909. Pp. 194. M. 2.10.

Professor Nestle's familiarity with Euripides, the pre-Socratics and the Sophists especially equips him to edit the *Gorgias*. While avoiding verbosity and useless erudition, he has not accepted the view that a commentary for school use should be limited to a few aids in translation, but supplies everything required to make the thought and the his-

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torical significance of the dialogue intelligible to both pupil and teacher Especially helpful are the citations from the fragments of Gorgias in the Introduction and the apt references to the Anonymus Iamblichi in the Commentary. I find very little to query or dissent from. Perhaps in 447 A it is misleading to say that παρέχει is to be supplied with the idiomatic οὐδὲν πρᾶγμα. In 449 D is not ἐπιεικῶς τοῦτο πράττειν "do it fairly well," rather than "in gehöriger, geziemender Weise"? In 455 E on διὰ μέσου τεῖχος it is assumed without discussion that there were three walls. In 474 A I think he misses the Socratic irony of γέλωτα παρεῖχον καὶ οὐκ ἠπιστάμην ἐπιψηφίζειν. So far from its being true that Plato could not have made Socrates jest about so serious a matter, it is a characteristic trait of the Socratic moral *non possumus* to say "I did not know how to put to vote" (an unjust measure), instead of "I nobly refused to put it to vote." On 502 the statement that the Theater of Dionysus held more than 30,000 spectators requires qualification.

The critical *Anhang* shows once more how few of the variations in Plato's text affect the sense. Many of Burnet's readings are accepted, some hiatuses are done away with, some anacoloutha smoothed out, some seeming pleonasms removed as glosses. In 450 C he reads πασῶν δὴ with B T W E and Burnet, instead of δέ. But πασῶν δὴ is rather to be expected in the generalizing conclusion of an induction. Πασῶν δέ is more appropriate when, as here, a second step in the argument is taken to be followed by a third, ἕτεραι δέ γε. In 465 D the words ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ are thrown out as a mere interpretation of ὁμοῦ. But in the context they are perhaps needed to bring out the illustration of the preceding φύρονται ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ by the familiar phrase of Anaxagoras which contains no φύρονται and is indicated by ὁμοῦ πάντα. In 483 E τιθέμεθα, bracketed in Hermann's last edition but retained by Burnet, is thrown out. But even if we reject τιθέμεθα I think it is still possible to construe πλάττοντες with τοὺς βελτίστους not with νόμον. On this supposition the structure of ὃν ἡμεῖς πλάττοντες τοὺς βελτίστους . . . . καταδουλούμεθα would be an extension of the analogy of *Rep.* 443 B, τὸ ἐνύπνιον ὃ ἔφαμεν ὑποπτεῦσαι ὡς, etc., or *Sophist* 264 B, τὴν προσδοκίαν ἣν ἐφοβήμεθα μὴ, etc. Πλάττειν νόμον is suitable for an ideal legislator dictating to his airy burgomasters, but less so of the arbitrary enforcement of unnatural conventions. In 491 D he writes τί δέ; αὐτῶν, etc, on the ground that τί δὲ αὐτῶν implies an ellipse of κρίνεις or ἡγεῖ, which would make the reflexive meaningless and necessitate αὐτῶν. But the "free genitive" cannot be governed by this kind of logic, and the idea of *self*-control is already in Socrates' mind if not in Callicles'. In 495 D it is not necessary to read with H. Schmidt ἡδέος instead of ἀγαθοῦ. For on Callicles' view ἡδέος = ἀγαθοῦ and Socrates is arguing against the separation of ἐπιστήμη from the *good*, not the pleasant.

Professor Nestle dates the *Gorgias* probably after the *Phaedrus* on

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the ground that in the *Phaedrus* Plato still (*noch*) is trying to put rhetoric on a philosophic basis. He is, of course, aware that a large proportion of scholars would reverse this argument. The probability becomes a certainty in the argument that φιλοσοφία is "no longer" the love of wisdom, but the idea of science. He does not cite Robin *Théorie platonicienne de l'amour*, who argues for a late date of the *Phaedrus*, nor my *Unity of Plato's Thought*, to the arguments of which on this point I have nothing to add. I am pleased to see that in the note on 463 A he agrees with me in finding intentional parody in Plato's malicious substitution of στοχαστικῆς for Isocrates' δοξαστικῆς.

PAUL SHOREY

Pindari carmina cum fragmentis selectis. Edidit OTTO SCHROEDER. Leipzig: Teubner, 1908. Pp. xii + 360. M 2.41.

Otto Schroeder, professor in the Joachimstalsches Gymnasium in Berlin, is probably the foremost living Pindaric scholar. His great edition of 1900, which appeared as the first volume of the fifth edition of Bergk's *Poetae lyrici*, was no mere revision of Bergk, but a new work, based upon a fresh collation of the MSS, and in every way a monument of learning and insight, combined with minute accuracy. It must long remain the standard critical edition of Pindar. The present book offers in a somewhat revised form the text of the preceding, in a small and beautifully printed volume of the Teubner series, which takes its place at once as the best and most convenient text-edition available. The introductory matter marvelously condensed (like everything of Schroeder's) includes the necessary information concerning MSS, editions, auxiliary works, chronology, etc., in the space of six pages. The excellent translation of Ernest Myers might well have been mentioned instead of the fragmentary translations of Paton. In the body of the work, the brief critical apparatus at the foot of the page aims not so much at giving a full report of the readings of the best MSS, as at showing the difference between the Ambrosian and Vatican traditions, adding, however, a few other readings and conjectures, "honoris causa." In the matter of dialect, Schroeder takes a middle course, since the Alexandrian authorities can neither be ignored nor blindly followed. But he prefers to be fairly consistent in rejecting the intrusion of Ionic -η-.

Schroeder's text, in its most recent form, as before, is decidedly conservative, the readings of the best MSS being restored in many places where they had been given up by all modern editors. But the reader must not, on account of these restorations, accuse the editor of undue conservatism of *temperament*. Closer examination soon reveals the fact that the restored readings had in most cases been given up on account of the metrical irregularities which they introduced. But it is well known

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that the "new metric," of which Schroeder is now the most conspicuous champion, allows great freedom in the use of metrical "equivalents," and delights in irregular correspondence. Schroeder's restorations of MS readings will therefore be diversely judged, in accordance with the metrical creed of the reader. For example, in *P.* 4. 118, Schroeder restores the MS ἰκόμαν (rejected by Boeckh, Dissen, Mommsen, Fennell, Gildersleeve, Christ, and others), notwithstanding the resulting metrical irregularity (– ⏑ ⏑ – for – ⏑ – –). So διδύμοις in *O.* 3. 35 (instead of Hermann's διδύμοις), λιπόντ' in *O.* 6. 100 (instead of λείποντ' with Triclinius), ἔσαν in *O.* 9. 54 (instead of the Byzantine ἔσσαν), οἰκουριᾶν in *P.* 9. 19 (for the Byzantine οἰκοριᾶν), and often. Cf. *P.* 4. 253; 5. 42; 6. 50; *N.* 10. 41 f.; 10. 75; *I.* 5. 58. But on the other hand, in *N.* 9. 13, where MSS read Ἀμφιάρηόν ποτε and Ἀμφιάρηόν τε (the latter reading being generally adopted as suiting the scheme of quantity elsewhere in the ode), Schroeder prints his own conjecture Ἀμφιαρῆ ποτε (– ⏑ – for – – –). We have not space here to discuss the metrical views upon which the text of Schroeder is based. Suffice it to say that notwithstanding our editor's extraordinary competence, and the approval which his opinions have found from many scholars of high rank, the present reviewer is unable to accept his schemes as really rhythmical.

Aside from this tendency to what may be called "radicalism" in questions of meter (though Schroeder bases his theories upon the ancient metricians), the new text is eminently sane and satisfactory. A considerable number of the conjectural readings of the larger edition have been given up, and the vulgate restored. So in *P.* 4. 65; 5. 80; 7. 10; 8. 68; 10. 60; *N.* 7. 105. In *P.* 2. 82, Schroeder now accepts Heyne's ἄταν (undoubtedly correct). On the other hand, readings perhaps questionable are retained in *O.* 2. 96 (γαρυέτων), *P.* 5. 72 (γαρύει), *N.* 6. 65 (ἴσῶν ῥείποιμι), *I.* 8. 56 (ἀοιδαί τι λίπον).

The new edition is delightfully enriched by the inclusion of the recently discovered fragments, from the papyri. The sixth Paean (for the Delphians), in its intact portions alone, forms a poem longer than many of the extant odes. The present volume offers a Pindaric text more complete by at least three hundred verses than any of its predecessors—a fact which at once renders it indispensable to students of Pindar. The fragments now exceed the *Isthmians* and even the *Nemeans*, in extent if not in importance. Their exegesis has never received adequate attention, not even from Boeckh and Dissen. No scholar is so competent to supply this lack as Schroeder himself (witness his illuminating paper on the Hyperboreans in the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* VIII. 69 ff.), and it is earnestly to be hoped that he may yet give the world the benefit of his studies in Pindaric exegesis, not only upon the fragments, but upon all the odes as well.

A trifling suggestion may be offered in closing. No edition of Pindar

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seems to have observed the close relation, both in subject-matter and rhythm, between Fr. 227 and Fr. 172. It seems probable that Clement of Alexandria, and the Scholiast to Euripides, have here cited successive portions of the same poem. If so, we have, instead of two brief fragments, another considerable passage, as follows:

227. *νέων δὲ μέρμναι σὺν πόνοις εἱλισσόμεναι*
δόξαν εὑρίσκοντι· λάμπει δὲ χρόνῳ
ἔργα, μετ' αἰθέρα λαμπευθέντα — —

172. *οὐ Πηλέος ἀντιθέου μόχθοις νεόταις ἐπέλαμψεν μυρίοις;*
πρῶτον μὲν Ἀλκμήνας σὺν υἱῷ Τρώιον ἀμ πεδίον,
καὶ μετὰ ζωστῆρας Ἀμαζόνος ἦλθεν, καὶ τὸν Ἰάσονος εὔδοξον πλόον
ἐκτελέσσαις, εἶλε Μήδειαν ἐν Κόλχων δόμοις.

EDWARD BULL CLAPP

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Fragments of Empedocles. Translated into English verse by WILLIAM E. LEONARD. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company, 1908. Pp. 92.

Students and readers unacquainted with Greek will welcome this admirable version of the fragments of Empedocles, which combines to an unusual degree adequate scholarship with poetical feeling and insight. No translator nor interpreter of Empedocles in any language seems to have more fully understood the imaginative temper in which the main outlines of this apocalyptic vision of the world-cycle was conceived. The majestic sweep and impressiveness of the poem are, it must be confessed, more adequately expressed in the introduction than in the translation itself, a fact which will not surprise those who know the difficulties which confront even the most gifted translator of verse from one language into another.

Mr. Leonard's acquaintance with the critical and interpretative work of scholars is constantly manifest. Where opinions differ he has usually chosen the saner view, though in many minor points his judgment may be questioned. For example, the rendering "green" for *θέλυμνα*, Fr. 21. 6, seems singularly ill considered and is by no means adequately defended by the note to that passage. We may doubt, again, the suggestion of the note to Fr. 35. 9 that *οὐ γὰρ ἀμεμφέως* implies an unwilling submission of Hate to the decree of Necessity. The phrase may well be a poetic variant for "not altogether." The query, note to Fr. 41, "how the sun, a mere reflection, was borne along its track in the revolving sky" seems to receive a partial answer in the fact that a reflection with Empedocles is a collection of actual particles of matter. The rendering "mere lumps of earth" for *οὐλοφυεῖς . . . . τύποι χθονός*, Fr. 62. 4, like Diel's "rohge-

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ballte Erd-klumpfen" seems to describe cruder organisms than the Greek phrase would auggest.

On one of the main problems of Empedocles' cosmology, the question in which period of the cycle we are living, Leonard rightly adopts Burnet's view as opposed to that of Zeller, that Strife is gaining ground. His judgment again seems sound in dissenting from Burnet's attempt to reconcile completely the Physics with the Purifications.

On the whole the book deserves high praise and is a real contribution to the literature that centers around the name of the imaginative Sicilian philosopher.

CLARA E. MILLERD

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The Year's Work in Classical Studies. 1908. Edited by W. H. D. ROUSE, M.A., Litt.D. London: John Murray, 1908. Pp. 176. 2½ *s.* net.

If any further guaranty than the editor's name is needed for the quality of this volume, it is supplied by the names of such contributors as L. R. Farnell on "Greek Mythology and Religion," Warde Fowler on "Roman Religion and Mythology," E. A. Sonnenschein on "Grammar, Lexicography and Metric," W. M. Lindsay on "Textual Criticism and Palaeography," J. E. Sandys on "Literature," etc. While not replacing or competing with the indispensable *Jahresbericht* of Bursian, the work does for the isolated classical scholar in the small college what Bursian cannot do. It is continuously readable. The eighteen departments into which the vast field of philology is divided are systematically treated as wholes and kept up to date year by year. The emphasis laid on the most important books of the year will help the teacher charged with the expenditure of a small book fund to make a wise selection. It is itself very nearly the first book that every such scholar should buy. Nor need it be any impairment of its merits in American eyes that it gives generous recognition to American work even when published "so far away" as Chicago or California.

PAUL SHOREY

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